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Great Triad of Thebes—AMEN, MUT, and KHONSU.

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THE

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OF

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

BY SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S., F.R.G.S.,

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A NEW EDITION, REVISED AND CORRECTED

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NOTE.—*All such hieroglyphics as are printed* in outline *are not drawn by* SIR J. GARDNER WILKINSON.

ERRATUM.

Page 25, note [5], line 3, read "Gebel Berkel" for "El Berkel."

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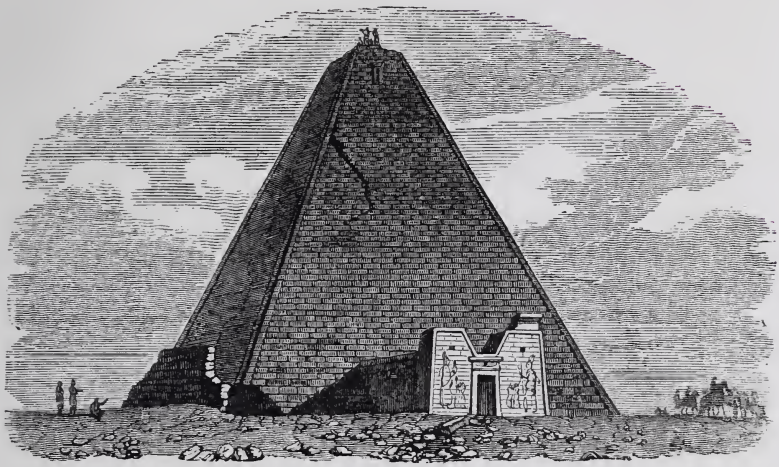


VIGNETTE M. Pyramid at Assur in Nubia.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Egyptian Pantheon — Chnoumis — Amen-ra — Ptah — Ptah-Socharis-Osiris — Cheper — Hak — Khem or Amsi — Thriphis — Satis—Mut—Bast—Neith—Ra—Aten-ra—Seb—Nu—Nut—Osiris—Apis—Mnevis—Sarapis—Isis—Sothis—Athor—Horus — Haroeris—Harpocrates—Ahi—Har-Hat—Nubti—Set — Bes — Apap, Apophis—Anubis.

IN noticing the character and attributes of the Egyptian gods, I shall introduce each separately, commencing with the eight great deities. And as it is useless to stop to inquire which of these held the highest rank, I commence with Chnoumis,[1] who was particularly worshipped in the island of Elephantine, throughout Ethiopia, and in the southern part of the Thebaïd. In the word Chnoumis, or *Nef*, we may probably trace the idea of the *Spirit* of the Deity, if, in his mention of Jupiter, Diodorus[2] had in view the god Chnoumis: Jupiter,[3] he observes, signifying, among the

[1] [The god Noum (Nou, Noub, or Nef), with a ram's head, answered to Jupiter, and he was the first member of the triad of the Cataracts, composed of Noum, Sati, and Anouka (Jupiter, Juno, and Vesta).—G. W.]

[2] Diodor. i. 12.

[3] The name Ἄις, Ἄιδς, Θεὸς, and the Latin *Deus*, are evidently from the same origin; the Deity *par excellence*.

Egyptians, the Spirit, 'being the cause of life in animals, and, therefore, the father of all.' The same idea may have led to the Greek and Persian notion,[1] of Jupiter being the air which surrounds the world. 'If,' as I have observed in a previous work,[2] 'the sons of Ham taught their descendants, the early inhabitants of Egypt, the true worship of one spiritual and eternal Being, who had disposed the order of the universe, divided the light from the darkness, and ordained the creation of mankind, the Egyptians, in process of time, forsook the pure ideas of a single Deity, by admitting His attributes to a participation of that homage which was due to the Divinity alone;' and thus the sole indivisible God was overlooked and became at length totally unknown, except to those who were admitted to participate in the important secret of His existence.

Kneph, or more properly Chnoumis,[3] was retained as the idea of the 'Spirit[4] of God, which moved upon the face of the waters.' But having separated the Spirit from the Creator of the universe, and purposing to set apart and deify each attribute which presented itself to their imagination, they found it necessary to form another deity from the Creative Power, whom they called Ptah, equal to Neph, being another character of the same original God. 'Some difference was observed between the power which created the world, and that which caused and ruled over the generation of man, and continued to promote the continuation of the human species: this attribute of the Divinity was defined under the appellation of Khem; and many more, as His goodness, perfection, and other qualities which struck them as most worthy of their reverence, were made to participate in similar honours.

'By the Romans he was known under the names of Jupiter-Hammon-Cenubis, and Chnoubis, as at Elephantine; of Amenebis, as in the Oasis; and Jupiter Hammon with the head of a ram, "unde recurvis . . . cum cornibus Ammon," the reason of which error it is not necessary here to inquire,'[5] but which is not without a parallel, as I have already shown, in the Roman mode of representing Anubis with the head of a dog. 'It seems, indeed, that the ram-headed god never had the title of Amen, except in the Oasis, where he is even called Amen-ra, , as well

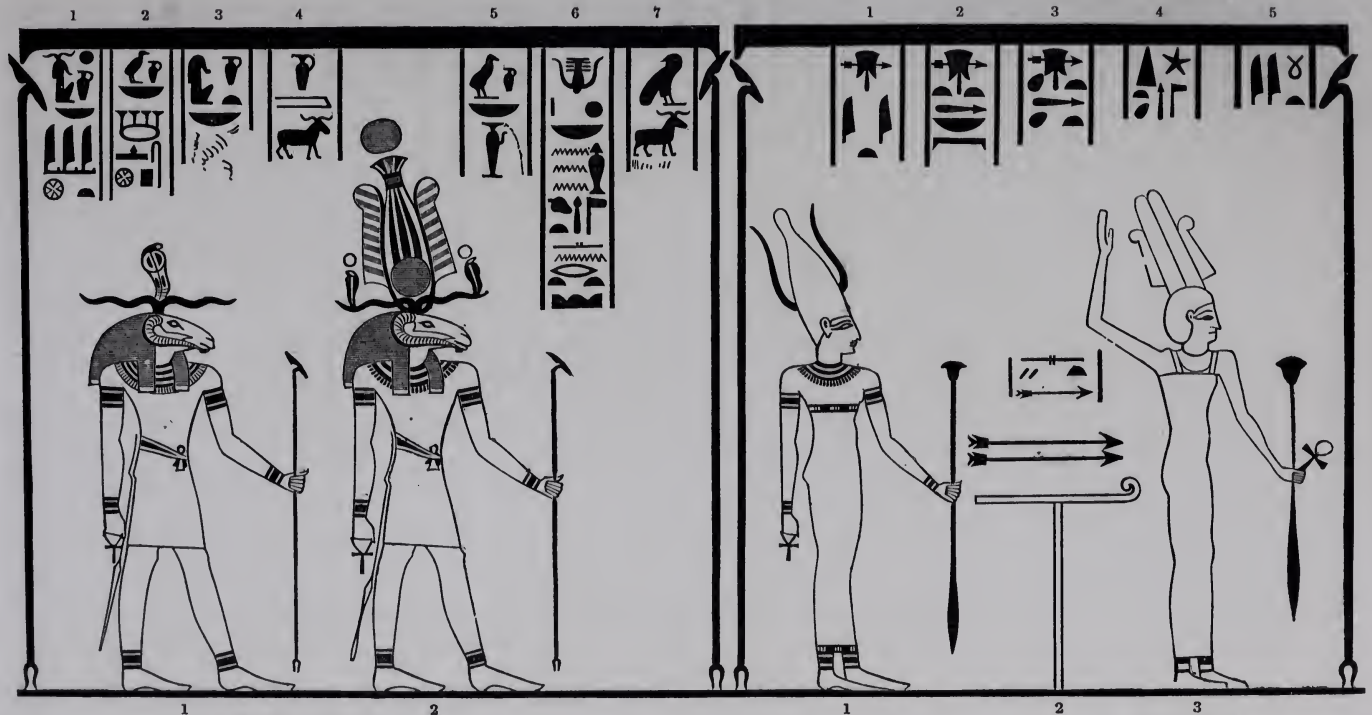
[1] Herodot. i. 131. Hor. Od. i. 25.

[2] 'Materia Hierog.,' Part i. pp. 1, 2.

[3] Nef, which signified spirit or breath, is still retained in the Arabic of the present day. The Emeph of Iamblichus was probably corrupted from Kneph by the copyists.

[4] Horapollo says, 'The snake is the emblem of the Spirit which pervades the universe.'

[5] 'Materia Hierog.,' Pantheon, p. 2.



Xnum or Chnoumis.

1. 'Xnum-ra, lord of Ta-ah or S'em.' 2. 'Xnum, lord of Shasept.' 3. 'Xnum, the lord.' 4, 7. 'Xnum.' 5. 'Xnum, lord of pure water.' 6. 'Xnum-ra, lord of pure water, great god dwelling in Senem.'

Sati or Satis.

Sept or Sothis.

1, 5. 'Sati.' 2, 3. 'Sati, great mistress of Heaven.' 4. 'Setp (Sothis), great goddess.'

as the two-feathered god of Thebes. He is then Amen-ra with the head of a ram, as he takes the form of Khem or any other god,—a case of very rare occurrence; 'nor can I trace that distinction between the figure before us and one of similar form, which the learned Champollion has considered a different deity presiding over the inundation; since the god of Elephantine has the same office as that ascribed to the one he distinguishes by the name of Cnouphis.' This is further confirmed by my having found an inscription in that island beginning XNOTBI ΘEΩI, where a temple dedicated to him stood till lately amidst the ruins of the ancient town, the same mentioned by Strabo as that of Chnuphis. It is, indeed, as consistent to suppose the deity of the inundation to be one of the characters of the god Chnoumis, as 'the President of the Western Mountain' to be one of the characters of the goddess Athor.

Herodotus,[1] Diodorus, and other writers, in speaking of the Jupiter of Ethiopia, evidently had in view the god Chnoubis; and there is less difficulty in accounting for the notion of his being the same as Jupiter, since he was, if not the king, at least the leader, of the gods. He corresponded to no other deity of the Greek Pantheon; and the triad of the Cataracts, by uniting him with Sati or Juno, appears to give him a claim to the name of Jove. There is not, however, the same excuse for confounding Chnoubis with Amen, or giving to the latter deity the head of a ram, as his general attribute.

'The inhabitants of the Thebaïs,' says Plutarch,[2] 'worship their god Kneph only, whom they look upon as without beginning so without end, and are exempt from the tax levied for the maintenance of the sacred animals.' But this could only be true if he alludes to the earliest inhabitants of that district; for the worship of Amen, or Amen-ra, was much more general throughout the Thebaïd, except at the island of Elephantine, and Syene. Eusebius seems to confound him with Agathodæmon, but this name applies rather to another deity, the hawk-headed Har-Hat, whose emblem was the winged globe, placed over the doors and windows of the Egyptian temples, and overshadowing the sacred person of the monarch; or to the asp, frequently represented in the tombs of Thebes, guarding the wine-presses and gardens of the Egyptians, which was dedicated to another divinity, the

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[1] Herodotus says the only two gods worshipped at Meroë were Jupiter and Bacchus; meaning Chnoumis and Osiris.

[2] Plut. de Isid. et Osir. s. 21.

goddess Rannu,[1] who is sometimes figured with the head of that snake.

The asp was also sacred to Chnoumis, and that deity is frequently represented in the tombs standing in a boat, with the serpent over him; and he is not unfrequently seen with this emblem on his head, without any other ornament. At the Cataracts I have found him with the asp rising from between his horns, and bearing the crown of the Lower Country on its head, as if intended to indicate the dominion of the deity there as well as in the Thebaïd. This serpent was the type of dominion; for which reason it was affixed to the head-dress of the Egyptian monarchs; and a prince, on his accession to the throne, was entitled to wear this distinctive badge of royalty, which, before the death of his father, he was not authorised to adopt. Many other parts of the royal dress were ornamented with the same emblem; and 'the asp-formed crowns,' mentioned in the Rosetta Stone, were exclusively appropriated to the kings or queens of Egypt. The asp also signified, in hieroglyphics, 'a goddess;' and when opposed to the vulture, 'the Lower Country;'[2] and it was given to Ra, the physical sun, probably as an emblem of that dominion which he held over the universe, and from his character of prototype of the Pharaohs. Champollion has satisfactorily accounted for the name Uræus given to the snake, by suggesting that the word derives its origin and signification from *ouro*, in Coptic 'a king,' answering, as Horapollo tells us,[3] to the Greek *βασιλίσκος*, 'royal;' and it is from this last word that the name basilisk has been applied to the asp. But I do not know on what authority he supposes the royal asp to be different from the asp 'of Chnouphis.'[4]

The description given by Porphyry of 'Kneph, with a human head, azure black colour, bearing a feather on his head,' agrees exactly with the god Shu, but not with Chnoumis; and these two deities can in no way be related,—the latter being one of the great gods, and the former always having the title 'Son of the Sun,' and being of an inferior order of divinities. Nor does any representation occur of 'the egg proceeding from his mouth, which Porphyry conjectures to signify the world; and from which proceeded another god called Phtha, the Vulcan of the

[1] Champollion was perfectly correct in considering the asp of Chnoumis different from this guardian genius. I had supposed this last to belong also to Chnoumis.

[2] See the god Nubti, and the genius of Lower Egypt.

[3] Horapollo, Hierog. i. 1: 'The Egyptians call it Ouraius, which, in the Greek language, signifies *βασιλίσκος*.'

[4] Champollion, Pantheon, Nef.

Greeks;' and, indeed, this cannot be applied to any deity of the Egyptian Pantheon. The figure of Chnoumis was that of a man with the head of a ram, frequently of a green colour; sheep were particularly sacred to him; and with Satis, Juno, and Anoukis, Vesta, he formed one of the great triads of Upper Egypt.

His worship, as I have already observed, was very generally admitted in the cities of Ethiopia, particularly above the Second Cataract, where the ram's head, his emblem, was used as a common ornament, or as an amulet by the devout; and in that part of the country lying between the First Cataract and the modern Shendy, the ram-headed Chnoumis, or Cnouphis, was the principal god. One deity alone shares with him equal honours, but this is in the two temples of Wady Owáteb and Wady Benát alone, where the lion-headed god appears to be the principal object of worship. At Napata, the capital of Tirhakah (now Gebel Berkel), Chnoumis received the highest possible honours; and it may not be unreasonable to conclude that Napata, Nouba,[1] and the Nobatæ were called from this deity, whose name has the varied sound of Cnouphis, Chnoubis, Chnebis, Chnoumis, Noub, and apparently even of Nou(m), in some of the hieroglyphic legends of the Thebaïd.

Herodotus states that, in consequence of sheep being sacred to the Theban Jupiter,[2] the people of that nome never sacrifice them, but always select goats for their altars: and this is confirmed by the sculptures of Thebes, by which we find that sheep were never immolated for the altars of the gods, nor slaughtered for the table. The large flocks of sheep in the Thebaïd were kept for their wool alone; and the care bestowed upon them, so that they might have lambs twice a year and be shorn twice within the same period, the number of persons employed there in making woollen cloths, and the consequence which the sculptures show to have been attached to those animals, testify to the importance of the wool trade in Egypt, and serve as an additional proof of the advancement of this people in manufactures.

At Esné or Latopolis, Chnoumis[3] is represented under the

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[1] Some have derived this from *noub*, 'gold.'

[2] Herodot. ii. 42. More properly to Chnebis, who was represented with the head of a ram, and not Amen, as he supposes.

[3] As the name Neph does not occur in the hieroglyphs for this god, Chnoumis has been inserted instead throughout this and the preceding pages. His name had no connection with the Egyptian word *Nif*, 'breath,' but is written *Nem* or *Num*, a word meaning 'cistern,' 'reservoir,' 'to join' or 'unite.' (Pierret, Vocab., p. 268.)—S. B.

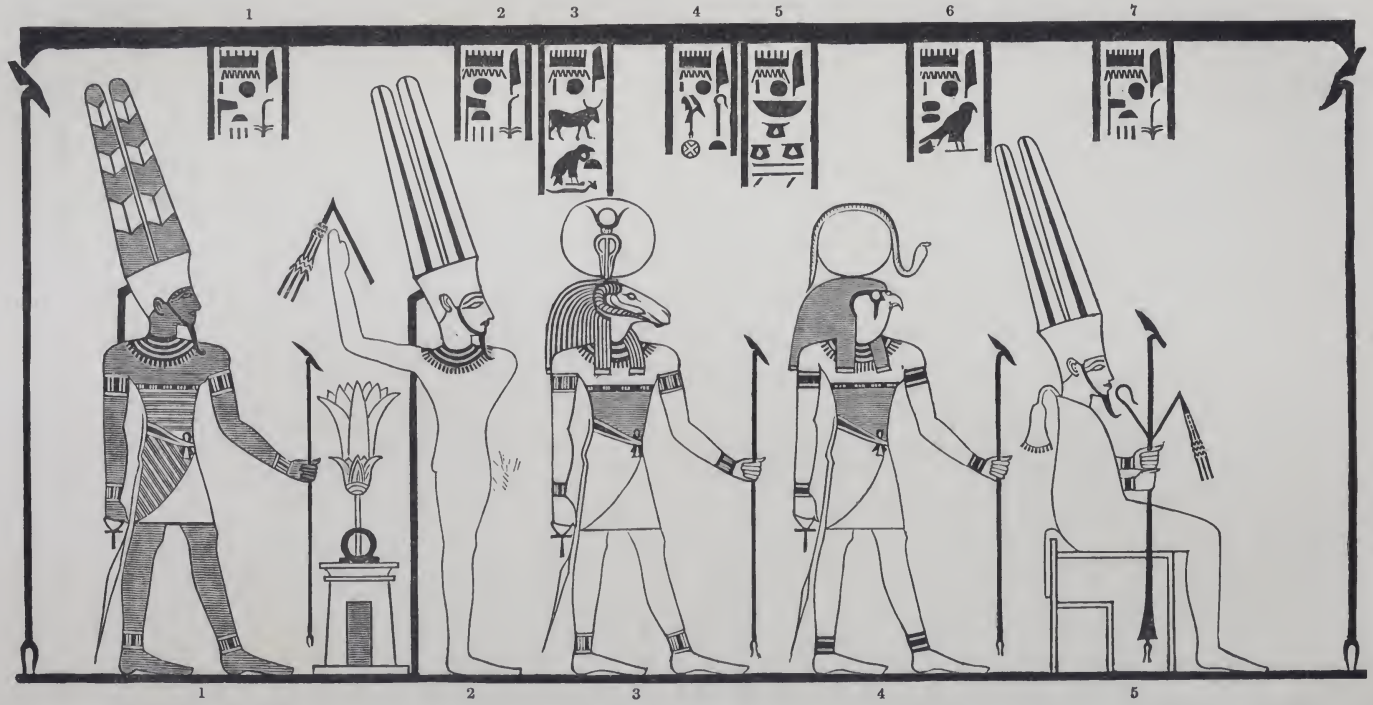
form of a ram, from between whose horns rises the sacred asp: and in some of the legends, the name over it is followed by those of Osiris, Ra, Shu, and another god with whom Chnoumis is connected on this occasion. He is also figured as a man having two or four rams' heads; but this is of rare occurrence, except on monuments of a late date, or in subjects relating to the dead and the mysteries of a future state. At Esné instances occur of Chnoumis with the additional title Ra, which then connects him with the sun, and may perhaps be an argument in support of the opinion I have mentioned of the early Sabæan worship of Egypt.

To Chnoumis were given not only the ordinary horns of the sheep, curving downwards, but also the long projecting horns[1] of that animal, which, from their twisted form, being readily mistaken for those of the goat, have caused some difficulty respecting two characters in the names of the Cæsars, both being supposed to represent the same animal, and also to stand for the two letters *b* and *s*. It is, however, evident that the latter was the sheep or ram, *siu*, which had the alphabetic force of *s* as in Trajanus, and that the former was the goat, *ba-em-pe*, which was chosen to represent the letter *b* or *v*, as in Ti*b*erius, Se*v*erus, and Se*b*astus. [The god Khnum was the deity of the waters, and the early character of his worship is proved by the association of his name with that of Khufu or Cheops, in the cartouches of that monarch. At the time of the 12th Dynasty, he was allied with the goddess Heka or Hak, and is mentioned as 'existing' or 'formed at first.' He was a demiurgos, and is represented at Philæ as making man out of clay on a potter's wheel, and in many texts he is styled the builder of mankind. In connection with the waters he was particularly the god of the fowler who caught the water-fowl. While his emblem, the ram's head, *ba*, connected him with the soul or cosmic soul of the gods, his attributes of the solar disk and uræus allied him to the sun; and in the later representation of the sun's progress though the hours he appears in the solar disk in the 4th and 10th hours, as if a personification of that luminary. He reconstructed the limbs of the mutilated Osiris, was father of fathers of the gods, making heaven, earth, hades, the streams, and hills.[2] In the Ritual[3] Khnum is said to be at the wall of the house of the

[1] Owing to the error respecting Amen, they have been the origin of the name of the Ammonite; and thus has this misnomer been perpetuated in stone.

[2] Birch, 'Gallery of Antiquities,' i. p. 10.

[3] Ch. lvii. l. 5; ch. lxiii. l. 4.



Amen-ra.

1, 2, 7. 'Amen-ra, king of the gods.' 3. 'Amen-ka mutef.' 4. 'Amen-ra, ruler of the Thebaïd.' 5. 'Amen-ra, lord of the seats of the earth.' 6. 'Amen-ra, Harmachis.'

deceased, and to make sound his limbs. He was coloured blue in his celestial, and green in his chthonic character; but his worship, although most ancient, was localised in the south, and never took the range acquired by that of Amen-ra.—S. B.]

It may appear singular that Amen should be placed second to Chnoumis; I have, however, noticed them in this order, not from any superiority of the latter, but because he is said to have been the oldest deity of Upper Egypt; and, since some alteration has been made in the name of the god known to us as Amen, it may even be supposed that in the earliest times he had not the same character as in the age of the last kings of the 18th Dynasty. Indeed, if Chnoumis really answered to the spirit which pervaded and presided over the creation, and was the same whom Iamblichus describes from the books of Hermes, he may in justice claim a rank above Amen, or any other of the eight great gods. The alteration to which I allude is a circumstance well worthy of attention; and, as I have elsewhere remarked,[1] has been observed by me on many of the oldest monuments of Egypt, where 'the hieroglyphics or phonetic name of Amen-ra have been continually substituted for others, the combinations of which I could never discover, being most carefully erased, and the name of Amen, or Amen-ra, placed in their stead. The figure of the god remains unaltered, as is also the case with that of Khem, when in the character of Amen-ra Generator, whose phonetic hieroglyphics, and not figure, have been changed. To make this last observation more intelligible, I must acquaint the reader with a fact not yet mentioned,—that Amen-ra, like most of the gods, frequently took the character of other deities; as of Khem, Ra, and Chnoumis;[2] and even the attributes of Osiris: but he is then known by the hieroglyphics accompanying his figure, which always read Amen-ra, and therefore differ from those given the deities in their own character.'

In examining the sculptures of an early period, I have found that, wherever the name of Amen occurs,[3] the substitution has been so systematically made, that nothing short of a general order to that effect sent to every part of Egypt, and executed with the most scrupulous care, can account for it; and from this alteration[4] being confined[5] to monuments erected previous to

[1] 'Materia Hierog.,' Pantheon, p. 4.

[2] But still as a member of the triad of which Amen was the chief. I have even found him with a hawk's head, styled 'Amenra, Ra Atmu, Lord of Thebes.'

[3] It may be seen on the Obelisk of S. Giovanni Laterano, at Rome.

[4] The *name* Amen existed long before. Witness the kings of the 17th Dynasty.

[5] This has been subsequently discovered

and during the reign of the third Amenophis, we may conclude that it dates after his accession, or about the year 1420 B.C. Another peculiarity is observable in the name of Amen, that the hieroglyphics which compose it frequently face the wrong way; that is, they turn in a different direction from the rest of the inscription: the reason of which it is not easy to determine.

I have stated that Amen-ra and other gods took the form of different deities, which, though it appears at first sight to present some difficulty, may readily be accounted for when we consider that each of those whose figure or emblems were adopted, was only an emanation or deified attribute of the same great Being, to whom they ascribed various characters, according to the several offices He was supposed to perform. The intellect of the Deity might be represented with the emblems of the Almighty Power, or with the attributes of His goodness, without in any manner changing the real character of the heavenly mind they portrayed under that peculiar form; and in like manner, when to Osiris, or the Goodness of the Deity, the emblems of Ptah the Creative Power were assigned, no change was made in the character of the former, since goodness was as much a part of the original Divinity from whom both were derived, as was the power with which He had created the world; and if, as sometimes happens, Amen-ra is represented making offerings to Osiris, it will be recollected that one attribute might be permitted to show respect to another, without derogating from its own dignity, and that Osiris in his character of judge of Amenti, and as the object of the most sacred and undivulged mysteries, held a rank above all the gods of Egypt.

Amen, or Amen-ra, formed with Mut and Khonsu the great triad of Thebes. The figure of Amen was that of a man, with a head-dress surmounted by two long feathers;[1] the colour of his body was light blue, like the Indian Vishnu, as to indicate his peculiarly exalted and heavenly nature; but he was not figured with the head or under the form of a ram, as the Greeks and Romans supposed, and the *contortis cornibus Ammon* is as

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to be due to the heretical worship of the sun's disk introduced by the Queen Taü, widow of Amenophis III. The name of the solar disk or orb, *aten*, was substituted wherever accessible or possible for that of the god Amen-ra, whose name was tried to be suppressed and destroyed. After the fall of the monarch Amenophis IV., who assumed the name of Khuenaten in honour of the solar orb, the name of Amen was replaced by chiselling away that of Aten. —S. B.

[1] Q. Curtius, speaking of the deity of the Oasis of Ammon, says, 'Id quod pro Deo colitur, non eandem effigiem habet, quam vulgo Diis artifices accommodaverunt, Umbilico tenus arieti similis est habitus, smaragdis et gemmis coagmentatus.'

inapplicable to the Egyptian Jupiter as the description of the *dog-headed* Anubis to the Mercurius Psychopompos of the region of Amenti. He was considered by the Greeks the same as Jupiter, in consequence of his having the title 'King of the Gods;' and under the name Amen-ra he was the intellectual sun, distinct from Ra, the physical orb. This union of Amen and Ra cannot fail to call to mind the Jupiter Belus of the Assyrians, Baal or Belus being the sun: and if it be true that Amunti, or Amenti, signified 'the giver and receiver,' the name Amen-ra may be opposed to Aten-ra, and signify the sun in the two capacities of 'the receiver and giver.' As in most religions, the supreme Deity was represented in the noblest form that could be suggested, that of a human being, and Amen was therefore figured as a man, whom Holy Writ states to have been made after the image of his Creator. At Thebes, 'the King of the Gods' may be considered under two distinct characters, as Amen-ra and as Amen-ra Generator; in this last assuming the form and attributes of Khem, the god of generation. It is probable that he was then the same whom the Greeks styled the 'Pan Euodos;'[1] he was the chief of a second Theban triad, the other members of which were Tamen and Harka: the former a character of Neith, and perhaps a sort of female Amen; the latter the offspring of the first two, as Khonsu was of Amen-ra and Mut. According to Manetho, the word Amen[2] means 'concealment;' and Hecatæus observes[3] that, so far from being the proper name of the god, it was a word in common use, signifying 'come,'[4] by which his benignant influence and presence were invoked; and Iamblichus says, it implies 'that which brings to light, or manifestation.' If the observation of Manetho or of Hecatæus be true, it is not improbable that the name of this god was merely a mysterious title. The word *Amoni*, signifying 'to envelope' or 'conceal,' applied in hieroglyphics to a man enveloped in a cloak, confirms the statement of Manetho; as *Amôini*, 'come,' accords with that of Hecatæus: and the change in the hieroglyphic legends of the god, and the introduction of the word Amen throughout the sculptures, may be explained by supposing it a title rather than the actual name of the deity. We are told by Herodotus,[5] that the horned snake was sacred to this deity, and buried in his

[1] ΠΑΝΙ ΕΥΟΔΩΙ occurs in an inscription at the Breccia quarries, on the road from Contra-Apollinopolis to Berenice, with the figure of Khem.

[2] Of some gods it was said, *amen ranf*, 'hidden is his name.'—S. B.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 9.

[4] The word 'come,' or 'come ye,' is ⲁⲓⲓⲟϫⲙⲓ in Coptic.

[5] Herodot. ii. 74.

temple at Thebes; but the Father of History was wrong in supposing the *vipera cerastes* to be harmless;[1] and it was fortunate he did not prove by experience the fatal effects of its deadly bite. It is not unusual to find these snakes embalmed in the tombs of Koorna, the modern name of the Necropolis of Thebes, and its vicinity. The great triad of Thebes consisted of Amen, Mut, and Khonsu; and though it is difficult to ascertain the exact character and relative offices of these three deities, we may suppose them to be 'demiurgos, intellect,' mother, and created things. The oracle of Jupiter was celebrated at Thebes, and, according to Herodotus,[2] the divine gift was imparted to a priestess as she slept in the temple, where the deity was also believed to pass the night. He supposes it to have been the origin of the oracle of Dodona;[3] though his story of 'the women consecrated to the service of that deity having been carried off *from Thebes* by the Phœnicians,' is too absurd to be pardoned, even on his usual excuse of having received it from the Egyptian priests. His statement, that the 'Libyan oracle of Ammon' was derived from the Thebaïd, is highly probable; though he makes the common and unaccountable error of supposing the god of Thebes to have had the head of a ram,[4] which has led to much confusion respecting the deity worshipped at Meroë. For to this place a procession, carrying the statue of the Theban Jupiter with a ram's head, is said annually to have gone from Thebes; though the Jupiter of Thebes was Amen, and the great deity of Ethiopia the ram-headed Chnoumis. In the legends of Thebes, Amen has generally the title 'King of the Gods' accompanying his name, and these two are sometimes inserted in an oval, or royal cartouche, as are the names of Osiris, Isis, and Athor. [Amen was also considered the same as Jupiter, because he was the king of the gods; and it was from his worship that Thebes received the name of Diospolis, 'the city of Jove,' answering to No-Amen or Amenna of the Bible (Jer. xlvi. 25; Ezek. xxx. 14–16), the Amen-êi ('abode of Amen'), or Amen-êi Na ('the great abode of Amen' or 'Amen-êi' only?) of the sculptures. Amen and Noum, having both some of the attributes of Jupiter, naturally became confounded by the Greeks; and the custom of one god occasionally receiving the attributes of

[1] Lib. i. s. 87. Diodorus is correct in placing it among poisonous reptiles.
[2] Herodot. ii. 54, 58.
[3] Ibid. i. 182.
[4] Ibid. ii. 42, &c.

another doubtless led them into error. The greatest interchange, however, was between Amen and Khem; but as this was only at Thebes, and little known to the Greeks, the same misapprehension did not take place, and Khem by the Greeks was only considered to be Pan. Yet Pan again was supposed by them to be Menes; and the two names of Amen and Amen-ra given to the same god, would probably have perplexed the Greeks if they had happened to perceive that additional title of Amen. It is, however, only right to say that the Ethiopians frequently gave the name of Amen to the ram-headed Noum, who being their greatest god, was to them what Jupiter was to the Greeks.—G. W.]

[Amen-ra was also styled Lord of the Thrones of the Earth. The hymns to Amen-ra of the time of the 18th Dynasty describe him in pantheistic terms, representing him to be the abstract deity, and creator of men, animals, and plants. They identify him also with Khem or Asi, as the title of his mother and the west, and ally him in all respects to the sun.[1] The hymn inscribed to him in the time of Darius identifies him with Ra, Tum, and Osiris, apparently at a later date, and describes him as the supreme deity. This hymn also gave details of his colour and attributes, his blue face and gilded limbs. The gods are said to emanate from him.[2]

Unusual type of Amen-ra. No. 496.

A bronze statuette of an unusual type of this god is in the Museum of Liverpool. He is represented with features resembling those of the god Bes, standing, the left foot advanced, wearing on his head a reeded conical cap, and raising a mace in his right hand. It has a foreign appearance, as if imitated from that of a god not of Egyptian origin. Round the pedestal is an inscription: 'The speech of Amen, the slayer of enemies, great god, giver of life and health: A long life and good old age to Nesaptah, son of Unmuamen,' the donor, 'born of Penneter.' As the inscription is partly in the later or so-called secret alphabet, this type is certainly not older than the 22nd Dynasty. A series of the mystical names

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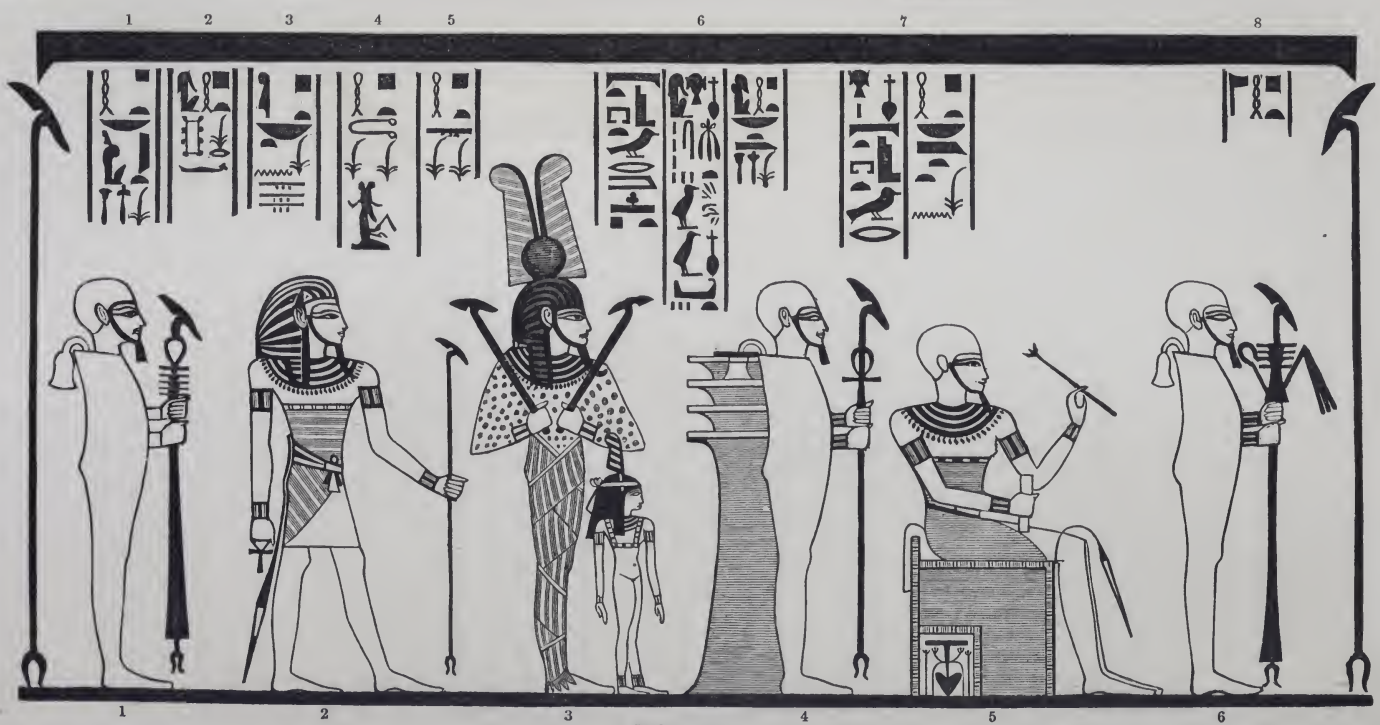
[1] Gribaut, 'Hymne à Ammon-Ra,' 8vo, Paris, 1875. Goodwin, Hymn to Amen, in the 'Records of the Past,' vol. vi. p. 97.

[2] 'Records of the Past,' vol. viii. p. 135.



Ptah or Phtha.

1, 3. 'Ptah, lord of the cubit, king of the North and South.' 2. 'Ptah, southern wall.' 4, 5. 'Ptah-Tanen.' 6, 7. 'Ptah, lord of the cubit, king of the North and South, handsome . . . . over the great place in peace.' 8. 'Ptah.'

of Amen-ra, in the language of the Negroes of the land of Kens or Nubia, is given in the Ritual.[1]—S. B.]

Ptah, or in the Memphitic dialect Phthah,[2] was the demiurgos, or creative power of the Deity; 'the artisan,' as Iamblichus styles him, 'and leader of mundane artisans, or the heavenly gods.' The same author gives a singular confirmation of the fact, as I have elsewhere observed,[3] of the goddess, who bears on her head a single ostrich feather, being Justice or Truth; which I shall have occasion more fully to notice in speaking of that divinity. In the sculptures of Thebes, we find Ptah not only accompanied by her, but bearing the title 'Lord of *Truth*,' in his hieroglyphic legend; and Iamblichus, who calls 'the artisan Intellect the Lord of Truth,' observes, 'that whereas he makes all things in a perfect manner, not deceptively, but artificially, *together with Truth*, he is called Ptah,' though the Greeks denominate him Hephæstus, considering him merely as a physical or artificial agent.

'Ptah is then the Lord of Truth, which was itself deified under the form of the above-mentioned goddess; and the connection between the Creative Power and truth is a singular coincidence in the Egyptian and Christian systems. He was said to be sprung from an egg, produced from the mouth of Neph, who was therefore considered his father.' At least, this is the account given by Porphyry, though the monuments of Egypt do not tend to confirm it, nor does his description of the form of that god agree with the ram-headed Chnoumis of the Egyptians. 'The scarabæus, or beetle, was particularly sacred to him, and signified the world, or all creation;[4] and in consequence of there being, as Plutarch[5] says, "no females of this species, but all males, they were considered fit types of the Creative Power, self-acting and self-sufficient." The beetle was also an emblem of the sun, being chosen, according to Horapollo,[6] "from its having thirty fingers, equal to the number of days in an (ordinary solar) month;" and the frog was another symbol of Ptah, because, as Horapollo says, "it was the representative of man in embryo," that is, of the being who, like the world, was the work of the Creative Power, and the noblest production of His hands. There are other characters of Ptah, as Ptah-

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[1] Lepsius, 'Todtenbuch,' lxxvii. lxxviii., c. 163, 164.
[2] In Greek, ΦΘΑ.
[3] 'Materia Hierog.,' Pantheon, p. 7.
[4] Conf. Horapollo, i. 12.
[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 10
[6] Horapollo, Hierog. i. 10; and Porphyry says, 'Cantharum Soli accommodatum.'

Socharis-Osiris and Ptah Cheper; but since they are represented by the Egyptians as different and separate divinities, I have thought it better to keep them apart from the god of whom they were, perhaps, originally emanations,'[1] and treat of them as distinct deities. It is also possible that to Ptah, the Creative Power, were ascribed four or more different offices, each being a separate form of that deity, as, 1st, the creator of the universe generally; 2nd, the creator of the world we inhabit; 3rd, the creator of all animal and vegetable life; and, 4th, the creator of mankind.

The Greeks, as I have already stated, considered the Ptah of Egypt the same as their Vulcan or Hephæstus, and it is more than probable that their idea of this deity was derived from the demiurgos in the Egyptian Pantheon; the error they made in the character of the opifex, or framer of the world, proceeding from their degrading him to the level of a mere physical agent, as Iamblichus has very properly remarked. According to Cicero, there were several deities who bore the name of Vulcan, and one was reputed to be the son of the Nile, from which we may infer his Egyptian origin. The Greek name, according to Phurnutus, is supposed to have been taken from *hêphthai*,[2] signifying 'to burn;' and other etymologies have been offered by various writers: but the word Hephæstus, and still more the derivation suggested by Phurnutus, sufficiently indicate the real root of the name in the Egyptian *Ptah*.

The form of this deity is generally a mummy, not holding in his hands the flagellum and crook of Osiris, but merely the emblems of life and stability, with the staff of purity; which last is common to all the gods, and to many of the goddesses, of Egypt. The absence of the flagellum and crook serves to distinguish him from another deity,[3] Khonsu, the third member of the Theban triad, even when his hieroglyphical name is wanting; and this last has, in addition, a disk and crescent, or short horns, on his head, which are not given either to Ptah or Osiris. The ordinary head-dress of Ptah, when in the form of a mummy, is a close cap without any ornament; but he occasionally wears a disk with the lofty ostrich feathers of Osiris, and holds in each

[1] The passages between inverted commas are extracted from my 'Materia Hieroglyphica.'

[2] ἀπὸ τοῦ ἥφθαι. [This is, like most of the Greek explanations, erroneous, as the name of the god is the same as the Egyptian word *Ptah*, or *Patah*, 'to open,' in the sense of 'builder, constructor, sculptor.' (Brugsch, 'Gesch. Aegypt.,' 8vo, Leipzig, 1877, p. 30. —S. B.]

[3] I have found one instance of Ptah with the flagellum and crook.

hand a staff of purity, in lieu of the emblems of stability and life. The sculptures of the tombs also represent Ptah bearing on his head, or clad in, the symbol of stability, which is occasionally given to Osiris; showing how closely he is sometimes allied to the character of that deity. Ptah even appears under the entire form of this emblem, which is surmounted by a winged scarabæus supporting a globe, or sun, and is itself supported by the arms of a man kneeling on the heavens. I have also met with an instance of the god[1] occupied in drawing with a pen the figure of Harpocrates, the emblem of youth; probably an allusion to the *idea* first formed in the mind of the Creator of the *being* he was about to make.[2] [Ptah was worshipped with particular honours at Memphis, and he held a distinguished position in all the temples throughout Egypt.—G. W.]

Ptah under the form of Stability. No. 497.

[This god represented one of the great demiurgi, and is one of the oldest of Egyptian gods, his name appearing on the monuments of the 4th Dynasty. At a later period he is mentioned as the Creator. He was the father of the gods, and the hymns describe the gods as coming out of his eye and men out of his mouth. At Denderah he is said to be 'the master of the company of the gods, who has formed beings, and that all things came after him, the lord of truth and king of the gods.' Other inscriptions describe him as creating beings, and making men and gods with his hands, or the father of beginnings, who has made the egg of the sun and moon. Another of his names was Tanen. In the Memphite list he is the first king of primordial Egypt, and as such his name appears in a cartouche, while his title, the Southern Rampart, or wall, connects him with the city of Memphis, and its name, Ptah-ka City, connects him with the Pataikos.[3]—S. B.]

Ptah-Socharis-Osiris was that form of Ptah, or Vulcan, particularly worshipped at Memphis. Herodotus[4] describes him as a pigmy figure, resembling the Pataikos,[5] placed by the

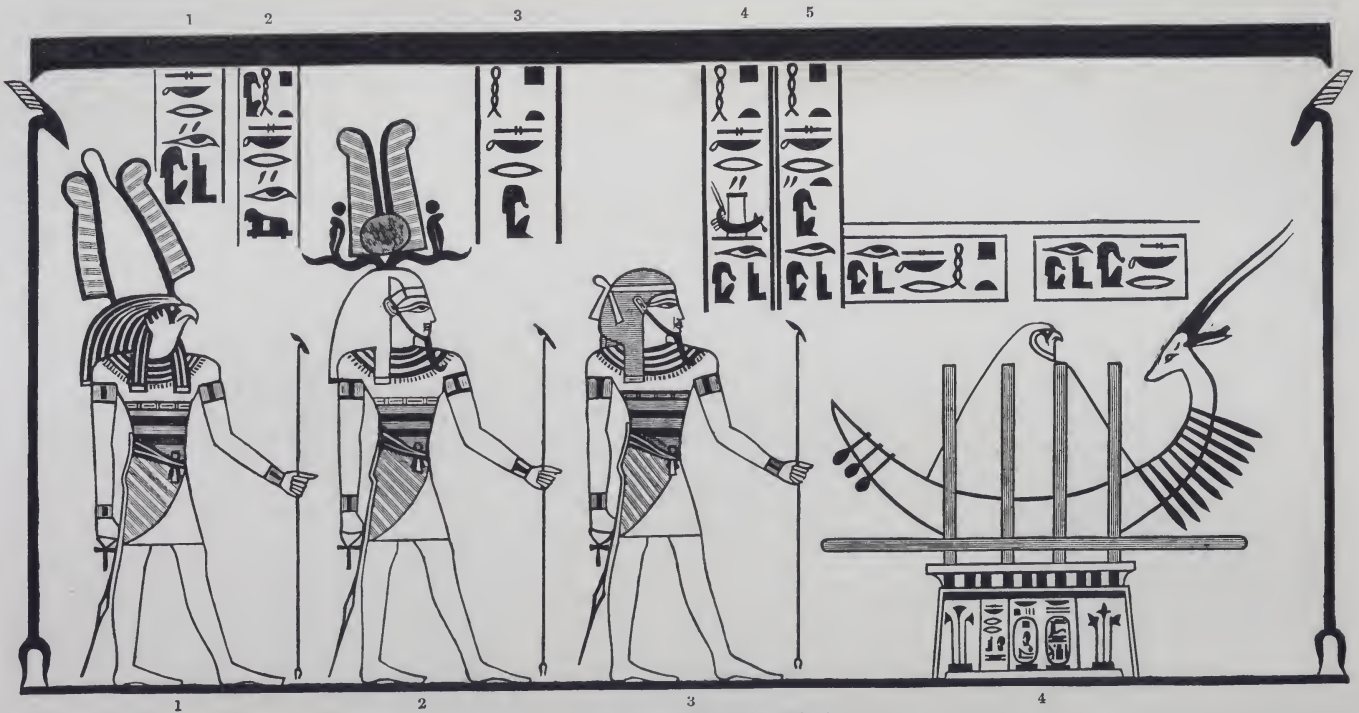
[1] Plate XX., *fig.* 5. Ptah is alone introduced in the plate. It is from Denderah.

[2] If so, they believed the first man to have commenced his career in early youth, not as a full-grown man; like Jupiter, Hercules, and other of the gods of Greece.

[3] 'Gallery of Antiquities,' i. pp. 13, 14; Brugsch, 'Geschichte Aegypt.,' p. 30.—S. B.

[4] Herodot. iii. 37.

[5] [Pataikos seems to be the Egyptian name Pthah or Ptah, the hard *h* being made into *k* by the Greeks, as that letter now so often is by the modern Greeks, when they write or pronounce it in Arabic. —G. W.]



Phtha-Sekar-Asar—Ptah-Socharis-Osiris.

1. 'Sekar-Osiris.' 2, 3, 4, 5. 'Ptah-Sekar-Osiris.' Under boat titles of Rameses II.

Phœnicians at the prows of their vessels; and says that Cambyses, on entering the temple at Memphis, ridiculed the contemptible appearance of the Egyptian Hephæstus. Representations of this dwarf deity are frequently met with at Memphis and the vicinity; and it appears that dwarfs and deformed persons were held in consideration in this part of Egypt, out of respect to the deity of the place. He usually has a scarabæus, his emblem, on his head; he sometimes holds the crook and flagellum of Osiris; and he frequently appears with a hawk's head, both when worshipped in the temples, and when placed on the sarcophagi of the dead. I have even seen the lids of coffins at Memphis formed in the shape of this god. The necklace, whose two extremities are surmounted by a hawk's head, peculiarly belonged to Ptah-Socharis; and it is not impossible that his name Sekari[1] may be derived from the hawk. But this is merely a conjecture. Besides the scarabæus and hawk, the capricorn also belonged to him, and the prow of his boat or ark was ornamented with the head of that animal. The ceremony of bearing this boat in solemn procession was one of the most important of all the rites practised by the Egyptians; and the sanctity with which it was regarded by the whole country is sufficiently indicated by the conspicuous place it held in the temples of Thebes. Indeed, I believe that it was nothing less than the hearse of Osiris, and that this procession recorded the funeral of that mysterious deity; a conjecture strongly confirmed by the frequent occurrence of the hawk-headed figure and name Socharis-Osiris in those sculptures at Philæ which represent his apotheosis, or rather his return from this world to that state, whence he had come to manifest himself for the benefit of mankind. It is, perhaps, to this funeral ceremony that Athenagoras alludes, when he says, 'They not only show the sepulchre of Osiris, but even his embalmed body.' The deity, under the form of Sekari, is also carried forth by the four genii of Amenti, in the same chamber at Philæ; where he appears to have passed through this intermediate state, previous to his assuming his final office

Porcelain figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris.
No. 498. *Brit. Mus.*

[1] The Egyptian god Σοχάρις, mentioned in a verse of Cratinus, is, as M. Champollion supposes, the same deity. (Hesych. *voc.* Paamyles.)

of judge of the dead; and his body being placed on a bier, within the same boat or ark, seems to leave no doubt respecting the truth of my conjecture.[1] [These types of Ptah do not appear in the sculptures till a later period, and one of the varieties represents him with two heads, one human, the other that of a hawk having a disk and plumes. The texts here ally him to the sun. The rubrics speak of him as having the hawk's head and plumes, and raising the arm holding a whip,[2] and as a dwarf or pigmy. The type is fœtal.—S. B.] The deformed figure of this god probably gave rise to the fable of the lameness of Vulcan in the Greek mythology, who is represented to have been thrown from heaven by Jupiter, and to have broken his leg in falling

1

Porcelain figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys.

No. 499.

2

Back of same, with soul of the goddess Bast.

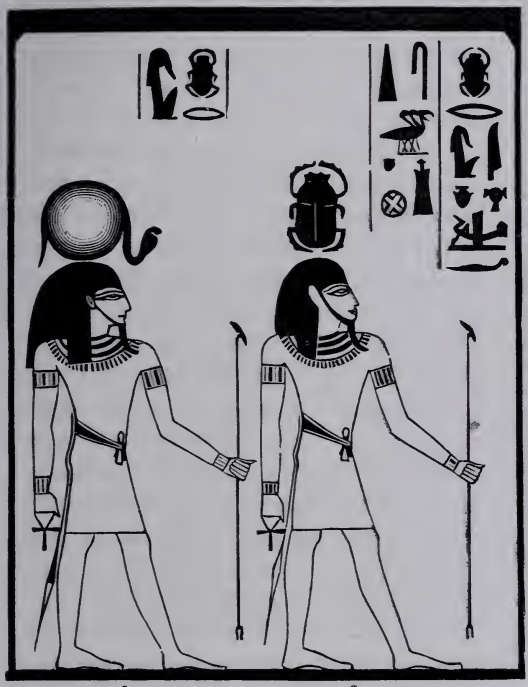
British Museum.

upon the Isle of Lemnos. Ptah-Socharis-Osiris is sometimes seated, attended by Isis, 'the potent mother-goddess,' who protects him with her wings; he is then more closely connected with Osiris than Ptah, of which two deities he unites the characters. He is frequently styled Socharis-Osiris *without* the prefix Ptah; and it appears that he is then more particularly connected with the passage of Osiris from this life to another state, and his mysterious return from his human to his divine nature.

Xeper, or Kheper, is another form of Ptah, to whom in this character also the scarabæus was particularly sacred. It stands for the syllable of his name, and may be emblematic of his office as creator of the world, of which this insect was the type. He

[1] Royal Soc. of Lit., plates 68 and 69. [2] Lepsius, 'Todt.' lxxviii. c. 164, ll. 13, 14.

was sometimes represented with the scarabæus, in lieu of a head, either with closed or outspread wings; but his usual form was a human figure with the head of a man, wearing the globe of the sun, and an asp, the emblem of kingly or divine majesty.[1]



1

'Xeper in his boat, ruling the spirits of Heliopolis.' No. 500.

2

'Ka, father of the fathers of the gods.' No. 501.

The frog-headed deity, Ka or Batrachocephalus, is also a form of Ptah, particularly in reference to his creation of man. Horapollo tells us that 'man in embryo was represented by a frog,' and it was therefore considered a fit symbol to form the base of the palm branch of years, held by Thoth, as the deity who superintended the life of man. The arms in the hieroglyphic legend of the god Batrachocephalus, also connect him with this notion; they recall the figure illustrative of human life which so frequently occurs on the monuments, and a man with arms on his head is sometimes given as an emblem of Ptah.

Of the peculiar office of the batrachocephalic goddess, I am

[1] Kheper was really a solar type. According to some, he represented the nocturnal Sun.—S. B.

ignorant. She has a frog's head, without the scarabæus of the former deity; and it is probable that she is only an emanation of Ptah, or in a subordinate capacity among the genii, or lower order of gods. [This goddess in the 12th Dynasty was worshipped along with the god Khnum or Chnoumis, and in the representations of the four elements symbolises the female principle of water.—S. B.]

No. 502. Heka, 'mistress of Hesar.'

Khem,[1] the generative principle, particularly worshipped at Chemmis or Panopolis, and, according to the evidence of Diodorus[2] and the sculptures, 'treated with marked reverence by all the Egyptians,' was another of the deified attributes of the Almighty Founder of the universe, and, as Herodotus justly observes, one of the eight great gods. His office was not confined to the procreation and continuation of the human species, but extended even to the vegetable world, over which he presided; whence we find his statue accompanied by trees and plants, and kings offering to him the herbs of the ground, cutting the corn before him, or employed in his presence tilling the land, and preparing it to receive the generating influence of the deity. It was from this circumstance that the Greeks and Romans assigned to Priapus the office of presiding over their gardens;[3] and the idea of his frightening away thieves with his right hand[4] was probably derived from the flagellum placed over the uplifted arm of the Egyptian Khem.[5] It is also possible that the Hermes figures, placed on the public roads, were borrowed from one of the mummy-formed gods of Egypt.

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[1] Pronounced Kham.

[2] Diodor. i. 18.

[3] Hor. Epod. ii. 17. A figure of Priapus, engraved by Boissart, has this inscription, 'Hortorum custodi, vigili, conservatori propaginis villicorum.' Banier, Myth. iv. p. 453.

[4] Hor. Sat. i. viii. 3.

[5] The name of this god has been variously read as Xem and Min, but some lately discovered variants give it as Amsi. In woodcut No. 504 a king wearing the atef is represented as ploughing or hoeing the ground before him. The various inscriptions from various places give his titles: 1. Amsi-Amen, title of mother. 2. Amsi or Khem, son of Isis. 5. Bull of his mother, issue of the sun.—S. B.

All statues in Greece, before the time of Dædalus, were similarly rude imitations of the human figure, the legs being united, and the arms attached to the body; but we may reasonably suppose that some other reason beyond the mere retention of ancient custom induced them to give to these statues alone so remarkable a form; and it is evident that the Hermes figures bear a stronger resemblance to the Egyptian mummy than to a statue of the ancient Greek style. From their name, it might be inferred that they were peculiar to the god Mercury; but this depended on the head they bore: those with the face of Apollo being styled Hermapollos; of Minerva, Hermathenas; and others, according to their respective combinations. The Hermes figure was therefore the exclusive name given to statues of a peculiar form, and not to those of Mercury alone. For, besides the fact of the latter being represented in a perfect form like the other gods, we find from Cicero that these Hermes statues were forbidden to be erected upon a tomb, which would seem to be the most appropriate situation for a figure of Mercury, the deity to whom the care of the dead was particularly confided.

Sepulchral figure of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, used as box for holding mummied objects. No. 503.

In one of several groups of hieroglyphics signifying 'Egypt,' a tree is introduced as the symbol of that country; but whether any peculiar tree was sacred to the god Khem, or its name resembled the word 'Chemi,' Egypt, I will not pretend to decide; trees of the same form as that occurring in the name of Egypt[1] accompany the shrine of the god,[2] and they may be emblems both of the country and of the deity whose name it bore.[3] For Egypt was denominated 'Chemi, Khemi, or the land of Ham,' as we find in the hieroglyphic legends; and the city of Khem, or Panopolis, was called in Egyptian Chemmo, of which evident traces are preserved in that of the modern town E'Khmim.[4] Indeed, the name of the god appears from the hieroglyphics to

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[1] See the Rosetta Stone.

[2] Woodcut No. 504.

[3] The tree is the sycamore, *Neha;* Egypt being called amongst other titles the land of the sycamore.—S. B.

[4] It is singular that this town should have had the name given to the whole country of *Khemi;* and another, Coptos, Koft or Kebt, have retained that of *Egypt*, which is *Gypt* with a prefixed letter or diphthong.

have been Chemmo or Khemo; and when in the character of Amen-ra Generator, the title of Khemo is added to that of Amen. Plutarch says[1] that 'the leaf of the fig-tree represented both their king Osiris as well as their native country;' and it is possible that this notion was founded upon the circumstance of the fig-tree itself being the symbol of Egypt: but from what he afterwards says of the Priapean character of Osiris, we may

No. 504. Khem, Min, or Amsi.

1, 3. 'Amsi, Amen-ka-mutef.' 2. 'Amsi, son of Isis.' 4. 'Amsi-ra, lord of . . . .' 5. 'Ka-mutef, issue of the Sun.'

conclude he has confounded that deity with the god Khem. If this be true, the tree above mentioned may be the fig, or more probably the *Ficus sycamorus;* and the conventional form adopted by the Egyptians for this and all trees, excepting the palm, *dôm*, pomegranate, and a few others, appears to justify this conjecture. The sycamore was particularly sacred to the goddess Nut, as the Persea to Athor;[2] but these I shall have occasion to mention hereafter.

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 36.

[2] Who is also called, at the 4th Dynasty, *neb.t neha*, 'mistress or lady of the sycamore.'—S. B.

The assertion of Herodotus,[1] that the Egyptians represented the god Pan, like the Greeks, with the head and legs of a goat, applies neither to the god Khem, nor to any other deity in the Egyptian Pantheon, and is as little worthy of credit as the statement he afterwards makes respecting an occurrence in the Mendesian nome; where he also states that 'the goat and the god Pan both have the name Mendes in the Egyptian language.' The description of the god worshipped at Panopolis, given by Stephanus of Byzantium,[2] accords exactly with the Egyptian Pan, or Khem, which the learned Prichard has supposed to be 'Osiris or Horus;' and it is Khem, and not Mendes, to whom belong the attributes of the god of generation. The Hebrew word *Ham* is identical with the Egyptian Khem, being properly written *Khm*, *Kham*, or *Khem;* and is the same which the Egyptians themselves gave to their country, in the sculptures of the earliest and latest periods. The Bible also applies to Egypt the name of Mizraim, or Mitzrim, a dual or plural word, which, as I have before observed, seems to refer to the two regions of Egypt, the Upper and Lower Country, over which the Pharaohs are always said in their regal titles to hold dominion. It is, however, remarkable that the word itself does not occur in hieroglyphics, though traced in the modern name Musr or Misr, by which both Cairo and Egypt are known at this day. According to the Scriptural account[3] of the peopling of the world by the sons of Noah, it appears that Ham or Khem colonised the lands of Cush (Ethiopia), Mizraim (Lower Egypt and the Thebaïd), Phut or Libya, and Canaan (Syria); the four being mentioned as 'sons of Ham;' which may refer to the migration of an Asiatic tribe to those countries, and tend to confirm my opinion respecting the Oriental origin of the inhabitants of the valley of the Nile. Ham or Khem may have been the original name of that tribe which settled in the two districts called Mizraim; and the Egyptians may have retained the appellation which they had as conquerors, in preference to that of the country they occupied. The progeny of Cush is equally remarkable. Cush[4] is the name of Ethiopia, both in Scripture and in the hieroglyphics of the earliest periods; and was applied to that country lying above the Second Cataract,[5] inhabited,

[1] Herodot. ii. 46.
[2] Prichard, p. 120.
[3] Gen. x. 6.
[4] In Hebrew it signifies 'blackness;' therefore applied to 'the black country,' like the word Ethiopia.
[5] Tirhakah was king of Cush (2 Kings xix. 9). The capital of Tirhakah's dominion was at El Berkel, the ancient Napata. Sulpitius Severus calls him Tirchac.

as at present, by a copper-coloured race. After the Bible has enumerated the sons of Cush, it mentions an offset in Nimrod, who founded the kingdom of 'Babel, and Erech, and Accad, and Calneh in the land of Shinar,'[1] from which country the Assyrian founders of Nineveh emigrated. This connection between an African and Asiatic Ethiopian race is the more remarkable, as the same is noticed by profane writers: the *Ethiopian* Memnon was said[2] to be a general of Teutamis, the twenty-first king of *Assyria* after Semiramis, and to have been sent with a force of 10,000 *Ethiopians*, and the same number of Susians, to assist Priam, when Troy was besieged; and the Cushites of Africa are also called *Ethiopians*.

To the god Khem the Egyptians dedicated their exvotos in the quarries of the Kossayr road; nor were temples and votive inscriptions put up in honour of Sarapis till the time of the Romans, and in a few instances during the reigns of the Ptolemaic kings. In the Greek exvotos he is styled the 'Pan Euodos,' but the hieroglyphic inscriptions have not the title Amen-ra, though it is probable that in this character he was the same as Amen-ra Generator. I should not be surprised to find that the name of Khem was that for which Amen-ra was substituted; in which case, these would be two characters of Khem, instead of Amen-ra. Either this may have been the case, or the original legend may have contained a name of the deity, which in after-times was deemed too sacred to be exposed to the eyes of the profane, when the uninitiated had become acquainted with the previously occult meaning of hieroglyphic writing.

Khem was considered the generating influence of the sun, whence perhaps the reason of his being connected with Amen-ra: and in one of the hieroglyphic legends accompanying his name he is styled the sun; that is, the procreating power of the only source of warmth, which assists in the continuation of the various created species. I have twice found hieroglyphic legends stating him to be 'engendered by the sun,' and in another he is called the 'son of Isis,' which might seem to deny him a place among the eight great gods; but these may refer to a distinct office he was supposed to bear on some occasions; and his intimate connection with Amen-ra fully establishes his claim to the rank Herodotus has given him in the Egyptian Pantheon.[3] 'The Greeks,' says the historian, 'consider Hercules, Bacchus, and

[1] Gen. x. 8, 10. [2] Diodor. ii. 22. [3] Herodot. ii. 145.

Pan as the most modern of their gods; the Egyptians, on the contrary, look upon Pan as very ancient, holding a rank among the first eight deities; Hercules they place in the number of the twelve, called the second order; and Bacchus ranks with those of the third order, who are engendered by the twelve.'

It is not improbable, then, that Khem was also considered by the Egyptians the generating principle of nature itself; and this will accord with the idea they entertained of his extending his immediate influence over all the animal and vegetable world. On the Kossayr road I have met with a tablet in which the god Khem is represented as a hawk, with human legs, and an arm holding up the usual flagellum, his head crowned with the long feathers of Amen; but this is an unusual form of the deity, and of uncertain date. Thriphis was the favourite and contemplar companion of Khem, as well at Panopolis as in the temple of Athribis or Crocodilopolis, whose ruins are still seen to the westward of Soohag. She appears to be one of the goddesses represented with a lion's head; but I have been unable exactly to ascertain her attributes and office. The Greek inscription at Athribis[1] designates the town by the same name, Thriphis. It is still called by the Arabs Atrib, and by the Copts Athrebi; and the honours with which the goddess was there worshipped may be inferred from the dimensions of her temple, 200 feet in length and 175 in breadth. Part of the inscription is lost, but may be easily restored; and the name of the emperor mentioned in it occurs also in the hieroglyphics, which on the other face of the same architrave present the ovals of Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Germanicus. In the Greek is the name of the Empress Julia, the widow of Agrippa and daughter of Augustus, with the date of the ninth or fifth year of Tiberius, which shows that her death could not have happened as early as is generally supposed.[2] The dedication to 'the most great *goddess* Thriphis,' and the mention of 'Apollonius, prefect of the *city* of Thriphis,' show them both to have borne the same name; as the ovals of Ptolemy the eldest son of Auletes, which occur in another part of the building, prove that the foundation of the temple dated before the empire, and that the inscription of Tiberius was only attached to repairs or additions made during his reign. The Greek

[1] The Arab tradition, mentioned by the historian Macrizi, of the four sons of Mizraim, Oshmun, *Atrib*, Sa, Koft, is, like many others which abound in Egypt, in order to account for the names of cities.

[2] [Since this was written I find that, according to Letronne, this was not Julia Augusta, daughter of Augustus, but Julia, who, after the death of Augustus, took the name of Julia Augusta.—G. W.]

inscription at Panopolis is of the time of Trajan. It has the date of his twelfth year, and mentions Pan and Thriphis as the chief deities of the place. The story of Pan having been the lieutenant-general of Osiris, in his Indian expedition, and by the fright he caused to the enemy having given rise to the expression 'Panic terrors,' is an idle legend, which, too, cannot apply to the Pan of Egypt. It is mentioned by Plutarch and Polyenus.

[This deity is supposed to represent in himself the double part of father and son, connected with Amen-ra, and perhaps Osiris as the title of his mother; at the same time he appears as the *Har nekht*, 'powerful Horus,' or Horus the son of Isis. He symbolises the productive power of nature, and figures are occasionally found of him made of barley. He was an ancient god, appearing in the oldest chapters of the Ritual. 'I am Khem,' one passage says in his proceeding.[1] There are two plumes on his head. 'Khem,' says the esoterical explanation, 'is the saviour of his father,' and Horus the son of Isis. 'His proceeding' is 'his birth.' The plumes on his head are Isis and Nephthys. There are the two hawk feathers on his head, placed upon him; they are as two birds; they are firm on his head; or they are the great uræi in front of his father Tum, 'or his eyes are the plumes on his head.' He is also called 'Khem the king, the powerful Horus,' an allusion still closer described as 'I am Khem, the Horus saviour of his father, the substance of his father Unnefer,' Onnophis or Osiris. The festival of his procession or manifestation is mentioned at the earliest period, and celebrated with the highest honours at Medeenet Haboo, in the month Tybi, of which he was the eponym.—S. B.]

The goddess Sati, or Juno, always accompanies Chnoumis in the exvotos at the Cataracts of Syene and the Island of Sehayl; where she forms the second member of a triad composed of Chnoumis, Sati, and Anóuqa. This triad frequently occurs on different monuments in the vicinity of Syene, it being customary for every town to assign a conspicuous post in their temples to the chief deities and to the peculiar triad, worshipped by their neighbours, as a mark of respect not only to the gods, but to the inhabitants of the adjoining districts. And the general adoration paid to the principal member of this triad throughout Nubia readily accounts for its constant occurrence in the temples between the First and Second Cataracts. At Dakkeh, the manner in which it

[1] Pierret, 'Dict. d'Ant. Égypt.,' p. 290. Lepsius, 'Todtenbuch,' c. 17, l. 11; c. 124, l. 2; c. 125, ll. 15, 60; c. 142, l. 60; c. 145, l. 75; c. 148, l. 2; c. 149, l. 3.

is mentioned over one of the doors is remarkable; the Ethiopian King Ergamun being styled, on one side, 'Son of Neph, born of Sati, nursed by Anóuqa,' and on the other, 'Son of Osiris, born of Isis, nursed by Nephthys.'

The Island of Sehayl was formerly called Sété, a name not unlike that of the Egyptian Juno; and a Greek inscription there mentions the dedication of a temple to the above-mentioned triad. In another, inscribed upon a column at the granite quarries of Caracalla, near Syene, Jupiter-Hammon-Cenubis and Juno are said to preside over the hill near whose summit it was erected; but these would not have been sufficient to identify the goddess, had not the sculptures presented the name of an arrow, which, piercing a standard, forms her hieroglyphics, written in phonetic characters, and expressing the word Sati. Horapollo affirms that Juno, Sati, presided over the lower part of heaven, and Neith, Athene, over the upper hemisphere: but it is possible that he may have confounded Neith with Nut; though some confirmation of his remark may be derived from the fact of the cap worn by Neith signifying, in hieroglyphics, 'Upper Egypt,' and that of Sati, the 'Lower Country.' Horapollo is fully borne out by the hieroglyphics in what he afterwards says,—that 'the Egyptians think it absurd to designate the heaven in the masculine, but represent it in the feminine, inasmuch as the generation of the sun and moon and the rest of the stars is perfected in it, which is the peculiar property of a female.'[1]

The marriage of Jupiter with his sister Juno, in Greek mythology, was probably derived from the story of Osiris and Isis, who were also brother and sister and the children of Seb, considered by the Greeks the same as Saturn; but the confusion caused by their judging of the identity of their own and the Egyptian deities from casual analogies is so great, that to Jupiter alone are attributed legendary tales taken from Amen, Chnoumis and Osiris. The statues of the Greek Juno were not always confined to one particular form; and to that goddess were sometimes given the attributes of Pallas, of Diana, of Venus, of Nemesis, of the Fates, and other divinities. In this respect they resembled many of the deities of Egypt, who, as already observed, borrowed each other's attributes, and could only then be recognised by the hieroglyphic legend placed above them.

The goddess Sati does not appear to have played so important

[1] Horapollo, i. 11.

a part in Egyptian mythology as the Juno of Greece. Nor will I pretend to decide if she presided over marriages: and little is known of her from the accounts of ancient writers. Diodorus,[1] Horapollo, and some other authors merely make a cursory mention of the Egyptian Juno, and little dependence can be placed on what Manetho relates concerning her. According to Porphyry,[2] the priest of Sebennytus states that three men were daily sacrificed to the Juno of Egypt, after having been examined like the clean calves chosen for the altar; which ceremony was abolished by order of Amosis. And to this Plutarch alludes,[3] when he says, 'We are informed by Manetho, that they were formerly wont, in the city of Idithya,[4] to burn men alive, giving them the name of Typhos, and winnowing their ashes through a sieve: which sacrifices were performed in public, and at a stated season of the year,—in the dog-days.' If, indeed, this were ever the case, it could only have been at a very remote period, long before the Egyptians were the civilised nation we know them from their monuments, as I shall have occasion to show in treating of the sacrifices.

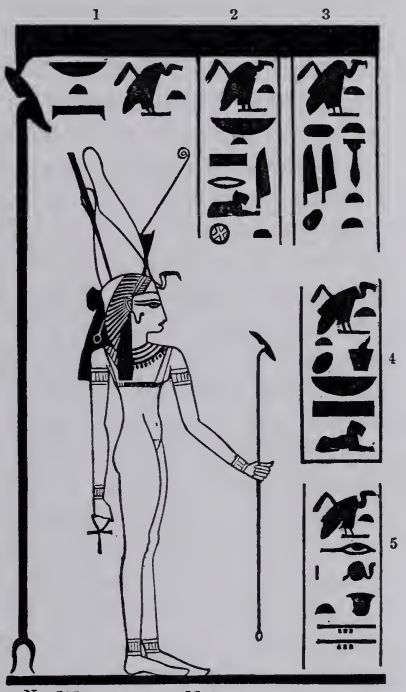
According to Herodotus, the great goddesses of Egypt were Neith—Minerva, Buto—Latona, Bubastis—Diana, and Isis; the Greeks having become acquainted with their names, from being worshipped in Lower Egypt; and to their ignorance of the deities of the Thebaïd may be attributed their silence respecting Mut, the great goddess of Thebes, and Sati, the second member of the triad of Elephantine.

Sati was represented as a female figure, wearing on her head the cap or crown of the Upper Country, from which projected the horns of a cow; and in her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Egyptian goddesses. Another goddess appears also to lay claim to the name of Sati; but her form and character differ from those of the Egyptian Juno; and she seems rather to represent the western bank of the Nile. From her occurring frequently in tombs, it is probable that she had some office in Amenti. Indeed, the evident connection, and the similarity in the name, of *Amenti*, 'the lower regions,' and *Ement*, 'the west,' are remarkable; and the idea of the end of the world being in the west, as its commencement in the east, is thus noticed by Plutarch. The Egyptians make 'a sacred dirge or lamentation over Osiris, bewailing him who was born on the right side of the

[1] Diodor. i. 13, 15. [2] Porphyr. de Abst. ii. 55. [3] Plut. de Isid. s. 73.
[4] Probably Ilethya or Eileithyia, the city of Lucina, a title given to the Greek Juno.

world, and who perished on the left. For it must be observed that the Egyptians look upon the east as the front or face of the world, upon the north as its right side, and upon the south as its left.'[1]

The goddess Mut,[2] or Tmau, was the second member of the Theban triad. Her name signifies 'mother;' and though many divinities, as Isis, Nut, and others, have the title 'Mother-goddess,' the name Mut was peculiarly applied to the one before us, who may with much reason be supposed to represent in this capacity Nature, the mother of all. From the presence of the vulture in her hieroglyphics, she has been supposed the same as Neith (Minerva); but that bird is merely a phonetic character signifying 'mother,' and not an emblem of the goddess herself. For the vulture, as Horapollo observes,[3] being the peculiar type of a female and of maternity, 'the Egyptians, whenever they wish to designate a mother, represent this bird.' Some may be disposed to identify her with Buto,[4] the Latona of Egypt, and imagine that the name she bears refers to the office she held in the creation of the world, or to her duties as nurse of Horus. Some indeed have confounded Buto with Minerva, who was said to have been the tutor of Bacchus.[5]



No. 505. Mut.

1. 'Mut, mistress of heaven.' 2. 'Mut, mistress of Asher.t.' 3. 'Mut-Uati.' 4. 'Mut, the soul mistress of Asher.' 5. 'Mut, pupil of the Sun, regent of the Earth.'

The oracle of Buto was one of the most celebrated in the world, and the honours rendered this goddess by the Egyptians were doubtless very great, since, as Herodotus states, they had

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 32. The Arabs call the north the left, being on their left as they look towards the east, or towards Mekkeh.

[2] Or Mu, *t* being the female sign.

[3] Horapollo, i. 11.

[4] The goddess Uat is now recognised as Buto. Although a separate goddess, she is sometimes identified with Mut, as in woodcut No. 505, where Mut is called also Uat. —S. B.

[5] Diodor. iii. 69.

greater veneration for her oracle than for that of any other deity.[1] 'It is consecrated to her,' says the historian,[2] 'in a large city (also called Buto) situated near the Sebennytic mouth of the Nile. You pass it in going from the sea by that branch of the river. It contains several temples;—of Apollo, of Diana, and of Latona. In this last the oracles are delivered. It is of very great size, having porticoes 10 orgyai (fathoms) in height. But of all that I observed within the enclosure sacred to Latona, the chapel of the goddess caused me the greatest surprise. Its sides are of a single stone, square both ways, measuring in length and breadth 40 cubits; and another block, whose thickness is 4 cubits, forms the roof. Nothing, in fact, in the whole of this consecrated spot is more worthy of admiration. Next to this is the Isle of Chemmis, situated in a deep and spacious lake near the temple of Latona at Buto. According to the Egyptians, it is a floating island; but I confess I neither saw it float, nor even move, and I was much surprised to hear that any islands did float. In it is a large chapel of Apollo, with three altars. The soil produces a number of palm and other trees without culture, some of which bear fruit. 'The following reason is given by the Egyptians for its floating. Latona, one of the eight most ancient divinities, who lived at Buto, where her oracle now is, having been charged by Isis with the care of Apollo, concealed him in this island, which is now called the Floating Island, though formerly fixed and stationary. She preserved him there in safety, while Typhon was searching everywhere for the son of Osiris: for they say that Apollo and Diana are born of Bacchus and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo is called Orus, Horus, in Egyptian; Ceres is Isis; and Diana, Bubastis.'

Of the form and attributes of the Egyptian Latona we are completely ignorant. It is far from certain that Mut and Buto are two characters of the same deity; and unfortunately the sculptures of her temple, mentioned by Herodotus, are no longer in existence to clear up the difficulty. But if Strabo be correct in stating that the mygale or shrew mouse was worshipped at Athribis, it is very probable that the lion-headed goddess Thriphis,[3] who gave her name to that city, was the same as the Egyptian Latona. The mygale is universally allowed to have

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[1] Herodot. ii. 83.

[2] Ibid. ii. 155. See also ii. 75. Strabo, xvii. p. 551.

[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.

been sacred to Buto;[1] it was buried in the city of that name: and if the Egyptians really assigned the reason mentioned by Plutarch for the worship of this animal, we may believe that the goddess Buto represented, as Champollion supposes, the darkness which covered the deep. 'The mygale,' says that writer, 'received divine honours by the Egyptians, because it is blind, and darkness is more ancient than light.'[2]

This idea of night being older than day was very ancient, and commonly entertained. We find in Genesis, that 'the evening and the morning were the first day;'[3] which is retained to the present time by the Arabs, in the expression *layl oo nahr*, 'night and day.' 'The Egyptians,' says Damascius, 'celebrated unknown darkness as the one principle of the universe.'[4] According to Hesiod, 'from chaos arose Erebus and black night; from night, Æther and day:'[5] and Aristotle tells us, 'the theologians consider all things to be born from night.'[6] Aristophanes makes 'Chaos, Night, Erebus, and Tartarus the first;'[7] and in the Orphean Fragments we find, 'I will sing of Night, the genitor of gods and men; Night, the genesis of all things.' The Anglo-Saxons also, like Eastern nations, began their computations of time from night, and the year from the day corresponding with our Christmas, which they called 'Mother Night;' and 'the Otaheitans refer the existence of their principal deities to a state of darkness, which they consider the origin of all things.'[8] This darkness was not, however, the same as night, or evening, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, when the sun withdraws its light from the earth, but that primeval night or darkness from which all created nature had its commencement. And if Buto represented darkness the companion of chaos, or 'night the genesis of all things,' another goddess claimed the post of night, who, under the name of Athor, received the sun into her arms, as he retired behind the western mountain, of which she was the presiding deity. Porphyry and others seem to confound the two, and supposed Latona to be the atmosphere, which appears light and dark beneath the moon; deriving the name of Leto from the *forgetfulness* caused by sleep during the night, over which they suppose her to preside. This, like many other mysteries, being clothed by the Egyptian priests in the guise of a popular

[1] Herodot. ii. 67.
[2] Plut. Sympos. iv. quæst. 5.
[3] Gen. i. 2 and 3.
[4] Cory, Fragments, p. 320.
[5] Hesiod, Theog. v. 123.
[6] Metaph. xii. 6.
[7] Aristoph. Birds.
[8] Cory, Fragments, p. 320.

tale, suited to the comprehension of the people, was placed beyond the reach of the uninstructed or the profane; and the sanctity of the mygale was attributed to the protection it afforded to Latona, who, under its form, eluded the pursuit of Typho.

It is this custom of explaining the nature of the gods in two different ways—the one intended for the instruction of the initiated, the other to satisfy the *profanum vulgus*, who were excluded from all participation in metaphysical truths—which has been the cause of so much apparent contradiction in the character of the Egyptian deities; and we may readily conceive the labyrinth into which the human mind was led by similar explanations. But the object of the priest was obtained by these means: for since they presented no difficulties to the comprehension of a superstitious people, they had the appearance of truth, and effectually prevented their indulging in speculation upon the religion they were taught to obey.

Mut is represented as a female figure wearing on her head the *pshent*, or double crown, of the Upper and Lower Countries, placed upon a cap ornamented with the head, body, and wings of a vulture. This *pshent* is not worn by her as by the kings, the one crown placed within the other, but side by side,—a mode of arranging it adopted also by Atmu and some other deities. Instances also occur of Mut with the head of a lion, or of a cat. She probably then has the attributes of Bast or Bubastis, or of Thriphis above mentioned. But it is frequently difficult to ascertain whether these heads are those of a lion or of a cat; even the ears are not always a sufficient guide, though generally the latter are erect and pointed, and the others round.

Some black basalt sitting figures in the British Museum, and other European collections, represent the Egyptian Bubastis,

No. 506. Various forms of the name of Bast or Bubastis.

whose name frequently occurs in Lower Egypt over a goddess with a lion's head. Above is the form of the name Bubastis, *fig.* 4.

This goddess was principally worshipped in the Delta and Lower Egypt. Great honours were also paid her in the Upper

Country, and at Thebes her figure holds a conspicuous place among the contemplar deities. The city of Bubastis, where she was particularly adored, stood east of the Delta, and at a short distance from the Pelusiac branch of the Nile, where lofty mounds, called Tel Basta, still mark its site. 'Here,' says Herodotus,[1] 'is a temple of Bubastis deserving of mention. Other temples are larger and more magnificent, but none more beautiful than this. The goddess Bubastis is the same as the Greek Diana. Her temple stands in an island surrounded on all sides by water, except at the entrance passage. Two separate canals lead from the Nile to the entrance, which diverging to the right and left, surround the temple. They are about 100 feet broad, and planted with trees. The vestibule is 10 orgyai, or fathoms, high, ornamented with very fine figures six cubits in height. The temple stands in the centre of the town, and in walking round the place you look down upon it on every side, in consequence of the foundations of the houses having been elevated, and the temple still continuing on its original level. The sacred enclosure is encompassed by a wall, on which a great number of figures are sculptured; and within it is a grove, planted round the cella of the temple, with trees of a considerable height. In the cella is the statue of the goddess. The sacred enclosure is a stadium (600 feet) in length by the same in breadth. The street which corresponds with the entrance of the temple crosses the public square, goes to the east, and leads to the temple of Mercury: it is about three stades long and four plethra (400 feet) large, paved,[2] and planted on either side with large trees.'

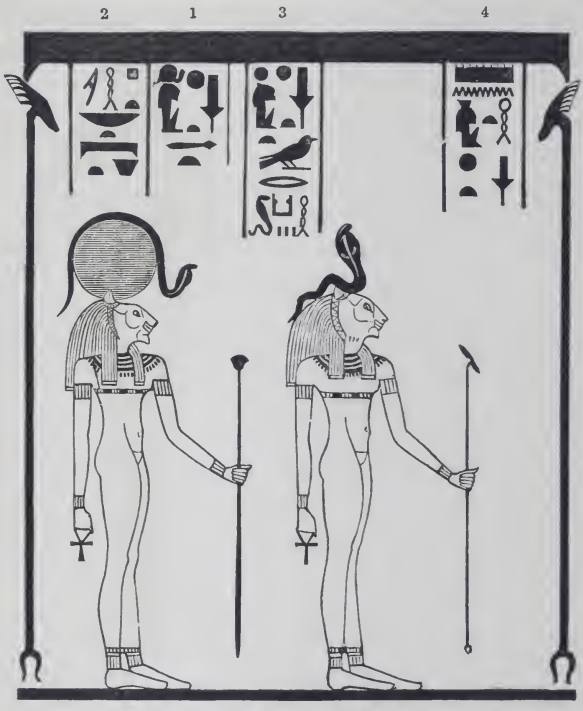
Bronze figures of Bast.
No. 507. *British Museum.*

Bubastis is represented with the head of a lioness or a cat, and to her the latter was peculiarly sacred. On her head she bears a

[1] Herodot. ii. 138.

[2] At Dimmay or Nerba, in the Fyoóm, is a paved causeway leading through the town to the temple, though smaller than this of Bubastis.

disk, from which rises the uræus, or royal asp, and in her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the Egyptian goddesses. From the difficulty above stated of distinguishing between the cat and the lion-headed figures, doubts sometimes arise respecting the form of the Egyptian Diana: though it appears that she took the head of both those animals. The goddess of the *Speos Artemidos*[1] is represented in the hieroglyphics by a lioness;[2] and if it be true



No. 508. Sexet and Menhi, forms of Bast.

that the wolf and jackal were dedicated to one deity, Anubis, we can with equal reason suppose the lion and cat to have been emblems of the goddess.[3]

In the bronze figures of Bast more care seems to have been taken to distinguish between the lion and the cat, the head of the latter being evidently given to this goddess. They sometimes represent her holding a sistrum in her right hand, and in

[1] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 379.

[2] 'Materia Hierog.' No. 3.

[3] The head of the goddess is not that of a cat, but a lion, alluding to the arsenothelic or male and female nature of the goddess. She only appears with the head of a cat at a later period, and then principally in small votive bronzes.—S. B.

her left the head of a lion surmounted by a disk and asp; sometimes with a basket upon her arm: but they are frequently of a late date, and the attributes they present are less to be depended upon than the sculptures of the ancient monuments.

One of the principal festivals of the Egyptians was held at Bubastis in honour of Bast; and Herodotus[1] considers that they took a greater interest in it than in any of the numerous fêtes annually celebrated in Egypt. 'This,' says the historian, 'is the nature of the ceremony on the way to Bubastis. They go by water, and numerous boats are crowded with persons of both sexes. During the voyage, several women strike the *crotala*;[2] some men play the flute; the rest singing and clapping their hands. As they pass near a town, they bring the boat close to the bank. Some of the women continue to sing and play the *crotala*; others cry out as long as they can, and utter reproaches against the people of the town, who begin to dance, while the former pull up their clothes before them in a scoffing manner. The same is repeated at every town they pass upon the river. Arrived at Bubastis, they celebrate the festival of Diana, sacrificing a great number of victims; and on that occasion, a greater consumption of wine takes place than during the whole of the year; for, according to the accounts of the people themselves, no less than 700,000 persons of both sexes are present, besides children.'

No. 509. Bast.

1. 'Mut-Uati.' 2. 'Ur.t.hek.' 3. 'Mut dwelling in the house of Ptah, mistress of Heaven, regent of Earth.' 5. 'Menhi, regent of χenta.'

Bast, or Bubastis, is a member of the great triad of Memphis, and the usual companion of Ptah; by whom she is said, in the

[1] Herodot. ii. 59, 60.

[2] The *crotala* were either cymbals, or a sort of clapper of wood or metal—perhaps the same as the cylindrical maces mentioned in vol. i. p. 454. Conf. Propert. iv. Eleg. ix. 13:—

'Nile, tuus tibicen erat crotalistria Phillis.'

hieroglyphic legends, to be 'beloved.' Herodotus considers her the daughter of Bacchus (Osiris[1]) and Isis. Were this true, she could not hold a rank among the eight great deities, but among those of the third or even fourth order; and his assertion is fully disproved by the exalted character she bears in the temples of Thebes. This error I believe to have arisen from the supposed identity of Horus (the son of Osiris) and the sun, or the Apollo of the Greeks, whose sister Diana was reputed to be. Horus the Elder, whom they called Aroeris, was brother of Osiris, and said to be the same as the sun; whence he also was considered by the Greeks to answer to Apollo. But it was the younger Horus who was the son of Isis and Osiris, and *he had no sister;* nor, indeed, could Bubastis have been the sister of the Egyptian Aroeris. Another mistake respecting this goddess arose from the idea that Isis was the same as the moon; and the relationship of Isis and her brother Aroeris confirmed the Greeks in this erroneous fancy. Isis, however, was distinct from the moon; she was in no way connected with Bubastis; and the latter goddess was not the representative of that luminary.

Ovid has reported the fabulous story of the Egyptian Diana (if, indeed, she can be called by that name) assuming the form of a cat, to avoid the enmity of Typho.[2] But Juvenal has banished her from the Pantheon of Egypt: 'Oppida tota canem venerantur, *nemo* Dianam;' not, as the learned Prichard supposes, because 'her worship had been discontinued, or had sunk into obscurity, before Egypt fell under the Roman yoke,' but because Juvenal, in common with so many other persons who visited the country, was ignorant of the nature of its religion. The Greeks, indeed, gave to Diana three different characters. As the moon, she was Lucina; as goddess of the chase, Diana; as a deity of the lower regions, Proserpine or Hecate: hence the poets styled her *triformis;* and they sometimes represented her with three heads[3]—that on the right being of a horse, that on the left of a dog, and that in the middle of a wild boar—though Pausanias[4] thinks this custom neither ancient nor universal. But the form and attributes of nearly all the Greek deities were very uncertain; and Cicero has shown how confused were their genealogies and origin. He even confesses that the mode of representing them depended on the caprice of painters and fabulists,[5]

[1] Herodot. ii. 156.
[2] Ovid, Met. lib. v. 330.
[3] Virg. Æn. lib. iv. 511.
[4] Paus. in Corinth. c. 30.
[5] Cicero, de Nat. Deor.

who committed the palpable absurdity of representing the gods subject to anger, lust, and other bad passions, and exposed to the infirmities of human nature.

[Formerly the name of this goddess was read Pasht, but recent researches have demonstrated that the true reading is Sekhet; and in the sculptures the lion-headed goddesses have various names: as 'Sekhet the great Merenptah,'[1] or beloved of Ptah, 'mistress of the heaven,' and 'Sekhet the great Urhek,'[2] or 'Menh-Sekhet.'[3] She is also connected with Mut, and then styled 'Mut dwelling in the abode of Ptah, mistress of the heaven, regent of the earth, and Mut-Uati, Ur.t-hek, also Menh, resident on the earth.' Sekhet has been supposed to symbolise the devouring fury of the sun, and punished the damned in the Egyptian Hades, while on earth she performed the part of Bellona. As wife of Ptah, Sekhet was the mother of Nefer Atum, and formed the second personage of the Memphite triad. Allied with her was her sister Bast, in the same way as Isis was connected with Nephthys, except that Bast represented at a later period the vegetation of the two countries.[4] Her mixed nature is described in the Ritual, where she is figured as the Mother, or Mut, having three heads, one that of a lioness, *pχat*, having plumes; another that of a man wearing the *pshent;* and another of a vulture, phallic, having wings, and the claws of a lion.[5]—S. B.]

The idea of a connection existing between Pasht and Hecate seems to be in some degree authorised by the sculptures of the Egyptian temples, since we find the hieroglyphical name of the latter attached to the goddess before us;[6] and the character and title of Hecate were also applied to Mut and Isis.

Another reason that the moon in the Egyptian mythology could not be related to Bubastis is, that it was a male and not a female deity, personified in the god Thoth. This was also the case in some religions of the West. The Romans recognised the god Lunus; and the Germans, like the Arabs to this day, consider the moon masculine, and not feminine, as were the Seléné and Luna of the Greeks and Latins.

Neith, the Egyptian Minerva, was particularly worshipped at Saïs[7] in the Delta. Pausanias[8] pretends that Minerva at Thebes

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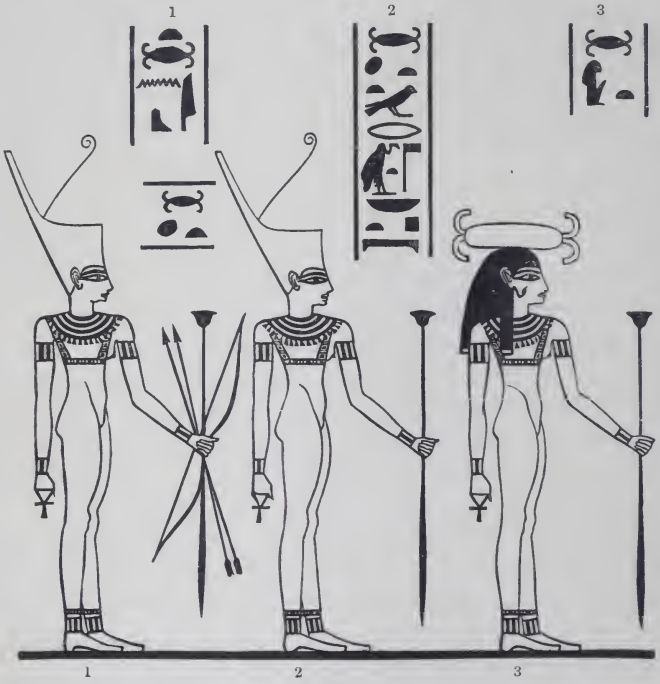
[1] Woodcut No. 508, lines 1, 2.
[2] Line 3. [3] Line 4.
[4] Pierret, 'Dict. d'Arch. Égypt.,' p. 89.
[5] Lepsius, Todt., lxxix. c. 164, ll. 12, 13. The vignette does not correspond.
[6] Woodcut No. 509, hierog. 2.
[7] Cicero is correct in saying, 'Minerva secunda, orta Nilo, quam Ægyptii Saitæ colunt.' (Nat. Deor. iii. p. 248.)
[8] Pausanias, lxxx. c. 12.

was styled Onka,[1] which is a Phœnician and not an Egyptian name; but it was also one of her names in Egypt, written Onk or Anq . This, however, was the name of her city in the Delta; and it is evident that she was called Neith both in the Upper and Lower Country; and Plato and Eratosthenes are correct in stating this to be her Egyptian name.



No. 510. Nat (Neith).

1, 3. 'Neith.' 2. 'Neith, great mistress of Heaven.'

'There is,' says the former, 'a certain nome of Egypt in the Delta, called Saïtic, whose capital is the city of Saïs, the birthplace of King Amasis. The founder of this city was a goddess, whom the Egyptians call Neith; the Greeks, Minerva;[2] and its inhabitants are very much attached to the Athenians, to whom

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[1] What Pausanias says is, 'As to those who think that Cadmus, who came to Thebes, was an Egyptian, and not a Phœnician, the name of this Minerva is opposed to their statement; for she is called Siga, Saka, in the Phœnician language, and not Saïs, as in the Egyptian.' That Onka (Ὄγκα) is the proper reading is proved by Æschylus, who speaks of Ὀγκάη Ἀθανᾶς. Cadmus was a Phœnician name = *Cadm*, 'the East,' personified. He was *the East* who went to Europe, *Creb*, or *gharb*, 'the West.'—G. W.

[2] Πόλεως (*i.e.*, Saïs) θεὸς ἀρχηγός ἐστιν, Αἰγυπτιστί μεν τούνομα Νῆίθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἐκείνων λόγος, Ἀθηνᾶ. (Plato in Timæo, p. 1043, ed. Franc.)

they consider themselves in some degree related.'[1] Stephanus of Byzantium, Hesychius, and others, agree with Plutarch in saying that the Minerva of Thebes had the appellation of Onka; and it is worthy of remark, that an instance occurs there of the name of Neith with the adjunct Onk or Ank, which may either be an occasional title of the goddess Neith, or be corrupted from the name of Anóuqa, the Egyptian Vesta. Some have supposed the word Saïs to signify an olive-tree, on the assumption that *Saith* in Hebrew has this meaning; but neither was the Saïte nome famed for the growth of this tree, nor was the olive supposed by the Egyptians to be the gift of Minerva. *Saith*, indeed, is not the Hebrew word; it is *Zêth*, the same as the Arabic *Zêt*, signifying oil; and the town of Saïs was called, in Egyptian, *Ssa* or *Sai*, and has not therefore one letter in common with the Hebrew name of the olive. An additional reason for this conjecture was probably the fact of Athens having been colonised by people from Saïs, who were supposed to have taken with them the worship of Minerva, and the olive-tree her emblem; but there is no appearance of this tree, or the owl, having been sacred to the Egyptian Neith; and Diodorus expressly states, that 'the Egyptians considered themselves indebted for the olive to Mercury, and not to Minerva, as is the opinion of the Greeks.'[2] It has been conjectured that the Greek name Athena or Thena was derived from the Egyptian word Neith or Neth, by an inversion of the order of the letters, —the Egyptians writing it from right to left, and the Greeks from left to right: but this is of little moment; nor is it important to inquire whether Athens gave its name to Athena, or the goddess to the town. Some have supposed the Minerva of Athens to be a daughter of Cecrops; but this notion probably originated in his introduction of her worship, when he led a colony from Saïs to the Athenian shore.[3]

Nat (Neith) as the West, holding a papyrus sceptre. No. 511.

[1] It is amusing to observe the pretensions of the Greeks, who fancied themselves the founders of Saïs and of Heliopolis. (Diod. v. 57, &c.)

[2] Diod. i. 16.

[3] *Ssa* is the name of the city, and the hieroglyphs show that it is quite different from the word *ts'et*, used for 'olive' and 'olive oil.'—S. B.

In hieroglyphics, the name of Neith is usually composed of the following character, or , accompanied by the half circle and egg, the female signs, or by two half circles; and an instance occurs at Esneh of the word written with the bowl, or basket ,[1] though this last is uncommon, and of Roman time. Her figure is frequently represented at Esneh, where, Strabo says, Minerva and the Latus fish were particularly worshipped.

Neith with water.
No. 512.

Plutarch[2] shows that he misunderstands the character of Neith, when he attributes to Isis the inscription in the temple of Minerva, 'I am everything which has been, which is, and which will be, and no mortal has yet lifted up my veil;' for though Isis may frequently have taken the attributes of Neith and of other deities, they were always kept distinct in the Egyptian Pantheon. In another place,[3] he says, 'Isis is frequently called, by the Egyptians, *Athena*,[4] signifying, in their language, "I proceeded from myself;"' from which the Greeks probably borrowed the idea of that goddess being born without a mother. But *Athena* was not her Egyptian name; and she was not, as already observed, the same as Isis.

Neith was to Saïs what Amen was to Thebes. The names of several monarchs of the 26th Dynasty contained the legend of the Egyptian Minerva; and in the sacred precincts of her temple were buried all the kings of that Saïte family. Neith was represented as a female wearing the crown of the Lower Country, and holding in her hand the hooked staff of the gods, or the usual flower-headed sceptre of the goddesses, sometimes with the addition of a bow and arrows; being, as Proclus[5] tells us, the goddess of war as well as of philosophy,

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[1] In either case they read *Nt*, *Neit*, or *Nith*.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 9.
[3] Ibid. s. 62.
[4] This may have been corrupted from one of the Egyptian titles of Isis.
[5] Proclus in Timæum.

and bearing some resemblance in her attributes to the Minerva of Greece. She was styled the 'Mother of the Gods,' or 'Goddess Mother,' though distinct from Mut; and Porphyry, as quoted by Macrobius,[1] considers her 'that virtue of the sun which administers prudence to the human mind.' Clemens mentions a peculiarity in her worship—'that the wisest of the Egyptian priests established the sanctuary of Minerva in the open air, as the Jews made their temple without any image;'[2] which, if true, might appear to have some connection with the statement of Horapollo, that this goddess 'presided over the upper, as Juno over the lower, hemisphere.' Diodorus[3] thinks that she was a deified personification of the *air*, 'the daughter of Jove, and deemed a virgin because air is of an incorruptible nature.' He also derives the fable of her being produced from Jupiter's head, from her elevated position above the world; as her name Tritogeneia from her thrice changing her nature—in spring, summer, and winter, the three seasons of the Egyptian year. Lions were said to be sacred to her, as to the Cybele of the Phrygians; and the vulture is supposed by some to have been emblematic of the Egyptian Minerva. [The name of the goddess *Nit*, or Neith, written with the determinative of a shuttle, shows that her name meant 'the weaver,' and referred to her character as the inventor of the art of weaving. She formed one of the Theban triad, being the antithesis or double of the goddess Mut; hence she is occasionally called the female Amen. Another of her characters was the same as the goddess Hathor, being styled 'the cow which gave birth to the sun, her first born;' and as such she is the mother of Ra. Considered as the Minerva, she often holds in her hand a bow and arrows, or instructs monarchs in the use of them. Although the *tesher* or red cap was especially her emblem as goddess of the lower world, she is occasionally termed the mistress of the upper world. At Esneh Caracalla is seen reaping in her presence, but in what mystic sense does not

A form of Neith.
No. 513.

[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 19.
[2] Clem. Strom. v. p. 155. Compare this with the construction of the Parthenon.
[3] Diodor. i. 12.

appear.[1] Occasionally she is seen suckling two crocodiles. They are the children of Neith.[2] Her green colour alluded to her terrestrial functions.—S. B.]

In mentioning the remaining gods, it is not my intention to point out the order of the twelve secondary deities, and thence proceed to those of the third order. I shall therefore follow, as nearly as possible, the arrangement adopted in my 'Materia Hieroglyphica,' after I have noticed the god Ra, the physical sun, whom I had there placed among the eight great deities of Egypt.

The worship of Ra, the physical sun, appears to have been universal throughout Egypt. The name of this deity was pronounced Ra; and, with the definite article *Pi* prefixed, it was the same as Phrah, or, as we erroneously call it, Pharaoh, of Scripture,—Pirê, in the Theban dialect, being written at Memphis Phrê. I have already noticed[3] the origin of the title Phrah, Pharaoh, given in the Bible to the kings of Egypt, and have shown that the Hebrew word Phrah[4] is no other than the Memphitic name of the sun, Phrê, pronounced Phra, which is still retained in the Coptic Pi-rê. I have also shown that the hawk and globe, emblems of the sun, are placed over the banners or the figures of the kings in the sculptures to denote this title, and that Amen and other deities are often seen presenting the sign of life or power to the monarch under this emblem. 'In every case,' as I have observed, 'it will read Phrê; and if Hermapion, in his translation of the obelisk of Rameses, given by Ammianus Marcellinus, had used the word "sun" instead of "Apollo," the sense would have been much better.

'It is singular that the Greeks never mention the title Phrê, or Pharaoh, as we term it; and I can only account for this by supposing that they translated it wherever it occurred, as is the case in Hermapion's translation of the obelisk, where in the third column, instead of "the powerful Apollo," we ought to read "the powerful Phrê, Pharaoh,[5] the all-splendid son of the

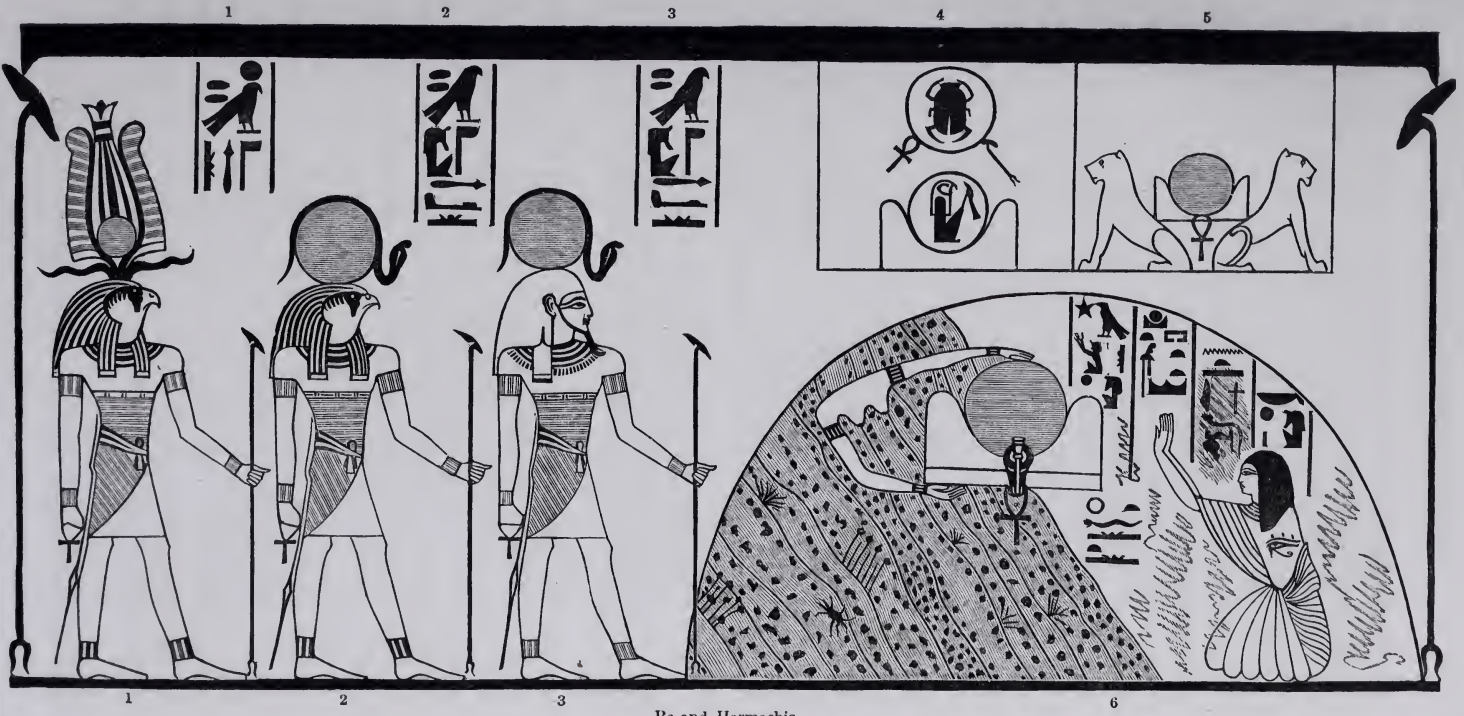
[1] Pierret, 'Dict. d'Arch. Égypt.,' p. 363; Birch, 'Gall. of Antiq.' p. 12.

[2] 'Records of the Past,' iv. p. 110.

[3] 'Materia Hierog.,' Pantheon, pp. 6, 109, and 'Hierog. Extracts,' p. 6. I think it right to allude particularly to my mention of this as early as the year 1827, as it has since appeared as a new observation.

[4] פַּרְעֹה, *Φαραώ*.

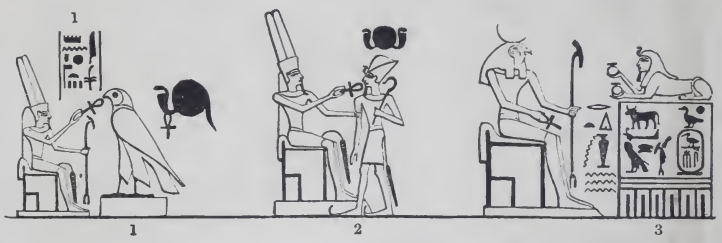
[5] Josephus supposes this name to be taken from *Phouro*, 'the king,' in Egyptian; but though *Phouro* has this meaning, it is not the word used for Pharaoh either in Hebrew or Egyptian. [The word Pharaoh is supposed now to be the Egyptian *per aa*, or *per aa anχ*, the 'great house,' or 'great house of life,' an expression which, like our word 'court,' was often used for the monarch.—S. B.]



Ra and Harmachis.

1, 2, 3. 'Harmachis, great god.' 6. Adoration of the sun when he sets in the west of heaven. 'Hail, Sun.

sun."'[1] This adoption of the name of the sun as a regal title was probably owing to the idea that, as the sun was the chief of heavenly bodies,[2] he was a fit emblem of the king, who was the ruler of all on earth; and it is one of the many instances of analogies which occur in the religious system of the Egyptians. The importance attached to this deity may be readily inferred from the fact of every Pharaoh having the title 'son of the sun' preceding his phonetic nomen, and the first name of which their prænomens were composed was that of the sun. In many, too, the phonetic nomen commenced with the name of Ra, as the Rameses and others; and the expressions 'living for ever, like the sun,' 'the splendid Phrê,' are common on all obelisks and dedicatory inscriptions. The frequent occurrence of the name



No. 514. *Thebes and Memphis.*

1, 3. King under the form of a hawk, and of a sphinx.
2, in his usual form, before the god.

1. 'Amen-ra, king of the gods,' gives life to the nostril of the hawk. 3. Thothmes IV., as a sphinx, offers two vases of pure water to Ra. The inscription reads, 'He gives pure water,' and the titles of Thothmes: 'The strong bull crowned in Thebes, son of the sun, Thothmes.' These are from the tops of obelisks.

of Ra, and the great respect paid to the sun, even in towns where other deities presided, tend to show the estimation in which this god was held throughout Egypt, and suggest the probability of the early worship of the heavenly bodies, previous to the adaptation of a metaphysical theory to the nature of the gods. This, indeed, is the opinion of several ancient writers; though they are wrong in assigning to Osiris and Isis the characters of the sun and moon. Diodorus says,[3] 'The first generation of men in Egypt, contemplating the beauty of the superior world, and admiring with astonishment the frame and order of the universe, imagined that there were two chief gods, eternal and primary, the sun and moon, the first of whom they called Osiris, the other Isis. . . . They held that these gods governed the whole world, cherishing and increasing all things; . . . that

[1] Hierog. Extracts, p. 8.
[2] Conf. Porphyry, de Abstin.: 'Quorum ducem esse Solem.'
[3] Diodor. i. 11.

in their natures they contributed much to the generation of those things; the one being of a hot and active nature, and the other moist and cold, but both having something of the air. They also said that every particular being in the universe was perfected and completed by the sun and moon, whose qualities were five: a spirit or quickening efficacy, heat or fire, dryness or earth, moisture or water, and air. . . . These five were denominated gods: . . . the spirit being called Jupiter; the fire, Vulcan; the earth, Mother, as the Greek Demeter was at first called Gemeter; water, Oceanus; and the air, Minerva, the reputed daughter of Jupiter.' That the historian is wrong in supposing Osiris and Isis to have corresponded to the sun and moon, is evident; and the names and character he gives to the five deities, as well as the idea of their proceeding from the two former, are equally at variance with the notions of the Egyptians. But part of his statement may possibly be true,—that the first gods were the sun and moon; and his error in assigning the names of Osiris and Isis may be accounted for by the limited acquaintance of the Greeks and Romans with the mythology of Egypt. Macrobius[1] makes a similar mistake respecting these deities,—the former of whom he calls 'the sun, and the latter Earth, or Nature;' and when he adds, 'The Egyptians show Osiris to have this character, when in hieroglyphics they represent him emblematically by an eye and sceptre,' he proves how little conversant he was with the religious notions of that people. If the allegories mentioned by Plutarch were really Egyptian, they could only be the visions of speculators (like the many allegorical fancies to which facts mentioned in the Bible have been doomed to submit by the Cabbala), forming no part of their religious belief, and unsupported by the authority of monuments. In my Pantheon, I had introduced Ra among the eight great deities, in consequence of the important station he holds in the temples, both of the Upper and Lower Country; but, as before observed, it is probable that Amen-ra and Ra were not of the same class of gods, since the intellectual was of more consequence than the physical sun, and Manetho calls him the son of Ptah: I have therefore placed him among those of the second order.

If the Egyptians, like some other Eastern people, adopted at first a Sabæan mode of worship,[2] and afterwards substituted for

[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. Conf. Plut. de Isid. ss. 10 and 51. [2] Diodor. i. 11.

it the deification of various attributes of the Deity Himself, there would be reason to suppose that the sun once held *the first place* in their Pantheon, and was not removed from it till they had learnt to consider the divine mind of the Creator superior to the work He had created. But it is now impossible to settle this question; and it will probably always remain uncertain if that was the primitive mode of worship in Egypt, or if their religion was corrupted from the originally pure idea communicated to them by the early descendants of Noah, who established themselves in the valley of the Nile. The great importance of the name of Ra may seem to argue in favour of the former opinion; and the connection of a star with an attitude of prayer may tend to confirm it. Some may even be disposed to see the union of the two systems in the name of Amen-ra.

Figures praying, accompanied by a star.

No. 515.

But if, in former times, the Egyptians really adopted a Sabæan mode of worship; and if the worship of Ra, and of Thoth in one of his characters as the moon, appear to confirm this opinion, there is sufficient evidence to show that their religion, at the time we know it—consequently long before the age of any writer with whose name we are acquainted—had already assumed a very different character. The existence of an early Sabæan worship in Egypt is merely possible; while the metaphysical nature of their religion is proved by abundant evidence, both of ancient writers and the monuments; and we are therefore bound to consider it as it presents itself to us, rather than to be led away by conjecture. And, however much I respect the valuable opinion of many writers, especially the learned Prichard, who maintains that 'the principal objects of Egyptian worship were those physical agents whose operative energy is the most conspicuous in the phenomena of nature,'[1] I must, from the evidence before me, deny that physical agents constituted the principal deities of the Egyptians. If their metaphysical doctrines, divulged alone to the initiated, are not within our reach, sufficient is shown to convince us that the nature of the great gods was not derived from mere physical objects; and that those which, in consequence of certain notions

[1] Prichard, 'Egypt. Mythol.,' p. 27.

respecting analogies and emanations, were admitted to a participation of divine honours, held a subordinate post to the deified attributes of the Divinity.

As with the Greeks, the planets were dedicated to, and called after, certain deities, though the Egyptians differed in the names they assigned to them. The Egyptians, according to Achilles Tatius, agree with the Greeks in giving to the planet Saturn, though the least brilliant, the title of the *splendid;* but the latter consider it of good omen, while the former denominate it the star of Nemesis. The second, of Jupiter, the Phaëthon of the Greeks, is by the Egyptians assigned to Osiris. The third, of Mars, by the Greeks denominated the fiery, they refer to Hercules.[1] The fourth, of Mercury, called by the Greeks *stilbôn*,[2] is the star of the Egyptian Apollo; and Pliny and Macrobius[3] also state that 'the star of Mercury is given by many nations to Apollo.' According to Pliny, the planet Venus was by some called of Isis[4] (of Juno, or of the mother of the gods); but the learned and laborious Jablonski[5] is not authorised in supposing this planet to have been ascribed by the Egyptians to Pan, whom he calls Mendes,[6] and still less in his assertion of the *crux ansata*, or sign of life, having been dedicated to that deity. The motions of the planets were calculated with great care by the Egyptians:[7] but if every hierogrammateus was required to understand all that related to them, the sun and moon, as well as the geography of the world, this was not with a view to the worship of the heavenly bodies. Astronomy was studied in Egypt, as in other countries, without requiring the deification of those visible works of the Creator, or the substitution of created things for the Deity by whom they were created. And if their knowledge was concealed under the guise of a fable, in which, as Proclus says,[8] it was their custom to clothe the secrets of nature, this was only to conceal them from such as were not admitted to a participa-

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[1] Pliny (ii. 8) says, 'The *third*, of Mars, is by some called of Hercules.' (Jablonski, Panth. i. c. 5, s. 4.) [Mars was called, according to Vettius Valens (Salmas. de Ann. Clim. p. 596), *Artes* or *Hartes*, and, according to Cedrenus (i. p. 295), *Hertosi*. (Lepsius, 'Einleit.,' p. 89.)—S. B.]

[2] Στίλβων.

[3] Macrob. Saturn. i. 22.

[4] Isis and the Venus of Egypt are often and easily confounded together. *Vide infrà*, Isis and Athor.

[5] Jablonski, iii. c. 6, ss. 2 and 3.

[6] The planets, according to the Egyptian monuments, are called *Har p-apsh*, or *Har tash*, or Mars; *Har ka*, or *Har pa ka*, 'Horus the bull,' or Jupiter; *Haremakhu*, Harmachis, or Venus; and *Pa neter seb*, or *Harheken*, supposed to be Mercury. (Lepsius, 'Einleit.,' pp. 94, 95.)—S. B.

[7] Seneca, Nat. Quæst. vii. 3, says, 'Eudoxus primus ab Ægypto hos motus in Græciam transtulit.' 'Ægyptios . . . quibus major cœli cura fuit.'

[8] Proclus, in Plat. Tim. lib. i.

tion of their learning, and not with any view connected with religion.[1]

It has been generally supposed that obelisks were dedicated exclusively to the sun, and that they were called by the Egyptians, according to Jablonski, *Pitêbpere*, 'the finger of the sun.' This, however, is a misconception not difficult to explain. The first obelisks removed from Egypt to Rome were said to have come from Heliopolis, 'the City of the Sun,' which stood in Lower Egypt, a little to the south-east of the Delta; and those of Heliopolis being dedicated to Ra, the divinity of the place, the Romans were led to conclude that all others belonged to the same god.[2] But the obelisks of Thebes were ascribed to Amen,[3] the presiding deity of that city; and though several of those at Rome came from Thebes, and were therefore dedicated to Amen, the first impressions were too strong to be removed, and the notion of their exclusive appropriation to the sun continued, and has been repeated to the present day.

The god Ra was usually represented as a man with a hawk's head, surmounted by a globe or disk of the sun, from which the uræus asp issued; sometimes with the head of a man, and the same disk;[4] and more rarely under the form of a hawk, his emblem. Porphyry says, 'The hawk was dedicated to the sun, being the symbol of light and spirit,' because of the quickness of its motion, and its ascent to the higher regions of the air. Horapollo thinks it was chosen as a type of that luminary, 'from its being able to look more intently towards its rays than any other bird; whence also, under the form of a hawk, they depicted the sun as the Lord of Vision.'[5] Horapollo also says,[6] that the scarabæus was an emblem of the sun, in which he is borne out by the authority of the sculptures, though he is wrong in the reason he assigns for its adoption. He supposes it to be from a certain

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[1] Iamblichus says Pythagoras imitated the Egyptians in his mode of teaching by symbols, having learnt this during his stay in their country. (Vit. Pythag. Pausan. Vit. Pythag.; and Plut. de Isid. s. 10.)

[2] Pliny (xxxvi. 8) says the first was raised in Heliopolis, which was the general idea among the Romans.

[3] The obelisk was called *tekhen*, and also *men* or *man*, and at a later time was used to express the name of the god Amen. Some have supposed that the word obelisk is derived from *uben ra* or *ubela*, its equivalent, but it is apparently, like basilisk, purely Greek.—S. B.

[4] Plate XXII., *figs.* 1, 2, and 3 are accompanied by the name 'Haremakhu, or Harmachis, the great god.' *Fig.* 4 has Rakheper, with the scarabæus and Ra seated in the solar disk on the horizon. *Fig.* 5 has Ra, the solar disk on the horizon, with emblem of life supported by two lions, emblems of Horus and Set. *Fig.* 6 has the solar disk held out of the granite mountains of the west by Athor, adored by a scribe. The inscription reads, 'Adoration to Ra, when he sets in the western horizon of the heaven. Hail, Ra.'—S. B.

[5] Horapollo, i. 6.

[6] Ibid. i. 10.

analogy which the species peculiarly sacred to Ra bore to the cat, and that the deity of Heliopolis was figured under the form of this animal. But the cat was the emblem of Bubastis, not of Ra;[1] and the presence of her statue at Heliopolis is explained by the custom of each city assigning to the divinities of neighbouring places a conspicuous post in its own temples; and Bubastis was one of the principal contemplar deities of Heliopolis. The lions said by Ælian to have been kept in the courts of the temple of the sun, were perhaps dedicated to the same goddess; though there is some reason for believing his statement, as those animals are shown by the sculptures to have been also emblems of the sun.

Ra was generally of a red colour, as was the globe of the sun he bore upon his head. In this form, and with the name Ra written alphabetically and followed by a figure of the sun, or with the hawk accompanied by two horizontal lines, he was in the character of the sun going through his daily course. When at his meridian height, he was sometimes accompanied by a scarabæus,[2] another emblem, as Porphyry observes, 'adapted to the sun;' and in his resting-place he was either indicated by the hawk, or by the title of Aten-ra. The same form is given to him when he sat behind the western mountain of Thebes, and was received into the arms of Athor, who presided over that part of the universe, and represented night.[3]

He was usually accompanied by the asp, the emblem of royalty and dominion, as well as by the symbols of life and purity, in token of his vivifying influence over all the animated creation; and in his concave resting-place, the lower firmament of heaven, he was sometimes supported on the backs of lions. This calls to mind an observation of Proclus,[4] that lions were considered solar animals. It also confirms the statement of Horapollo, that 'the Egyptians place lions under the throne of Horus, showing that the animal bears a very great resemblance to the sun: for the sun is called by them Horus.'[5] And though he may be wrong in identifying the sun with Horus, it is

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[1] That the cat was sacred to the sun appears from the 17th chapter of the Ritual, where the vignette represents the cat killing the snake *Apap* or Aphôphis. The text reads, 'I am the great cat at the pool of the Persea, there in Heliopolis; the night of the battle made by the binders of the wicked, the day of strangling the enemies of the entire lord.' The gloss explains that the cat is the sun himself, transformed into that type, or else Shu.—S. B.

[2] Plate XXII. *fig.* 4.

[3] Plate XXII. *fig.* 6.

[4] Proclus, de Sacrif.: 'Some animals are solar, as lions.' Plate XXII. *fig.* 6.

[5] Horapollo, i. 17.

evident that he alludes to a similar mode of representing the sun supported by lions. They were placed back to back, seated or lying down; and when made of stone, pottery, or other materials, they were united together, forming one body, terminated by a head on either side. They were worn as amulets and ornaments,—the ring by which they were attached answering to the sun; and I have found one instance of a cow's head substituted for that of one of the lions.[1]

The name Aten-ra cannot fail to call to mind Attin, or Atys, the Phrygian sun; and from the ovals of the king, who was noted for the peculiar worship of the sun represented at the grottoes of Tel el Amarna,[2] being always so systematically erased, some may argue the animosity of the people against a king who had made an unwelcome foreign innovation in the religion of the country, or at least in the mode of worshipping that deity. But the *name* of Aten-ra already existed at a very early period; and though the subjects of Tel el Amarna rarely occur,[3] except in those grottoes and the vicinity, some traces may elsewhere be found of the sun represented with similar rays, in sculptures of the time of the great Rameses. If, as I have already remarked, Amenti signifies 'the receiver and giver,' Amen-ra may be opposed to Aten-ra, in the same sense.[4] Many other subdivisions or emanations of the god Ra may be traced in the characters of other Egyptian deities, as Aroeris, Mandooli, and others of whom I shall have occasion to treat hereafter. We also find Chnoumis standing in the sun, accompanied by the scarabæus, in which character he may bear some relation to the god Ra.

It is probable that they separated the light from the heat of the sun, as the Greeks considered Phœbus distinct from Apollo.

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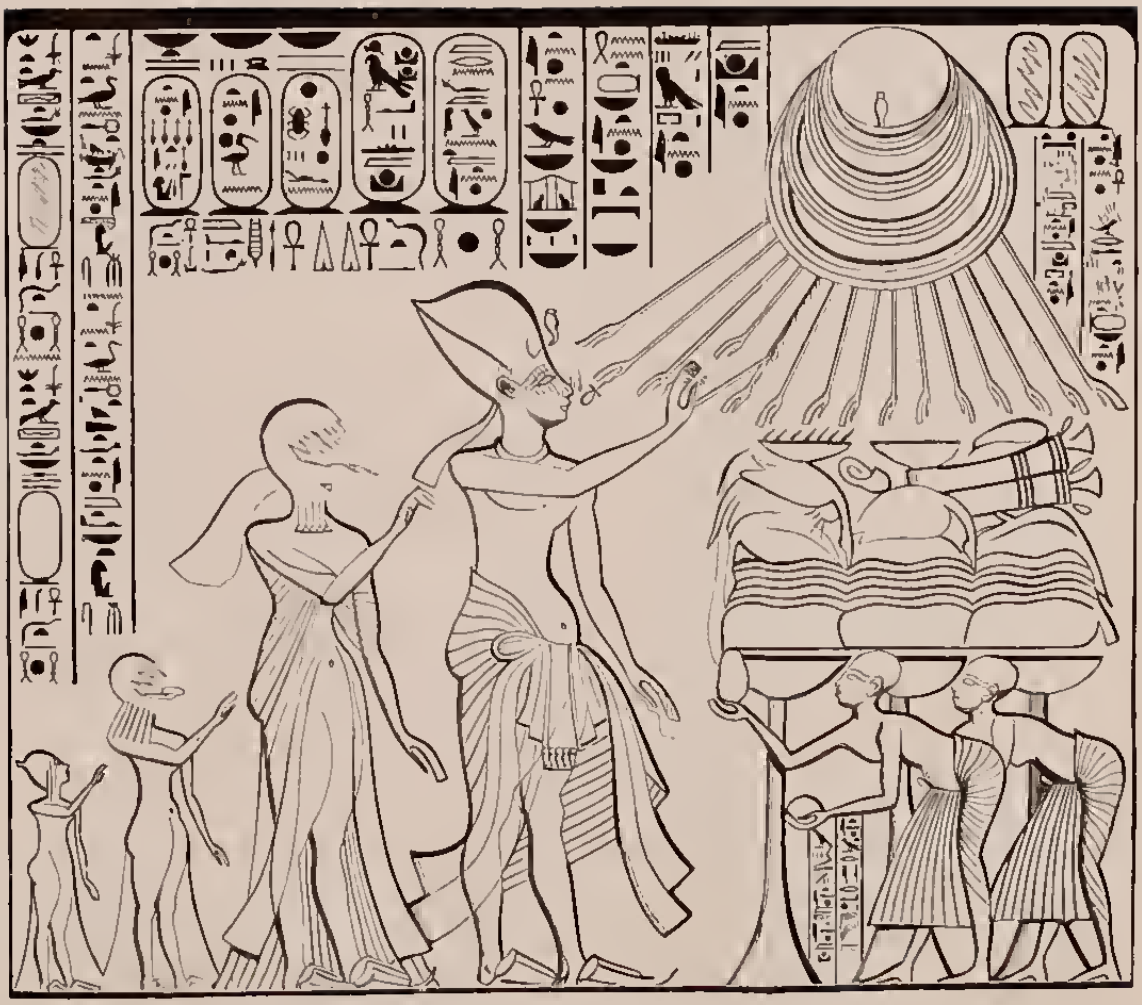
[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 26.

[2] Plate XXIII.

[3] I found some of the sculptures of this king at Koos, Apollinopolis Parva, near Thebes; and have since heard of others at the temple of Karnak, destroyed and built over by Amenophis III.

[4] The worship of the Aten, or solar disk, in opposition to the god Amen, received a great extension in the reign of Amenophis III., owing to the influence of the queen Taii. Its first appearance on the monuments is in the 11th year of that monarch, and his successor, Amenophis IV., subsequently assumed the name of Khuenaten, and endeavoured to remove the capital of the country to Tel el Amarna, and destroy all indications of the worship of Amen-ra throughout the country by erasing the name, which was subsequently restored on the overthrow of the worship of the disk. The Aten was supposed to be the sun as the universal god, and an adoration to it calls it the 'Sun, lord of the horizon under the name of the light which is in the *aten* or disk.' It is also called the 'sun-light which is the Amen of Thebes, and the maker of all beings; which gives light to mankind.' In the accompanying plate it is called 'the great living Aten or disk, lord of thirty-year festivals, lord of the sun's orbit, the disk, lord of the heaven, lord of



Khuenaten and family adoring the Aten or disk.

The latter, too, made a distinction between Apollo and Helios ('the sun'); and their mythology, according to Cicero, admitted four deities who bore the name of Apollo; one of whom, the reputed son of Vulcan, was supposed to be the same as the Aroeris of Egypt. There is reason to believe that the god Ra corresponded to the Syrian Baal,[1] a name implying 'Lord,'[2] which was given *par excellence* to the sun: and the same idea of peculiar sovereignty vested in that deity may have led the Egyptians to take from Ra or Phra the regal title of their kings. Heliopolis, in Syria, still retains the name of Baalbek, 'the City of (the Lord, or) the Sun;' and the same word occurs in the names of distinguished individuals among the Phœnicians and their descendants of Carthage,[3] as Hanni*bal*,[4] Asdru*bal*, and others.

If the Egyptians separated the orb from the rays of the sun, they were not singular in that idea; the same was common to the Greeks; for, as the philosopher Sallust says,[5] 'It is only from established custom that we are induced to call the orb of the sun and its rays the sun itself;' and they, also, found reason to deify those two, and to make of them two separate divinities. Indeed, it appears that the Egyptians made of the sun several distinct deities: as the intellectual sun, the physical orb, the cause of heat, the author of light, the power of the sun, the vivifying cause, the sun in the firmament, and the sun in his resting-place; and many other characters of the sun were probably admitted into the Pantheon of Egypt.

Heliopolis, Ainshems, or Bethshemesh, the On of Scripture, a small but celebrated city of Lower Egypt, was the place where the worship of Ra was peculiarly adopted. Plutarch says,[6]

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the earth, in the temple of the Aten or disk, in the horizon of the disk;' and the rays terminate in human hands to show its demiurgic or creative power. After the fall of the family of Khuenaten the disk-worship was abandoned. Some see in it the adoration of the Hebrew *Adonai*, and Syrian *Adonis*. (Birch on a remarkable object of the reign of Amenophis III., Arch. Journ. viii. p. 396 and foll. Lepsius, 'Ueber den ersten ägyptischen Götterkreis,' s. 1, n. 1.)—S. B.

[1] בַּעַל.

[2] As *Beelzebub* or *Baalzebûb*, 'the lord of flies.' *Baalim*, 'lords,' or 'idols.' Judg. ii. 11. [In the Punic and Phœnician inscription at Malta, Melcarthus (Hercules) is called *Bāltzura*, lord of Tyre.—G. W.]

[3] Servius, on these verses of Virgil (Æn. i. 733)—

'Implevitque mero pateram, quam Belus et omnes
A Belo soliti'—

says, 'Linguâ Punicâ Bal Deus dicitur, apud Assyrios autem Bel dicitur.'

[4] [Written in Punic *Hnbāl;* in Hebrew characters, הנבעל.—G. W.]

[5] In his fourth book on the Gods of the World.

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 6.

'Those who minister to the god of Heliopolis never carry any wine into the temple,—looking upon it as indecent to drink it during the day, when under the immediate inspection of their lord and king. The priests of the other deities are not altogether so scrupulous on this point; making use of it, though sparingly; unless at some of their more solemn purifications, when they wholly abstain from it. Indeed, they give themselves up wholly to study and meditation, hearing and teaching those truths which regard the divine nature.' This, however, does not appear to refer to the ordinary libations made to the sun, which were doubtless of wine, as the usual drink-offerings presented to the gods, but to a regulation which prevented the priests from indulging in the use of wine, and we find abundant proofs, from the sculptures in other places, of its having been offered to the sun.

Plutarch continues to observe, that 'even the kings themselves, being of the order of priests, have their wine given them according to a certain measure prescribed in the sacred books, as we are told by Hecatæus; and it is only since the reign of Psammatichus that this indulgence has been granted them: for before that time they drank no wine at all; and if they made use of it in their libations to the gods, it was not because they looked upon it as in its own nature acceptable, but as the blood of those enemies who formerly fought against them, which, being mixed with the earth, produced the vine: and hence they think that drinking wine in quantities makes men mad, being filled with the blood of their own ancestors. These things are related by Eudoxus, in the second book of his Tour, as he had them from the priests themselves.' The assertion, however, respecting the prohibition of wine, previous to the time of Psammatichus, is erroneous; and I have already shown that the kings and priests were permitted its use at the earliest periods, as the sculptures abundantly prove, as well as the Scriptural account of Pharaoh's butler.[1] It was of Heliopolis, or On, that Potipherah[2] was a priest, whose daughter Asenath was given in marriage to Joseph; and the name of that person is evidently compounded of Phrê or Phrah, 'the Sun,' and answers to the Egyptian Pet-phra, or Heliodotus, which in hieroglyphics would be thus written:

Name of Potipherah, Pet-phra, or Pet-ra. No. 515*.

[1] Gen. xl. 11.

[2] Gen. xli. 45.

The priests of the sun at Heliopolis, like those of Thebes and Memphis, were celebrated for their learning; and it was to this city that Plato, Eudoxus, and other Greek sages repaired, in order to study 'the wisdom of the Egyptians;' and 'Pythagoras,' according to Plutarch,[1] 'was the disciple of Oinuphis the Heliopolite.' Astronomy and all branches of science were studied at Heliopolis: and the priests of the sun enjoyed the greatest reputation for learning. Their city, though small, was the university of Egypt; and near it was an observatory, which Strabo[2] attributes to Eudoxus, but which we may conclude with greater reason belonged of old to the city, whither he had gone from Greece to study the secrets of the Egyptian wisdom. In the time of the geographer, the reputation of this seat of learning had already declined; the spacious mansions in which the priests lived were pointed out to him as objects of bygone days; and the inhabitants spoke of the former sojourn of learned men among them. The colleges, as well as the doctrines they taught, no longer existed in Heliopolis; nor was anyone shown to him who occupied himself in the pursuits of former times. Alexandria was the seat of learning at that period: philosophy seemed to have sought an abode and patronage near the court; even its obelisks were removed with its learning from Heliopolis, and all that could give it splendour or celebrity was taken to the new city.

The hawk, as before stated, was peculiarly sacred to the sun. Herodotus also mentions a bird called the Phœnix, of which he gives the following account:[3]—'I have never seen it but in a painting, for it seldom makes its appearance, and, if we may believe the Heliopolitans, it only visits their country once every 500 years, on the death of its father. If it is like its picture, its wings are partly gold, partly red, and its general appearance is similar to an eagle, both in form and size. They relate a peculiarity respecting it, which to me appears incredible. It comes, as the Egyptians say, from Arabia, bringing with it the body of its father enveloped in myrrh, and buries it in the temple of the sun. For this purpose it makes a mass of myrrh into the form of an egg, of the weight which it thinks itself capable of carrying, and having raised it and found it portable, it proceeds to hollow out the mass; and then introducing the

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 10. [2] Strabo, xvii. p. 555. [3] Herodot. ii. 73.

body of its father, and closing the orifice with myrrh, the egg is found to be of the same weight as when solid; and this being done, it brings it to Egypt and deposits it in the temple of the sun.'

'The Phœnix of Arabia,' says Pliny,[1] 'surpasses all other birds; but I do not know if it be a fable that there is only one in the whole world, and that seldom seen. According to report, it is the size of an eagle, of a gold colour about the neck, the rest being purple, its tail blue, varied with red feathers, its face and head richly feathered, with a tuft on the top. Manilius observes that no man ever saw it feeding; that in Arabia it is held sacred to the sun; that it lives 660 years, and when it grows old it builds a nest with twigs of cassia and frankincense, and, having filled it with aromatics, dies upon it. A worm is afterwards produced from its bones and marrow, which, having become a young bird, carries the entire nest to the city of the sun, near Panchæa, and there deposits it on the altar. Manilius also says that the revolution of the great year agrees with the life of this bird, in which the seasons and stars return to their first places; beginning at noon on the day when the sun enters Aries.' This imaginary bird, of which so many tales have been handed down to a late period, is frequently represented in the paintings and sculptures of the temples of Egypt, though without appearing peculiarly emblematic of, or sacred to, the sun. It occurs in the ornamental details of cornices, friezes, and other parts of buildings, at the bases of columns, and on the sails of ships; and sometimes a monarch is seen presenting it as an offering to the gods.[2] According to Horapollo,[3] it was the emblem of one who had returned home after travelling over distant countries; and it was therefore very properly chosen to ornament monuments erected by the victorious monarchs of Egypt, after achieving conquests that shed a lustre over their names, and claimed the congratulations of a grateful country for their safe return. The Egyptian Phœnix is represented under the form of a bird with wings partly raised, and seated upon its open claws, having at the back of its head a small tuft of feathers similar to that of the crested plover,[4] so common in

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[1] Plin. x. 2.

[2] [This is really the 'pure soul' of the king. The Phœnix seems to be the *Bennu*, or *Ardea*, sacred to Osiris.—G. W.]

[3] Horapollo, i. 35.

[4] This bird appears rather to represent 'intelligence,' or in the plural 'intelligences' or 'intelligent beings,' as *unen* meant 'visible things,' and *enti*, 'invisible things.' It is doubtful if it is the Phœnix

Egypt; and in front it raises two human arms as if in an attitude of prayer. But it may be doubted if this be the same whose picture Herodotus mentions; and from the slight description he gives of it, we might rather suppose he had in view the hawk, which was the emblem of Ra, and which is seen on obelisks and other monuments, whether dedicated to the sun or other deities. They sometimes represent the Phœnix under the form of a man with wings, in the same attitude of prayer, and bearing the tuft of feathers on his head,[1] accompanied also by a star, which, as I have observed, seems to have been connected with the idea of adoration. Of its name in the Egyptian language we are ignorant. Ovid says, 'the Assyrians call it Phœnix;' and from this bird and the palm-tree having the same name in Greek, we are sometimes in doubt to which of the two ancient writers in that language allude, as in the case of the *phoinika*,[2] carried in the hand of the Horoscopus, mentioned by Clemens. Pliny even pretends that the bird received its name from the palm.[3] In the time of Herodotus, as the learned Larcher observes, the notion of the Phœnix rising from its ashes had not yet been entertained. Suidas, who flourished about the tenth century, states that from its ashes issued a worm which changed itself into a Phœnix; and the early fathers of the Greek and Latin Church availed themselves of this accredited fable as a proof of the resurrection.[4] But though the story of its rising from its ashes may have been a late invention, the Phœnix itself was of very ancient date, being found on monuments erected about the commencement of the 18th Dynasty. And we even find mention of this long-lived bird in the Book of Job.[5] This, at least, is the opinion of Bede, who, in accordance with the Septuagint translation of the word we render 'sand,' reads, 'I shall die in my *nest*, and shall multiply my days as the *Phœnix:*' and Prichard,

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which is represented by a kind of heron with two tufts behind its head, and is called *Bennu*, the same word as *phoin-ix;* and in the Ritual the mystical interpretation given to it is, 'The Bennu is Osiris; in An or Heliopolis, the verifier or reckoner of things visible and invisible is his body,' or 'it is an age and eternity.' (Lepsius, 'Todt.', c. 17, ll. 10, 11.) *Aion*, or 'age,' is the day, eternity is the night. The Phœnix cycles, or periods, are supposed to represent the time required for the wanderings of the soul, to purification, of 1500 and 500 years. (Lepsius, 'Einleit.,' p. 196.)—S. B.

[1] Conf. Plin. x. 2, and xi. 37.

[2] *Φοινικὰ*.

[3] Plin. xiii. 4.

[4] Ambrosius says: 'Phœnix avis in Arabiæ locis perhibetur . . . . doceat igitur nos hæc avis exemplo sui resurrectionem credere.' (Hexamer. lib. v. c. 23.) It is also celebrated by Lactantius, Gregory Nazianzenus, and Tertullian.

[5] Job xxix. 18. The Hebrew name is חוֹל, *Hol* or *Khol*, which also means 'sand,' as in our Version. The Septuagint has *Φοίνιξ*.

Gesenius, and others allude to the same interpretation of the passage.

Several ancient writers mention the periodical return of the Phœnix: some agreeing with Herodotus in fixing it at about 800 years; while others state it to have been 660, 600, 500, 340, or 1460. 'Various,' says Tacitus,[1] 'are the opinions respecting the number of years. They most commonly allow 500, though some extend the interval to 1461, and assert that the bird appeared in the age of Sesostris, of Amasis, and the third Ptolemy.' But these two periods do not agree: that from Sesostris (or Rameses the Great) to Amasis being about 780 years; that from Amasis to Ptolemy III. about 330. Some have thought that, by the Phœnix, the Egyptians intended to indicate the appearance of comets; and I have seen a paper written to prove that the average[2] number of years assigned to the return of the Phœnix corresponded to the great comet of 1680. Without however assenting to the opinion of Seneca[3]—who thinks, 'because Eudoxus, having studied in Egypt, and thence introduced into Greece the knowledge of the motions of the planets, took no notice of comets, that the Egyptians, the greatest observers of celestial phenomena, had not attended to this part of the subject,'—I must confess that the reappearance of the Phœnix appears rather to indicate, as Pliny, on the authority of Manilius, supposes, the return of a certain period. And the mention of the number 1461 argues strongly in favour of the opinion that the Sothic period was the real Phœnix of Egypt. This, as I have elsewhere shown, was the number of years that elapsed before the solar year of 365 days coincided with the Sothic or fixed year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days. It was also called the Great Year of the Egyptians, at the end of which all the planets returned to the same place they occupied at its commencement.

[The name of Ra is supposed to mean 'disposer,' as the deity who made the cosmos out of the material given by Ptah. He is also supposed to be fire, and existence or 'to-day,' the present. His worship was at the earliest period, and was universal; and during his passage through the hours of the day and night he assumed the types of all the principal solar deities who were associated or identified with him. He was the great god, lord of the heaven, born of the great cow of

[1] Tacit. Annal. vi. 28. Sen. Ep. 42.

[2] The average of 600 and 540 years is taken by the writer, being 575.

[3] Sen. Nat. Quæst. lib. vii. c. 3.

Hathor or Neith, and resident or dwelling in the solar orb; the great victorious god of the disk, the creator of the mundane egg, and the one proceeding out of the *nu*, or celestial waters. In his transformations he assumed the form of the lion, cat, and hawk. The battle in heaven with the gigantic Apap, or great serpent; his final triumph, and strangling of the dragon, and his diurnal renewal of the fray, formed the subject of the walls of the tombs and sarcophagi at the time of the 18th and subsequent dynasties. His name is found in a cartouche as one of the divine rulers of primitive Egypt, after Ptah, of whom he was the son, according to the Memphite tradition. This myth is so extensive in its bearings that only the principal facts of it can be given in the present work.[1]—S. B.]

Seb,[2] the father of Isis and Osiris, was supposed to be the same as Saturn, probably from his having the title 'Father of the Gods.' This, however, referred to his being the parent of the deities above mentioned, and not to any resemblance he bore to the sire of Jove; for the Saturn of Egypt, 'the father of Osiris,' was said to be 'the youngest of the gods.' Indeed, the character of Saturn differed essentially from that of the Egyptian Seb; and the rites of the former, when introduced by the Ptolemies, were looked upon by the Egyptians to be so much at variance with their religious notions, that his temple, like that of Sarapis, was not admitted within the precincts of their cities; and it was not without compulsion that the worship of these two deities was tolerated by the people.

Macrobius says: 'Through the tyranny of the Ptolemies they were obliged to receive those gods into their worship, after the manner of the Alexandrians, by whom they were particularly adored;'[3] the opposition made to their introduction being, as he thinks, in consequence of the novel custom of slaying victims in their honour. He states that it was not lawful for the Egyptians to propitiate the gods by sheep and blood, but with prayers and incense only; and Porphyry[4] expresses a similar opinion, when he says, 'Those in earlier times who performed sacrifices offered herbs, flowers, and trees, or incense of aromatic substances; for it was unlawful to slay animals.' 'Among the offerings[5] made

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[1] Birch, 'Gall. of Antiq.,' p. 24; Pierret, 'Dict. d'Arch.,' p. 468; Brugsch, 'Gesch. Aegypt.,' p. 30; Lepsius, 'Ueber den ersten Götterkreis.'—S. B.

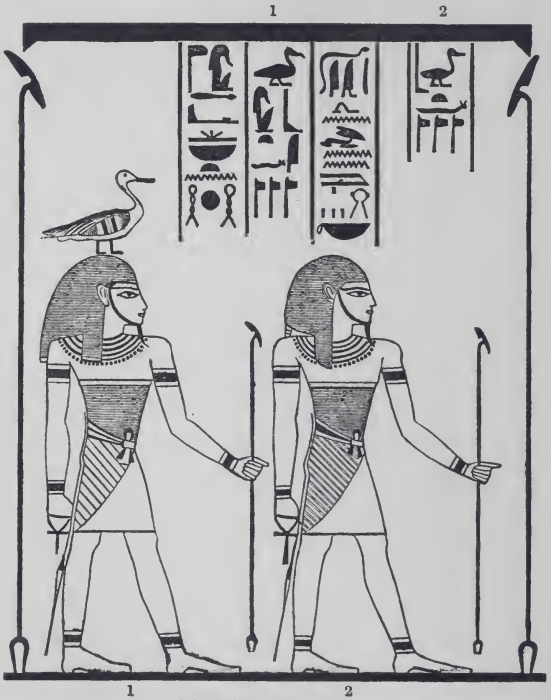
[2] Chronos, or Time.

[3] Macrobius, Saturn. i. 4.

[4] Porphyry, de Abstinentiâ, lib. ii.

[5] 'Materia Hieroglyphica,' p. 15.

to the Egyptian deities, libations and incense hold, it is true, a prominent place, as well as flowers, fruit, and other productions of the soil; but geese, and other birds, gazelles, capricorns, the legs and bodies of oxen or of the wild goat, and, what is still more remarkable, the head of the victim, are also placed before them:'[1] and thus the reason given by Macrobius is fully disproved. Herodotus also tells us that the oxen, after having been examined by a priest and marked with his seal, were led to the



No. 516. Seb, father of the gods.

altar and sacrificed; and this is fully confirmed by the sculptures in every part of Egypt. I shall not here stop to inquire if really, in early times, the Egyptians or other ancient people contented themselves with offerings of herbs, incense, and libations, and abstained from sacrifices of victims. This, if it ever was the case, could only have been in their infancy as a nation; and it is more probable, as I have already observed, that the kind of offering considered most acceptable to the deity, which was 'a firstling of the flock,' had been established and handed down

[1] 'Materia Hieroglyphica,' p. 16.

from the very earliest period, as a type of the destined perfect propitiation for sin, which man was taught to expect.

The story of the birth of the children of Saturn, mentioned by Plutarch,[1] abounds with contradictions. 'Rhea,' who is Nut, 'having had intercourse with Saturn by stealth, was discovered by the sun, who thereupon denounced a curse upon her 'that she should not be delivered in any month or year.' Mercury, however, being likewise in love with the same goddess, in recompense for the favours which he had received from her, played at tables[2] with the moon, and won from her the seventieth part of each of her illuminations. These several parts, making in the whole five new days, he afterwards joined together, and added to the 360, of which the year formerly consisted; which days, therefore, are even yet called by the Egyptians the *epact*, or superadded, and observed by them as the birthdays of their gods. For upon the first of them, they say, was Osiris born, at whose entrance into the world a voice was heard, saying, "The lord of all the earth is born." .... Upon the second was Aroeris born, whom some call Apollo, and others distinguish by the name of the Elder Horus. Upon the third, Typho came into the world; being born neither at the proper time, nor by the right place, but forcing his way through a wound which he had made in his mother's side. Isis was born upon the fourth, in the marshes of Egypt; as Nephthys upon the last, whom some call Teleute and Aphrodite, and others Niké. Now, as to the fathers of these children, the two first of them (Osiris and Aroeris) are said to have been begotten by the sun, Isis by Mercury, Typho[3] and Nephthys by Saturn; and accordingly the third of these superadded days, because it was looked upon as the birthday of Typho, was regarded by the kings as inauspicious, and consequently they neither transacted any business on it,[4] nor even suffered themselves to take any refreshment until the evening. They further add, that Typho married Nephthys; and that Isis having a fond affection for Osiris while they were yet together in their mother's womb, became pregnant by her brother, and from this commerce sprang Aroeris, whom the Egyptians likewise call the Elder Horus, and the Greeks Apollo.' According to this account, Osiris was the son of Nut, or Rhea, by the sun; Isis, by Mercury: how, then, could they be twins? And 'Saturn,'

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 12. [2] Πεττεία.
[3] The word Typho is to be preferred to Typhon.
[4] An unlucky day. Some persons are equally superstitious about unlucky days, even in these enlightened times.

we are told by Plutarch, 'intrusted the care of the child Osiris to Paamyles;' which could not reasonably be expected, unless he were his own son. Were Plutarch our only guide, we might remain in uncertainty upon the subject; but fortunately the hieroglyphics solve the difficulty, and establish the claims of Seb (or Saturn) to the title of father of Osiris.

Seb is sometimes represented with a goose standing upon his head, which is the initial of his phonetic name; and, in the hieroglyphics, he has the title 'Father of the Gods.' This alludes to his being the father of Osiris, and the other deities born on the days of the epact; and the frequent occurrence of the formula which the gods are made to utter, 'I give you the years of Seb,' appears to connect this deity with *Kronos*,[1] the Saturn of the Greeks,[2] distinct as he was from the Saturn of Roman mythology. His dress, and that of Nut, his consort, are remarkably simple. [Seb was also called the *repa* or 'heir of the gods,' and, in allusion to the goose, 'the great cackler,' which produced the egg, apparently the mundane one. There was an intimate connection between the name of Seb and the word for star, and he is supposed by some to have represented the planet Saturn. He was not however demiurgic, like Ptah or Khnoum, but of the order of terrestrial gods.—S. B.]

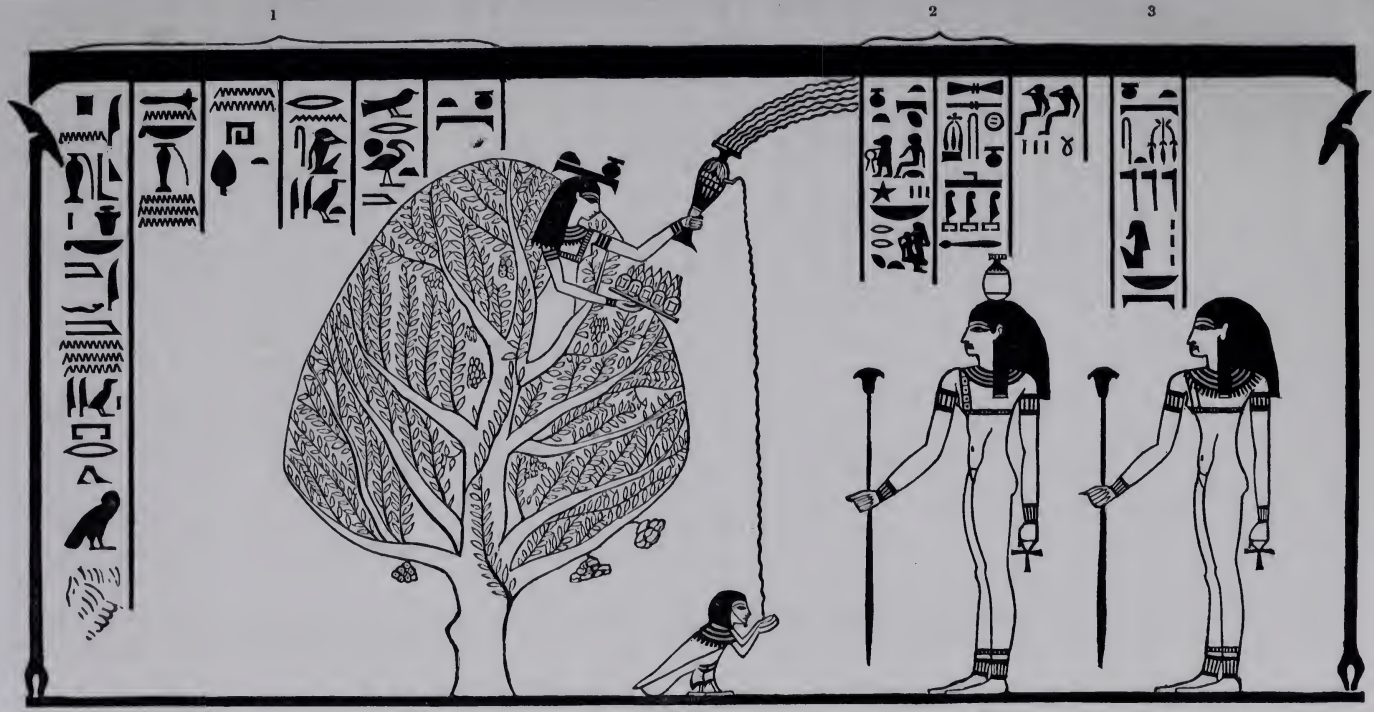
'Nut has frequently been mistaken for Neith, but the hieroglyphics, calling Osiris the son of Nut and Seb, leave no room for further doubt upon the subject.[3] It is not altogether impossible that Horapollo may have ascribed to Neith what in reality belongs to the wife of Seb; since the firmament is her emblem, or, at least, indicates the last syllable[4] of her name. Another goddess with whom, from the similarity of name, she might possibly be confounded, is Nephthys; but the sister of Isis differs entirely from the Egyptian Rhea; and Tpe, the goddess of the heavens, enclosing the zodiacs, is also distinct from her, as from Neith and Nut. She is sometimes represented with a vase on her head, the initial of her name; and she frequently occurs in the paintings of the tombs, standing in the sycamore fig-tree, pouring a liquid from a vase, which the deceased and his friends, and even the soul of the former under

[1] Χρόνος.

[2] Macrob. Saturn. i. 5.

[3] 'Materia Hierog.,' p. 18; and Plate XXV. hierog. 7.

[4] Dr. Young was not wrong in stating that syllables (or, at least, the initial letter for the whole syllable) were used occasionally in hieroglyphics—as *M* for *Mai*, the hare for *ouôn*, and others—independently of the omission of the intermediate vowels between consonants, as in Arabic and Hebrew.



Nut.

the form of a bird with a human head, are catching in their hands. Besides this nectar of heaven, she presents them with a basket of fruit from the sacred tree.' It is to Nut that the sycamore was dedicated; and 'the number of instances I have met with of Nut in this tree[1] leave no doubt of the fig, which gave the name of Hierosycaminon to a town of Nubia,[2] being sacred to the mother of Osiris.' The representation of this tree at Hierosycaminon is very rude, and of the late era of the Roman empire: if, therefore, the goddess seated beneath it has rather the character of Isis, or of Athor, than of Nut, the authority of such a period is of little weight; and we have abundant proofs from the oldest monuments, that the sycamore was consecrated to Nut, as the Persea to Athor. [In Plate XXIV., Nut (*fig.* 1) is seen in this character, and the inscription reads, 'Nut, the greatly splendid, in her name of the sycamore *neha*, I present to thee the fresh water. Refresh thy heart with it; it is the water which proceeds from Nu,' the deity of the celestial waters or abyss of heaven, the living water of the Egyptian myths.—S. B.]

The Athenians had a holy fig-tree, which grew on the 'sacred road,' where, during the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, the procession which went from Athens to Eleusis halted. This was on the sixth day of the ceremony, called Iacchus, in honour of the son of Jupiter and Ceres, who accompanied his mother in her search for Proserpine; but the fig-tree of Athens does not appear to have been borrowed from the sycamore of Egypt, unless it were in consequence of its connection with the mother of Isis and Osiris, whom they supposed to correspond to Ceres and Bacchus.

In one of the hieroglyphic legends given in the plate,[3] Nut appears to be identified with Lucina, and to preside over births and nursing. Indeed, it is probable that mothers looked to her for protection, being the fabled parent of their favourite deities Isis and Osiris, from which she derived the title 'Mother

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[1] This is one of the vignettes of the Book of the Dead, or Ritual, appearing in the 38th chapter, that of drinking the waters in Hades. Nut also represented the female nature of the dual element of water considered as male and female. The corresponding male deity was Nu, or, as it is possible to read the name, Han, and then the name of Nut, Han.t.—S. B.

[2] Now Maharraka, or Oofideéna.

[3] Plate XXIV., hierog. No. 2, from Denderah. [The inscription reads, 'Nut, mother of the gods, the nurse, having power over the place of new birth, *mesχen*, holding temples, the chief of bandages.' Hierog. 3 reads, 'Nut, mother of the gods, mistress of heaven.'—S. B.]

of the Gods.' Of the Egyptian Lucina, worshipped at Eileithyia, I shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

'Osiris, in his mysterious character, was the greatest of all the Egyptian deities; but little is known of those undivulged secrets which the ancients took so much care to conceal. So cautious indeed were the initiated, that they made a scruple even of mentioning him;'[1] and Herodotus, whenever he relates anything concerning this deity, excuses himself from uttering his name. His principal office, as an Egyptian deity, was to judge the dead, and to rule over that kingdom where the souls of good men were admitted to eternal felicity.[2] Seated on his throne, accompanied by Isis and Nephthys, with the four Genii of Amenti, who stand on a lotus growing from the waters, in the centre of the divine abode, he receives the account of the actions of the deceased, recorded by Thoth. Horus, his son, introduces the deceased into his presence, bringing with him the tablet of Thoth, after his actions have been weighed in the scales of Truth. To Anubis, who is styled the 'director of the weight,' belongs this duty; and, assisted by Horus, he places in one scale the feather or the figure of Thmei, the goddess of Truth, and in the other a vase emblematic of the virtuous actions of the judged. A Cynocephalus, the emblem of the ibis-headed god, sits on the upper part of the balance; and Cerberus, the guardian of the palace of Osiris, is present. Sometimes also Harpocrates, the symbol of resuscitation and a new birth, is seated on a crook of Osiris, before the god of letters,—expressive of the idea entertained by the Egyptians and other philosophers, that nothing created was ever annihilated; and that to cease to be was only to assume another form—dissolution being merely the passage to reproduction. Some of the figures of the dead are represented wearing round their necks the same emblem which appears in the scales, after they have passed their ordeal, and are deemed worthy of admission into the presence of Osiris; the purport of which is, that they are justified by their works, weighed and not 'found wanting.' To men and to women also was given after death the name of Osiris,[3]—implying that, in a future state, the virtuous returned to the fountain of all

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[1] Herodot. *passim*. Plut. de Isid. s. 21, &c.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 79.

[3] Ibid. s. 28. At a later period, no instance occurs on the tombs or monuments, except in the case of kings, up to the 12th Dynasty. Some of the oldest texts of papyri, however, have this formula; but then it is uncertain what is their exact age. The form *ma χeru*, 'justified' or 'truth-speaking,' which was particularly in relation with Osiris, does not appear till the close of the 12th Dynasty.—S. B.

Asar or Osiris.

good, from which they originally emanated; and that the soul, being separated from its material envelope, was pure and intellectual, divested of all the animal feelings which a distinction of sex might indicate, and free from those impurities or imperfections to which human nature was in this life subject. They also considered the souls of men to be emanations of that divine soul which governed and pervaded the universe; each eventually returning to its divine origin, provided the virtuous course of life it had led in this world showed it to be sufficiently pure to unite with the immaculate nature of the deity. It was their opinion that those which had been guilty of sin were doomed to pass through the bodies of different animals, in order so to purify them that they might be rendered worthy again to mix with the parent soul whence they emanated; the number and duration of these transmigrations, and the kind of animals through which they passed, depending on the extent of their impieties, and the consequent necessity of a greater or less degree of purification. This doctrine of the metempsychosis, or transmigration of the soul, was afterwards adopted by Pythagoras, with many other opinions he acquired during his stay in Egypt. The idea of the return of the spirit to the Deity seems also to have been admitted by the Jews, in the time of Solomon; since we find in Ecclesiastes, 'Then shall the dust return to the earth as it was; and the spirit shall return unto God who gave it.'[1] The characters of Osiris were numerous,[2] as were those of Isis, who was thence called Myrionymus, or 'with 10,000 names.' He was that attribute of the Deity which signified the divine Goodness; and in his most mysterious and sacred office, as an *avatar*, or manifestation of the Divinity on earth, he was superior to any even of the eight great gods.[3] And though, as Herodotus

[1] Eccles. xii. 7.

[2] Hence confounded with other deities. (Diodor. i. 25.)

[3] The principal types of Osiris are represented in the accompanying Plate XXV. *Fig.* 1 represents him in his form prior to his death, holding the sceptre, *uas* or *t'am*, and the symbol of life, and wearing two ostrich feathers on his head to indicate his being lord of the hall of the two truths. Hierog. 1, 2, are his name, As-ar. *Fig.* 2 is Osiris in his celestial character, wearing the white crown of the upper world or hemisphere, bearded, enveloped in bandages, *mer-em hbes*, holding the harrier-headed sceptre, *uas*, the crook, *heqa*, and whip, *nexex*, emblem of his rule and dominion. Before him is the pard-skin on a pole, the hieroglyph of the word *nem*, 'second,' in relation to the 'second life.' Hierog. 3 is his name, 'eternal ruler;' 4, 'lord of Abut or Abydos.' *Fig.* 3 represents him as judge of the dead in the Egyptian hall of the two truths in Hades, wearing the atef or cap of the upper world, with two ostrich feathers, holding the crook and whip. His titles, hierog. 5, are, 'Osiris, lord of the age, bull in the Amenti.' *Fig.* 4 is Osiris in the same attributes with the head of the Bennu or Phœnix, emblem of his soul. *Fig.* 5 is Osiris Tat or Tattu, draped, with peculiar face, holding the crook and whip, and wearing a disk, and two ostrich-feathers on the goat's horns, having a

informs us,[1] all the Egyptians did not worship the same gods with equal reverence, the adoration paid to Osiris and Isis was universal, and he considers Isis the greatest of all the divinities of Egypt.[2] Of the manner in which the Egyptians supposed this manifestation of the deity in a human form to have taken place, I will not pretend to decide. This was always a profound secret, revealed only to some of those who were initiated into the higher order of mysteries. Suffice it to say, that Osiris was not believed by them to have been a human being, who after death was translated into the order of demigods; for, as I have already observed, no Egyptian deity was supposed to have lived on earth, and to have been deified after death, as with the Greeks and other people.

Pythagoras also borrowed from the Egyptians his notion respecting emanation. He held that the Deity was the soul which animated all nature—the *anima mundi*, or soul of the universe—not an external influence, but dwelling within it, as the soul of man within the human body; and from this universal soul all other gods, as well as the souls of men and other animals, and even of plants, directly proceeded. Plutarch, indeed, attempts to show that the worship of animals in Egypt was borrowed from this idea, when he says, 'On the whole, we ought to approve the conduct of those who do not reverence these creatures for their own sakes, but who, looking upon them as the most lively and natural mirrors wherein to behold the divine perfections, and as the instruments and workmanship of the Deity, are led to pay their adoration to that God who orders and directs all things; concluding, on the whole, that whatever is endued with soul and sensation is more excellent than that which is devoid of those perfections—even than all the gold and precious stones in the universe, though collected into one mass. For it is not in the brilliancy of colour, in the elegance of form, or in the beauty of surface, that the divinity resides. So far from it, those things which never had life, and have not the power of living, are in a much lower degree of estimation than those that once enjoyed existence, though they may since have lost it. But whatever

disked uræus on each side. It appears from a coffin at Cambridge that the Tat alone, or emblem of stability, represented Osiris; and the emblem of life, *anχ*, the goddesses Isis and Nephthys. The titles of the god are, 6, *Asar χent Amenti*, 'Osiris resident in the west;' 7, 'Osiris son of Nut, begotten by Seb;' 8, same as 6; 9 has no relation to Osiris; 10–13, Osiris Unnefer or Onnophris, the name in a cartouche to show that he had ruled over Egypt.—S. B.

[1] Herodot. ii. 42.

[2] Ibid. ii. 40.

beings are endued with life, and the faculty of seeing, with a principle of voluntary motion in them, and are able to distinguish what belongs to and is proper for them—all these, as Heraclitus says, are to be regarded as the affluxes, or so many portions of that supreme wisdom which governs the universe; so that the Deity is not less strikingly represented in these, than in images of metal and stone made by the hand of man.'[1]

The same is mentioned by Eusebius as the opinion expressed in the old Hermaïc books called Genica:[2] 'Have you not been informed by the Genica, that all individual souls are emanations from the one soul of the universe?' and Porphyry says, 'The Egyptians perceived that the divinity not only entered the human body, and that the (divine) soul dwelt not, while on earth, in man alone, but passed in a measure through all animals.'

Osiris was called[3] the 'manifester of good,' or the 'opener of truth,' and said to be 'full of goodness, grace, and truth.' He appeared on earth to benefit mankind; and after having performed the duties he had come to fulfil, and fallen a sacrifice to Typho the evil principle (which was at length overcome by his influence, after his leaving the world), 'he rose again to a new life,'[4] and became the judge of mankind in a future state. The dead also, after having passed their final ordeal and been absolved from sin, obtained in his name, which they then took, the blessings of eternal felicity. The title 'manifester of good' accords well with what Plutarch[5] says of Osiris, that he was a

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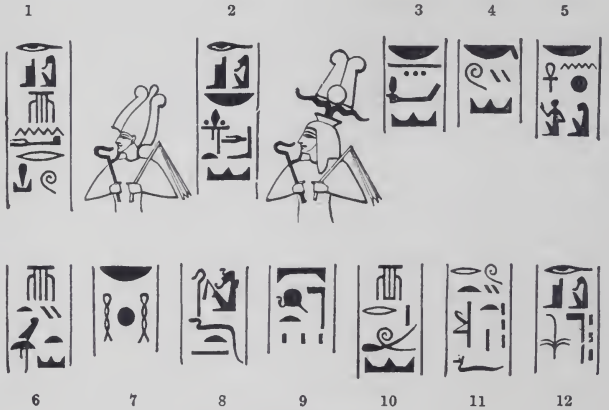
[1] This doctrine is well described by Virgil (Æn. vi. 724) in the following beautiful lines:—

'Principio cœlum, ac terras, camposque liquentes
Lucentemque globum lunæ, Titaniaque astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum pecudumque genus, vitæque volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore pontus.
Igneus est ollis vigor, et cœlestis origo
Seminibus. . . . . .
Quin et supremo cum lumine vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes; penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt. . . .
Donec longa dies perfecto temporis orbe
Concretam exemit labem, purumque reliquit
Æthereum sensum, atque auraï simplicis ignem.
Has omnes, ubi mille rotam volvere per annos,
Lethæum ad fluvium Deus evocat agmine magno:
Scilicet immemores supera ut convexa revisant,
Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.'

[2] Prichard, p. 208.
[3] Unnefer, the Greek Onnophris.
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 35.
[5] Ibid. s. 42.

'*good* being, and sometimes styled Omphis (Onuphis), which signifies a benevolent and beneficent power;' the word Onuphis being evidently the Egyptian appellation of this god *Ouôn-nofre*, 'the opener of good.' This was his principal title. He was also frequently styled 'President of the West,' 'Lord of Abydus' (which may either be *Ebôt*, Abydus, or *Ebt*, the East), 'Lord of the World,' 'Lord of Life,' 'the Eternal Ruler,' and 'King of the Gods.' These, with many others, are commonly found in the hieroglyphic legends accompanying his figure, as may be seen



No. 517. Some of the titles of Osiris. *Thebes.*

1. 'Osiris dwelling in Artsu.' 2. 'Osiris, lord of the East,' or 'Abydos.' 3. 'Lord of Taser,' or 'Hades.' 4. 'Kui land.' 5. 'Lord of the living.' 6. 'Dwelling in the West.' 7. 'Lord of an æon,' or 'age,' 'time.' 8. 'Eternal ruler.' 9. 'Over the circle of the gods,' or 'nine gods.' 10. 'Dwelling in Rusat,' or the gateway leading to Hades, region of hell. 11. Imperfect inscription, 'over his crew.' 12. 'Osiris, king of the gods.'

in the annexed woodcut; and the papyri frequently present a list of forty-nine names of Osiris in the funeral rituals.

The custom of applying the name of Osiris both to men and women who were supposed to partake sufficiently of the qualities of the good being to be worthy that honour, appears to have some connection with the Greek notion of Dionysus or Bacchus (who was thought to answer to Osiris) being both male and female.[1] It is also worthy of remark, that Servius, in commenting on the mystical fan of Iacchus[2] of Virgil, affirms that 'the sacred rites of Bacchus pertained to the purification of souls.'

If Osiris was represented as one of the gods of the third order[3] (who, according to their extravagant calculation, lived 15,000 years before the reign of Amasis, and consequently later

[1] As in Aristides, p. 52, 8, 10; and the Orphic poems, Hymn 30, and 42, 4.
[2] 'Mystica vannus Iacchi.' [3] Herodot. ii. 145.

than Hercules, Pan, and other deities of the second class), we may suppose that this was intended to show that he visited the earth after the religion of Egypt had been long established; or that it was an idea introduced into their religious system subsequently to the systematic arrangement of the other members of their Pantheon. The sculptures, however, of the oldest monuments abundantly prove that, if it were of more recent introduction, the change must have occurred at a very remote period, before the erection of any building now extant in Egypt; as the tombs in the vicinity of the Pyramids, belonging to individuals who were contemporary with their founders, show that Osiris had at that time the same offices as in the age of the Ptolemies and Cæsars.

In an ancient inscription this deity is made to say, 'Saturn, the youngest of all the gods, was my father; I am Osiris:' and in another, 'I am the eldest son of Saturn, of an illustrious branch, and of noble blood; cousin of the day; there is no place where I have not been, and I have liberally distributed my benefits to all mankind.' But the character of Osiris given by Tibullus,[1] as the teacher of agriculture, seems to refer to Khem rather than to the son of Seb; and the attributes of the Egyptian Pan have, in more than one instance, been given to Osiris. The notion that the gods imparted to men the arts of civilisation, was common to the Egyptians as to the Greeks. Nu is represented teaching the kings the use of the bow; Chnoumis and Ptah show[2] them the potter's art; and Thoth instructs them in the mode of catching birds with the net, in the art of writing, and in everything connected with calculation, medicine, and astronomy. In all cases, however, it was an abstract idea representing the different means by which intellectual gifts were imparted from the deity to man. The Greeks identified Osiris with Bacchus,[3] in consequence of his reputed conquest of India, and some other analogies in the attributes or character of those two deities. 'The histories,' says Plutarch,[4] 'on which the most solemn feasts of Bacchus, the Titania and Nuktelia, are founded, exactly correspond with what we are told of the cutting to pieces of Osiris, of his rising again,

[1] Tibull. i. Eleg. 7.

[2] [At Philæ, these two gods are moulding the clay of which Osiris was to be formed, when he visited the world in human shape.—G. W.]

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 13, 37. The ancient Bacchus of Greece was represented with a long beard; the youthful Bacchus, on Greek vases, dates after the time of Alexander.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 35.

and of his new life.' He was also supposed to answer to Pluto,[1] from his office of ruler of Hades or Amenti; 'a circumstance of which the priests,' according to Plutarch,[2] 'never speak but with the utmost caution and reserve. For the *erroneous acceptation of this truth* has given occasion to much disturbance,—the minds of the vulgar not being able to conceive how the most pure and truly holy Osiris should have his dwelling under the earth, amongst the bodies of those who appear to be dead. This god is, indeed, removed as far as possible from the earth, being free from all communication with such beings as are liable to corruption and death. As, therefore, the souls of men are not able to participate of the divine nature while encompassed with bodies and passions; so, when they are freed from these impediments, and removed into the pure unseen regions which are not discernible to our senses, it is then that this god becomes their leader and king, and they behold that beauty for which Isis has so great an affection.' 'Osiris,' says Diodorus,[3] 'has been considered the same as Sarapis,[4] Bacchus, Pluto, or Ammon. Others have thought him Jupiter, many Pan; and some look upon Sarapis as the same as the Greek Pluto.' The historian also endeavours to identify him with the sun, as Isis with the moon,—an opinion maintained by other ancient writers; but which I have already shown to be at variance with the authority of the monuments, and the well-known character of Osiris. Many fanciful notions have been derived from his fabled rule on earth; and comparisons have been made with Osiris and other deities, which, as in the case of Isis, are mere speculations of a late time, totally at variance with the opinions of the Egyptians—at least, of those who understood their religion and the nature of the gods. Divested, then, of all the fancied connection with the sun and the many deities to whom Osiris is compared, we see in him the *Goodness* of the Deity, which was supposed to have been manifested upon earth for the benefit of mankind, and in a future state the *Judge* of the world. There were other personages in the lower regions, according to the Greek mythology, whose names bear the stamp of an Egyptian origin,[5] though they cannot be themselves

[1] Plut. de Isid. ss. 27, 28.
[2] Ibid. s. 79.
[3] Diodor. i. 25.
[4] [And in the Phœnician inscription at Malta the names *Abd-Osir* (slave of Osiris) and *Osir-shamar* are in the accompanying Greek, *Dionysus* and *Serapion*.—G. W.]
[5] Plato, in the Gorgias, makes Jupiter say that he 'has made his sons judges: two from Asia—Minos and Rhadamanthus—and one from Europe;' and that 'he will confer this additional dignity on

exactly traced amongst the deities of Amenti. These are Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus, the judges of the dead; in the first of which the Egyptian Min or Men is easily recognised, and in the last the name of Amenti itself.

Numerous explanations have been given of the mythological history of Osiris, many of which are the result of fancy, as those of Diodorus and Macrobius,[1] already mentioned. I have stated that the principal character of Osiris was the Goodness of the Deity, who was supposed to have visited the world; but upon the story of his imaginary life on earth were engrafted numerous allegorical fables, and different interpretations were given to them, according to the circumstances to which his history appeared to be adapted.

The existence of Osiris on earth was, of course, a speculative theory,—an allegory, not altogether unlike the *avatars* of the Indian Vishnoo; and some may be disposed to think that the Egyptians, being aware of the promises of the real Saviour, had anticipated that event, recording it as though it had already happened, and introducing that mystery into their religious system. Of the mysteries and of the festivals in honour of Osiris, we can obtain little or no information from ancient authors. The former were too sacred to be divulged; and few of the Greeks and other strangers were admitted even into those of the lesser order. They were divided into the greater and less mysteries; and before admission into the former, it was necessary that the initiated should have passed through all the gradations of the latter. But, to merit this great honour, much was expected of the candidate, and many even of the priesthood were unable to obtain it. Besides the proofs of a virtuous life, other recommendations were required; and to be admitted to all the grades of the higher mysteries, was the greatest honour to which anyone could aspire. It was from these that the mysteries of Eleusis[2] were borrowed: for, though celebrated in honour of Osiris, they applied more immediately to Isis, and to the grief she felt for the loss of her consort, as the former recorded the lamentations of Ceres at the fate of her daughter. The Thesmophoria, in honour of the same goddess, were also derived from Egypt. Herodotus mentions a ceremony on the Lake of Saïs, in which the history of Osiris was represented. They styled it

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Minos,—that he shall decide whatever may be inscrutable to the other judges.' (Taylor, Trans. iv. p. 453.)

[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 21.

[2] Diod. i. 29.

the Mysteries. 'Though,' adds the historian,[1] 'I am well acquainted with them, I refrain from revealing any, as well as those relating to the institutions of Ceres, called by the Greeks Thesmophoria; and I shall only mention as much of them as my religion permits. The daughters of Danaüs brought them from Egypt, and taught them to the Pelasgic women; but at length, the Dorians having expelled the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus, these rites were lost, except amongst the Arcadians, who, not being driven out of the country, continued to preserve them.' 'At Saïs,' says the same author, 'they show the sepulchre of him whom I do not think it right to mention on this occasion: it is in the sacred enclosure, behind the temple of Minerva, and close to the wall of this temple, whose whole length it occupies.' 'They also meet at Saïs to offer sacrifice[2] during a certain night, when every one lights in the open air a number of lamps around his house. The lamps consist of small cups filled with salt and oil, having a wick floating in it which burns all night. This fête is called that of the burning lamps. The Egyptians who are unable to attend also observe the sacrifice and burn lamps at home; so that not only at Saïs, but throughout Egypt, the same illumination takes place. They assign a sacred reason for the fête celebrated on this night, and the respect they have for it.'

Of the ceremonies during the fête of Busiris, I shall speak in describing the goddess Isis. It was held in honour of her and of Osiris; Busiris, like Philæ, Abydus, Memphis, Taposiris, and other places, claiming the honour of being the supposed burial-place[3] of this mysterious deity.

Having noticed the metaphysical character of Osiris, I proceed to examine some of the allegories founded upon his fabulous history; though, as already stated, I believe them to be for the most part mere fanciful speculations, forming no part of their religious belief, but rather designed to amuse the ignorant and satisfy the people with a plausible story; while the real purport of all connected with the deity was reserved for those alone who were admitted to a participation of the mysteries.

Of these, the principal one is that in which he is compared to the Nile, and Isis to the land of Egypt. 'By Osiris,' says Plutarch,[4] 'they mean the Nile; by Isis, that part of the

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[1] Herodot. ii. 171.
[2] Ibid. ii. 62.
[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 21.
[4] Ibid s. 32.

country which Osiris or the Nile overflows; and by Typho, the sea, which, by receiving the Nile as it runs into it, does as it were tear it into many pieces, and entirely destroy it, excepting only so much of it as is admitted into the bosom of the earth in its passage over it, which is thereby rendered fertile.' And the notion of Osiris being born on the right side of the world, and perishing on the left, is explained 'by the rising of the Nile in the south country, which is the left, and running northwards till it is swallowed up by the sea.'

The story of the supposed life of Osiris is briefly as follows.[1] 'Osiris, having become king of Egypt, applied himself towards civilising his countrymen, by turning them from their former barbarous course of life, teaching them moreover to cultivate and improve the fruits of the earth. . . . With the same good disposition, he afterwards travelled over the rest of the world, inducing the people everywhere to submit to his discipline, by the mildest persuasion. . . . During his absence from his kingdom, Typho had no opportunity of making any innovations in the state, Isis being extremely vigilant in the government, and always on her guard. After his return, however, having first persuaded seventy-two other persons to join with him in the conspiracy, together with a certain queen of Ethiopia named Aso, who chanced to be in Egypt at the time, he contrived a proper stratagem to execute his base designs: for, having privily taken the measure of Osiris's body, he caused a chest to be made exactly of that size, as beautiful as possible, and set off with all the ornaments of art. This chest he brought into the banqueting room, where after it had been much admired by all present, Typho, as if in jest, promised to give it to any one of them whose body upon trial it might be found to fit. Upon this, the whole company, one after the other, got into it; but as it did not fit any of them, last of all Osiris laid himself down in it; upon which the conspirators immediately ran together, clapped on the cover, and then, fastening it on the outside with nails, poured melted lead over it. After this, having carried it away to the river-side, they conveyed it to the sea by the Tanaïtic mouth of the Nile, which for this reason is still held in the utmost abhorrence by the Egyptians, and never named by them but with proper marks of detestation. These things happened on the 17th day of the month Athyr, when the sun was in

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 13.

Scorpio, in the 28th year of Osiris's reign; though others say he was no more than twenty-eight years old at the time. The first who knew the accident that had befallen their king, were the Pans and Satyrs who lived about Chemmis; and they, immediately acquainting the people with the news, gave the first occasion to the name of *Panic terrors*. . . . . Isis, as soon as the report reached her, cut off one of the locks of her hair, and put on mourning; whence the spot where she then happened to be has ever since been called Koptos, or the city of mourning. And being informed that Osiris, deceived by her sister Nephthys, who was in love with him, had unwittingly taken her to his embraces instead of herself, as she concluded from the melilot-garland which he had left with her, she proceeded to search out the child, the fruit of their unlawful union. For her sister, dreading the anger of her husband Typho, had exposed it as soon as it was born; and it was not without great difficulty that, by means of some dogs, she discovered the place of its concealment. Having found it, she bred it up; and it afterwards obtained the name of Anubis.' 'At length she received more particular news of the chest. It had been carried by the waves of the sea to the coast of Byblos, and there gently lodged in the branches of a tamarisk bush, which in a short time had shot up into a large tree, growing round the chest, and enclosing it on every side, so that it could not be seen; and the king of the country, having cut down the tree, had made the part of the trunk wherein the chest was concealed, a pillar to support the roof of his house. . . . Isis, having gone to Byblos, obtained possession of this pillar, and then set sail with the chest for Egypt. . . . But intending a visit to her son Horus (Orus), who was brought up at Butus, she deposited the chest in the meantime in a remote and unfrequented place. Typho, however, as he was one night hunting by the light of the moon, accidentally met with it, and, knowing the body enclosed in it, tore it into fourteen pieces, disposing them up and down in different parts of the country. Being acquainted with this event, Isis set out once more[1] in search of the scattered members of her husband's body, using a boat made of the papyrus rush, in order more easily to pass through the lower and fenny parts of the country . . . . And one reason assigned for the many different sepulchres of Osiris shown in Egypt, is, that wherever any one of his scattered limbs was discovered, she buried it in that

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 18.

spot; though others suppose that it was owing to an artifice of the queen, who presented each of those cities with an image of her husband, in order that, if Typho should overcome Horus in the approaching conquest, he might be unable to find the real sepulchre. Isis succeeded in recovering all the different members, with the exception of one, which had been devoured by the Lepidotus, the Phagrus, and the Oxyrhynchus; for which reason these fish are held in abhorrence by the Egyptians. To make amends, therefore, for this loss, she consecrated the Phallus, and instituted a solemn festival to its memory.' 'A battle at length took place between Horus and Typho, in which the latter was taken prisoner. Isis, however, to whose custody he was committed, so far from putting him to death, set him at liberty; which so incensed Horus, that he tore off the royal diadem she wore; but Hermes substituted in its stead a helmet made in the shape of an ox's head. After this, Typho publicly accused Horus of illegitimacy; but, with the assistance of Hermes, the question was set at rest by the judgment of the gods themselves; and at length two other battles were fought, in which Typho was defeated. It is also related that Isis had intercourse with Osiris after his death, and, in consequence, brought forth Harpocrates, who came into the world before his time, and lame in his lower limbs.' Proceeding with the examination of the different parts of this allegorical fable, Plutarch observes[1] that, 'Osiris being the inundation of the Nile, and Isis the land irrigated by it,' from the conjunction of these two, Horus was born, meaning thereby that just and seasonable temperature of the circumambient air which preserves and nourishes all things. Horus is, moreover, supposed to have been brought up by Latona, in the marshy country about Butus, because a moist and watery soil is best adapted to produce those vapours and exhalations which serve to relax the excessive drought arising from heat. In like manner, they call the extreme limits of their country, their confines, and sea-shores, Nephthys, Teleute, or the end, whom they suppose to have been married to Typho. Now, as the overflowings of the Nile are sometimes very great, and extend to the boundaries of the land, this gave rise to the story of the secret intercourse between Osiris and Nephthys, as the natural consequence of so great an inundation would be the springing up of plants in those parts of the country which were formerly barren. Hence they

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 38.

imagine that Typho was first made acquainted with the infidelity of his wife by the melilot-garland which fell from the head of Osiris while in her company; and that the legitimacy of Horus, the son of Isis, may thus be explained, as well as the illegitimacy of Anubis, who was born of Nephthys. 'Furthermore, by the conspiracy of Typho, and his tyranny, are to be understood the force and power of drought, which overcome the moisture whence the increase of the Nile proceeds. His being assisted by the queen of Ethiopia refers to the southern winds blowing from that country; which when strong enough to prevail against the Etesian or annual northern ones, that carry the clouds towards Ethiopia, prevent those showers of rain from falling and contributing to the increase of the Nile. . . . As to the shutting up of Osiris in a chest, this signifies the withdrawing of the Nile within its own banks, when the Etesian winds have ceased, which happens in the month Athyr. About this time, in consequence of the increasing length of the nights, the power of darkness appearing to prevail, whilst that of light is diminished, the priests practise doleful rites, in token of the grief of the goddess. One of these is to expose to public view a gilded ox, covered with a pall of fine black linen; this animal being regarded as the living image of Osiris. The ceremony lasts four days, beginning on the 17th of the month, and is intended to represent four things:—1st, the falling of the Nile, and its return within its own channel; 2nd, the ceasing of the north winds; 3rd, the length of the nights and decrease of the days; and, lastly, the destitute condition in which the land then appears. Thus they commemorate what they call the loss of Osiris. But upon the 19th of the month Pachon, they march in procession towards the sea, whither the *stolistæ* and priests carry the sacred chest, containing a vessel of gold, into which they pour some river-water, and all present exclaim, "Osiris is found." Then throwing fresh mould into the water, and mixing with it aromatics and precious incense, they make an image in the form of a crescent, which is dressed up and adorned, to show that these gods are the powers of earth and water.[1]

'Isis having recovered the body of Osiris, and brought her son Horus to maturity (whose strength, by means of exhalations

[1] Clem. Recogn. lib. x. 27: 'Osiri aquam, Hammoni arietem;' Origen, V. in Celsum, p. 65: 'Osiris water, and Isis earth;' or the Nile, according to Heliodorus, lib. ix.; and Clem. Homil. vi. 9: 'aquam terrâ inferiorem. . . . Osirin nuncupârunt.'

and clouds, was continually increasing), Typho was in his turn conquered, though not totally destroyed. For the goddess, who is the earth, in order to maintain a proper temperament of heat and cold, would not permit this enemy of moisture to be quite extinguished, but loosed his bonds and set him at liberty, well knowing that it was impossible for the world to subsist in perfection, if the force of heat was totally extinguished.'

To sum up the details of this story according to the foregoing interpretation, we may apply to each its distinct meaning, as follows:—Osiris, the inundation of the Nile. Isis, the irrigated portion of the land of Egypt. Horus, their offspring, the vapours and exhalations reproducing rain. Buto, Latona, the marshy lands of Lower Egypt, where those vapours were nourished. Nephthys, the edge of the desert, occasionally overflowed during the high inundations. Anubis, the son of Osiris and Nephthys, the production of that barren soil, in consequence of its being overflowed by the Nile. Typho, the sea, which swallowed up the Nile water. The conspirators, the drought overcoming the moisture, from which the increase of the Nile proceeds. The chest in which Osiris's body was confined, the banks of the river, within which it retired after the inundation. The Tanaïtic mouth, the lake and barren lands about it, which were held in abhorrence from their being overflowed by the river without producing any benefit to the country. The twenty-eight years of his life, the 'twenty-eight cubits to which the Nile rises at Elephantine, its greatest height.'[1] The 17th of Athor, the period when the river retires within its banks. The queen of Ethiopia, the southern winds preventing the clouds being carried southwards. The different members of Osiris's body, the main channels and canals by which the inundation passed into the interior of the country, where each was said to be afterwards buried. That one which could not be recovered was the generative power of the Nile, which still continued in the stream itself; or, as Plutarch thinks, it was said to have been thrown into the river, because 'water or moisture was the first matter upon which the generative power of the deity operated, and that principle by means of which all things capable of being were produced.' The victory of Horus, the power possessed by the clouds in causing the successive inundations of the Nile. Harpocrates, whom Isis brought forth about the winter solstice, those

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 43.

weak shootings of the corn produced after the inundation had subsided.[1]

According to another interpretation,[2] 'by Typho is meant the orb of the sun, and by Osiris that of the moon; the former being of a scorching, the latter of a moistening and prolific, nature. When, therefore, they say that Osiris's death happened on the 17th day of the month, it means that the moon is then at its full, and from that time is continually on the wane. In like manner, Osiris is said to have lived or reigned twenty-eight years, alluding to the number of days in which she performs her course round the earth. As to his being torn into fourteen pieces, this is supposed to mark out the number of days in which the moon is continually decreasing from the full to its change; and by the war between Typho and Horus is meant, that in this terrestrial system sometimes the principle of corruption prevails, and sometimes that of generation, though neither of them is ever able entirely to conquer or destroy the other.'

For other explanations of this history, I refer the reader to Plutarch's treatise of Isis and Osiris; who very properly observes, that we are not to suppose the adventures there related to be 'really true, or ever to have happened in fact.'[3] He treats it, as it really was, in the light of a metaphysical question; for, he adds, he alone is competent to understand it, 'who searches into the hidden truths it contains, and examines the whole by the dictates of reason and philosophy.'[4] 'And taking a proper view of these matters, we must neither look upon water, nor the sun, nor the earth, nor the heavens, simply as Osiris and Isis; nor must we by Typho understand either fire, or drought, or the sea; but, in general, whatever in these bodies is irregular and disorderly, or whatever is bad, is to be attributed to Typho; as, on the contrary, whatever is good and salutary is the operation of Isis and the image of Osiris.'[5]

Many, however, were disposed to clothe with reality all the emblematic characters of Osiris, looking upon abstract ideas or allegories as positive facts. With this view, they deemed him the deity of humidity, instead of the abstract quality or benefit arising from it; and hence 'the votaries of Osiris abstained from destroying a fruit-tree, or marring any springs of water.'[6] A similar notion also induced them 'to carry a water-jar at the head of the sacred processions in honour of this god.'[7]

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 65.
[2] Ibid. s. 41.
[3] Ibid. ss. 11, 20.
[4] Ibid. s. 3.
[5] Ibid. s. 64.
[6] Ibid. s. 35.
[7] Ibid. s. 36.

In the fabulous history of Osiris, we may trace a notion, common to all nations, of a god who in the early ages of their history[1] lived on earth, and was their king, their instructor, and even the father of their race; who taught them the secrets of husbandry, the arts of civilisation, and the advantages of social intercourse; and who, extending his dominion over the whole world, permitted all mankind to partake of his beneficent influence. They represent him to have been assailed by the malignant attacks of some monster, or enemy of man, either as an evil principle, or the type of a destructive power. He is sometimes exposed to the waters of the sea—an evident allusion to the great deluge—from which he is saved by taking refuge in a cavern, or by means of a floating island, a lotus, or a snake, which bears him safely to the summit of a mountain. He is frequently aided by the interposition of some female companion, who is his sister, his daughter, or his wife, and the mother, as he is the father, of the human race, which springs from their three sons; like the family of Adam, repeated in that of Noah. But though we observe some analogy between these and the history of Osiris, it is only in particular points that any positive resemblance can be admitted: the office of Osiris was of a more important character than that usually assigned to the hero-god and parent of man; as the notion of a trinity was of a more exalted nature than that given to the material work of its hands—the three sons of Noah and his prototype.

Osiris is frequently represented of a black colour, as Plutarch observes,[2] but more usually green; and when Judge of Amenti, he has the form of a mummied figure, holding in his crossed hands the crook and flagellum, which is the mystical *vannus*—'whose fan is in his hand.' He is clad in pure white, and wears on his head the cap of Upper Egypt decked with ostrich-feathers; which head-dress, if not exclusively, at least particularly, belongs to this deity. In the sculptures, a spotted skin is sometimes suspended near him—an emblem supposed to connect him with the Greek Bacchus;[3] and occasionally assuming the character of 'stability,' he appears with his head and even face covered with the four-barred symbol,[4] which in hieroglyphics has that

[1] The Bisharee tribe of Arabs still speak of their founder Bega, who was their first parent as well as god.

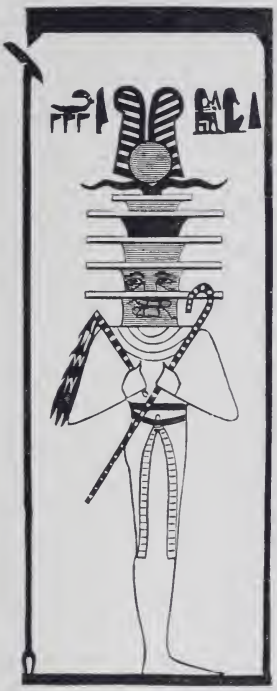
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 33.

[3] Diodor. i. 11. The skin is usually represented without the head; but some instances where this is introduced show it to be the leopard or panther; which, as well as the nebris, belonged to Bacchus.

[4] Woodcut No. 518. Osiris was also called Lord of *Tattu*, or the city of the Tat, supposed to be Busiris.—S. B.

signification, and which may also refer to the intellect of the Deity.

In former times, the four-barred symbol of stability was mistaken for a Nilometer, as the sign of life or *crux ansata* was compelled to submit to the unintelligible name of 'Key of the Nile.' So far, however, is the latter from any connection with the river, that it is less frequently seen in the hand of the god Nilus than any deity of the Egyptian Pantheon; and the former never occurs among the numerous emblems or offerings he bears. It is represented as a sort of stand or support in workmen's shops, where, for the sake of the goods they wished to sell, we may charitably hope it required no graduated Nilometer to measure the height of the intrusive inundation.



Osiris Tat, called 'Sept, father of the gods.'
No. 518.

Osiris also takes the character of the god Bennu, with the head of a crane, peculiarised by a tuft of two long feathers; and he sometimes appears as a human figure, with a simple cap surmounted by two ostrich plumes. The statement of Plutarch,[1] that the dress of Osiris was of one uniform shining colour, is confirmed by the paintings, which generally represent him clad in white. Isis was dressed in robes of various hues, because, according to the same writer, 'her power was wholly conversant about *matter*, which becomes all things and admits all, light and darkness, day and night, fire and water, life and death, beginning and end.' Osiris also appears, when in the character of Socharis-Osiris, with the head of a hawk.[2] Under that title he has some connection with Ptah; and it is then that he is considered to have risen from the dead after his visit to the world. The phallic ceremonies, said to have been performed in honour of Osiris, appear rather to have belonged to the generative principle of the deity worshipped under the name of Khem; though

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 78.

[2] Ibid. s. 51.

Plutarch and other writers assert that they derived their origin from the search made by Isis for the scattered members of her husband.[1] Plutarch, in another place, says,[2] the festival of the Paamylia, which bears a great resemblance to the Phallophoria of Greece, was kept in honour of the birth of Osiris, and so called from Paamyles, to whom the education of Osiris had been intrusted by his father Saturn. 'From the manner of celebrating it,' he adds,[3] 'it is evident that Osiris is, in reality, the great principle of fecundity. They therefore carry about in procession and expose to public view a statue of this god with the triple phallus, signifying that he is the first principle, and that every such principle, by means of its generative faculty, multiplies what proceeds from, or is produced by, it. The phallus being threefold, merely implies a great or indefinite number;' or it probably refers to the action of that principle upon matter, which was represented by the number *three*.

It is probably the same to which Herodotus alludes, as a fête of Bacchus.[4] 'On that occasion, every one killed a pig before his door, at the hour of dinner; and then restored it to the person of whom it had been purchased. The Egyptians,' he adds, 'celebrate the rest of this festival nearly in the same manner as the Greeks, excepting the sacrifice of pigs; but, in lieu of phalli, they make little puppets about a cubit high, which women carry about the towns and villages, and set in motion by means of a string. They are accompanied by a chorus, with a flute-player[5] at their head, singing the praises of the deity.' The historian then describes the appearance of these phallic figures, which he ascribes to a sacred reason; and it is a curious fact that similar puppets are made by the Egyptians on the occasions of public rejoicing at the present day.

The name of Osiris is frequently enclosed in an oval like those of the kings; but the hieroglyphics forming the name itself generally precede it, and within is the title, 'manifester of goodness and truth.' His usual appellation is 'Osiris, president of Amenti,' or 'Lord of Abydus;' and I have found an instance of his being styled 'King of the Gods.' He was the first member of the triad composed of Osiris, Isis, and Horus; his worship was universal throughout Egypt; and every city assigned to him a conspicuous post among the contemplar gods it worshipped. [The worship of Osiris, one of the most extensive at a later

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 18.
[2] Ibid. s. 12.
[3] Ibid. s. 36.
[4] Herodot. ii. 48.
[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 8.

period, is found chiefly in connection with that of the sepulchres, and the tablets and other objects of the dead are consecrated to him. The principal incidents detailed by Plutarch are found in the different inscriptions, with some additional ones: his identification with the principal deities of Egypt as the son of Ra and emanation of the god Ptah; his proceeding from the north of the sea; the scarabæus, the living type of Ptah and Ra, proceeding from his nostril; his representation by two crocodiles or a serpent, and his assimilation to the god Sebak, and the recovery of his limbs in the water by Horus in the shape of a crocodile; his personification of the earth, and his rule over the sand and Anrut, or land of sterility, and Egypt being the eye of Osiris; his connection with the Apis as the black bull and bull of the west; his residence in the sycamore-tree and the *nar* or tamarisk, with the Bennu personified as his soul; his mystical annular shape, and his festival of dwelling in the Amenti on the 16th of the month Choeak.[1] The myth of Osiris in its details—the laying out of his body by his wife Isis and his sister Nephthys, the reconstruction of his limbs, his mystical chest, and other incidents connected with his myth—are represented in detail in the temple of Philæ.

It is principally, however, as the one dwelling in the West, and the judge of the Hall of the Two Truths, or of the dead, and awarder of the final judgment, that Osiris is seen wearing the atef, seated on his throne, attended by Isis and Nephthys, while the heart of the deceased is weighed in a scale against the feather of truth. The deceased being led in by Ma, Truth, or Anubis, Thoth records the judgment; and the lotus of the sun, with the four gods or genii, as they are called, of the dead, are seen; while the *Am*, or the devouring Cerberus of the Egyptian Hell, and the forty-two avenging dæmons, each the punisher of a fault, are seated before him awaiting the final decree of Osiris.—S. B.]

Each town had its protecting deity, who presided over it; and the post of honour in the adytum, as in the most conspicuous parts of the temple erected in his honour, was assigned to him. The peculiar triad of the place also held a prominent station in the sculptures; and to the contemplar gods was assigned a post according to the consideration they there enjoyed. But the deities worshipped in the towns of one nome, or province

[1] Lefebure, 'Le Mythe Osirien,' Paris, 1874-75.

of Egypt, did not always receive the same honours in another; and it frequently happened that, though acknowledged to be deities of their country and treated with every mark of respect, many of them were omitted in the list of contemplar gods. This must necessarily have happened in small temples, which could only admit a portion of the Egyptian Pantheon, especially as the tutelary deity of the place alone occupied many and the choicest places. But few temples, if any, denied a post to Isis and Osiris, 'the greatest of all the gods.'[1] 'For,' says Herodotus, 'the Egyptians do not give equal honours to all their gods, and the only two to whom the same worship is universally paid are Isis and Osiris.'[2] With regard to the sacred animals, they were looked upon with feelings so different in various parts of the country, that those worshipped in one town were often held in abhorrence in another; as is shown by the civil war between the Oxyrhynchites and the people of Cynopolis, mentioned by Plutarch,[3] and by a similar contest related in Juvenal[4] between the people of Ombos and Tentyris. But, as I have elsewhere observed, though the objects of their worship varied, it is not probable that such excesses were committed in early times, during the rule of their native princes. Philæ and Abydus were the two places where Osiris was particularly worshipped; and so sacred was the former, that no one was permitted to visit that holy island without express permission; and in the temple which still remains there, his mysterious history is recorded in the manner already mentioned. Besides the celebration of the great mysteries, which took place at Philæ, as at Saïs and Busiris, a grand ceremony was performed at a particular time, when the priests in solemn procession visited his tomb and crowned it with flowers.[5] Plutarch even pretends that all access to the island was forbidden at every other period, and that no bird would fly over, or fish swim near, this consecrated ground. 'The sepulchre of Osiris at Philæ,' says Diodorus,[6] 'is revered by all the priests throughout Egypt; and 360 cups are filled daily with milk[7] by priests expressly appointed for this purpose, who, calling on the names of the gods, utter a solemn lamentation; wherefore the island can only be approached by the priests; and the most solemn oath taken by the inhabitants of the Thebaïd is to swear by Osiris, who lies buried at Philæ.' The temple of this deity

[1] Herodot. ii. 40. [2] Ibid. ii. 42. [3] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.
[4] Juv. Sat. xv. 36. [5] Plut. de Isid. s. 21. [6] Diodor. i. 22.
[7] Milk was used in early times for libations, as by Romulus.

at Abydus was also particularly honoured; and so holy was the place itself considered by the Egyptians, that persons living at some distance from it sought, and perhaps with difficulty obtained, permission to possess a sepulchre within its necropolis; in order that, after death, they might repose in ground hallowed by the tomb of this great and mysterious deity. This fact is noticed by Plutarch,[1] and confirmed by the discovery of inscriptions there, which state the deceased were natives of Thebes and other places. I have observed that Memphis, Busiris, Taposiris, and other towns also claimed the honour of being the burial-places of Osiris;[2] and the reason that Apis, 'which they looked upon as the image of the soul of Osiris, was kept at Memphis, seems to have been in order to place it as near his body as possible.'[3] Indeed, the name of that city, which signifies the 'place of good,' appears to refer to, and perhaps to have been called from, Osiris, who was the '*Goodness*' of the Deity; and from its being his reputed burial-place, and the abode of his representative on earth, the bull Apis, we may find reason to prefer this explanation to that given by Plutarch,[4] who considers Memphis to mean the 'haven of good men.' The name of Busiris implies,[5] as Diodorus observes,[6] the burial-place of Osiris; and the same interpretation is given to Taposiris, though the word is not Egyptian as the former, but Greek; as are most of the names of towns mentioned by ancient writers.

Osiris was also worshipped under the form of Apis, the sacred bull of Memphis, or as a human figure with a bull's head, accompanied by the name 'Apis-Osiris.' According to Plutarch,[7] 'Apis was a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris;' and the same author[8] tells us that 'Mnevis, the sacred ox of Heliopolis, was also dedicated to Osiris, and honoured by the Egyptians with a reverence next to that paid to Apis, whose sire some pretend him to be.' This agrees with the statement of Diodorus, who says, Apis and Mnevis were both sacred to Osiris, and worshipped as gods throughout the whole of Egypt;[9] and Plutarch suggests that, from these well-known representations of Osiris, the people of Elis and Argos derived the idea of

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 20.

[2] The text gives the following places of which Osiris was said to be lord:—*Tattu*, or Busiris; *Abut*, or Abydos; and *Sem*, or *Ament*, the West.—S. B.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 20.

[4] Ibid. s. 21.

[5] There was more than one place in Egypt of this name. (Diodor. i. 17; and Plin. v. 10, and xxxvi. 12.)

[6] Diodor. i. 88.

[7] Plut. de Isid. ss. 29 and 30.

[8] Ibid. s. 33.

[9] Diodor. i. 21.

Bacchus with an ox's head; Bacchus being reputed to be the same as Osiris. Herodotus,[1] in describing him, says, 'Apis, also called Epaphus, is a young bull, whose mother can have no other offspring, and who is reported by the Egyptians to conceive from lightning sent from heaven, and thus to produce the god Apis. He is known by certain marks: his hair is black; on his forehead is a white triangular spot, on his back an eagle, and a beetle under his tongue, and the hair of his tail is double.' Ovid speaks of him as *variis coloribus Apis*. Strabo describes him with the forehead and some parts of his body of a white colour, the rest being black, by which signs they fix upon a new one to succeed the other when he dies. Plutarch[2] observes that, 'on account of the great resemblance they imagine between Osiris and the moon, his more bright and shining parts being shadowed and obscured by those that are of a darker hue, they call the Apis the living image of Osiris, and suppose him begotten by a ray of generative light, flowing from the moon, and fixing upon his dam at a time when she was strongly disposed for generation.'[3] Pliny[4] speaks of Apis 'having a white spot in the form of a crescent upon his right side, and a lump under his tongue in the form of a beetle.' Ammianus Marcellinus[5] says the white crescent on his right side was the principal sign by which he was known: and Ælian mentions twenty-nine marks by which he was recognised, each referable to some mystic signification. But he pretends that the Egyptians did not allow those given by Herodotus and Aristagoras. Some suppose him entirely black; and others contend that certain marks, as the

Asar-hapi, Osiris-Apis, or Sarapis. No. 519.

[1] Herodot. iii. 28.

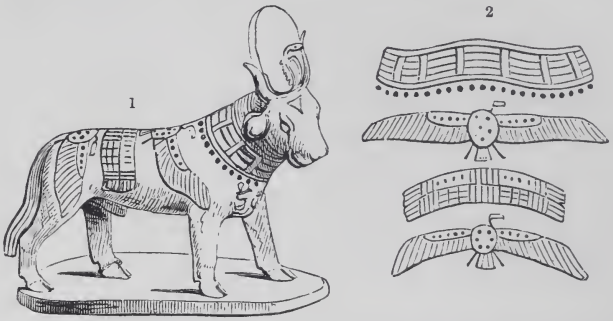
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 43.

[3] It appears from the inscriptions at the Serapeum of Memphis, that Apis was produced by Ptah out of a heifer, and he was the incarnation of the soul of that god, being called *anχ nem en Ptah*, 'the second life of Ptah.'—S. B.

[4] Plin. viii. 46.

[5] Amm. Marcellin. xxii. 14.

predominating black colour, and the beetle on his tongue, show him to be consecrated to the sun, as the crescent to the moon. Ammianus Marcellinus and others say that 'Apis was sacred to the moon, Mnevis to the sun;' and most authors seem to describe the latter of a black colour. With regard to the accuracy or inaccuracy of Herodotus respecting the peculiar marks of Apis, it



No. 520. 1. Bronze figure of Apis. 2. The marks on his back, collar, vulture, housing, vulture, and (*fig.* 1) triangle on head.

is difficult to determine. There is, however, evidence from the bronzes discovered in Egypt, that the vulture (not eagle) on his back was one of his characteristics, supplied, no doubt, like many others, by the priests themselves.[1]

To Apis belonged all the clean oxen chosen for sacrifice; the necessary requisite for which, according to Herodotus,[2] was,

No. 521. Hieroglyphical names of Apis.

that they should be entirely free from black spots, or even a single black hair; though, as I shall have occasion to remark in treating of the sacrifices, this statement of the historian is far from accurate. It may also be doubted if the name Epaphus, by which he says Apis was called by the Greeks in their language, was of Greek origin.[3]

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[1] These marks were supposed to be found in the conformation of the hair, and there was a particular kind of priests or experts who examined the cattle for that purpose. The perpetual succession of the Apis and his discovery by certain marks recalls to mind the succession of Budhs, and their constant presence in the world as an incarnate deity. The history of the incarnation of the Apis, his worship, and that of his divine mother, will be found in Mariette, 'Mémoire sur la Mère d'Apis,' 8vo. Paris, 1856.—S. B.

[2] Herodot. ii. 38.

[3] Ibid. ii. 28, 153; and iii. 27.

He is called in the hieroglyphic legends Hapi;[1] and the bull, the demonstrative and figurative sign following his name, is accompanied by the *crux ansata*, or emblem of life. It has seldom any ornament on its head; but the figure of Apis- (or Hapi-) Osiris generally wears the globe of the sun, and the asp, the symbol of divine majesty; which are also given to the bronze figures of this bull.

No. 522. Hap-asar, or Asar-hapi, Sarapis.

[Hieroglyphical name of Apis, in the Apis tablets at Saqqára (Memphis). He is called Apis-Osiris in the legend there.—G. W.]

Memphis was the place where Apis was kept, and where his worship was particularly observed. He was not merely looked upon as an emblem, but, as Pliny and Cicero say, was deemed 'a god by the Egyptians:'[2] and Strabo[3] calls Apis the same as Osiris. Psammatichus[4] there erected a grand court, ornamented with figures in lieu of columns twelve cubits in height, forming a peristyle around it, in which he was kept when exhibited in public. Attached to it were probably the two stables, 'delubra' or 'thalami,' mentioned by Pliny:[5] and Strabo says, 'Before the enclosure where Apis is kept, is a vestibule, in which also the mother of the sacred bull is fed; and into this vestibule Apis is sometimes introduced, in order to be shown to strangers. After being brought out for a little while, he is again taken back. At other times he is only seen through a window.' 'The temple of Apis is close to that of Vulcan; which last is remarkable for its architectural beauty, its extent, and the richness of its decoration.' The festival in honour of Apis lasted seven days; on which occasion a large concourse of people assembled at Memphis. The priests then led the sacred bull in solemn procession, every one coming forward from their houses to welcome him as he passed; and Pliny and Solinus affirm that children who smelt his breath were thought to be thereby gifted with the power of predicting future events.

Diodorus[6] derives the worship of Apis from the belief of 'the soul of Osiris having migrated into this animal, who was thus supposed to manifest himself to man through successive ages; though some report that the members of Osiris when

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[1] [This name Hapi is the same they gave to the god Nilus; and the personification of rivers as bulls was not confined to Egypt: it is found also among the Greeks, as in the story of Hercules and the Acheloüs, &c. (Conf. Horace, 4 Od. xiv. 25: 'Sic volvitur *tauriformis* Aufidus.') —G. W.]

[2] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. l. Plin. viii. 46.

[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 555. When Ælian (xi. 10) says, 'They compare Apis to *Horus*, being the cause of fertility,' he evidently means *Osiris*.

[4] Herodot. ii. 153.

[5] Plin. viii. 46.

[6] Diodor. i. 85.

killed by Typho having been deposited in a wooden ox, enveloped in byssine cloths, gave the name to the city of Busiris, and established its worship there.' When the Apis died,[1] certain priests chosen for this duty went in quest of another, who was known from the signs mentioned in the sacred books. As soon as he was found, they took him to the City of the Nile, preparatory to his removal to Memphis, where he was kept forty days; during which period women[2] alone were permitted to see him. These forty days being completed, he was placed in a boat, with a golden cabin, prepared to receive him, and he was conducted in state down the Nile to Memphis. Pliny and Ammianus Marcellinus, however, affirm that they led the bull Apis to the fountain of the priests, and drowned him with much ceremony, as soon as the time prescribed in the sacred books was fulfilled. This Plutarch states to be twenty-five years, the square of five, and the same number as the letters of the Egyptian alphabet,[3] beyond which it was forbidden that he should live; and having thus put him to death, they, with great lamentations, sought another to take his place. His body was embalmed, and a grand funeral procession took place at Memphis, when his coffin, 'placed on a sledge, was followed by the priests,' 'dressed in the spotted skins of fawns, bearing the thyrsus in their hands, uttering the same cries, and making the same gesticulations as the votaries of Bacchus during the ceremonies in honour of that god.'[4] This resemblance, however, to the Bacchic rites will cease to be as striking as Plutarch supposes, when we observe that the spotted skins were merely the leopard-skin dresses worn by the pontiffs on all grand ceremonies, which I have had frequent occasion to mention. The thyrsus was probably either their staff of office, the long-handled censer, or the vase for libation—the last two being usually carried by the high priests when about to officiate, either at the temple or the tomb. They relate that when the Apis died a natural death, his obsequies were celebrated on the most magnificent scale; and to such extravagance was this carried, that those who had the office of taking charge of him were often ruined by the heavy expenses entailed upon them. On one occasion, during the reign of the first Ptolemy, upwards of fifty talents were borrowed to defray

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 56.

[2] The rest of the statement, which at most could only be hearsay, is improbable; unless, perhaps, in Roman times.

[3] On the Apis cycle, see Lepsius, 'Einleit.,' and 'Ueber den Apiskreis,' Zeit. der O. M. G. Leipzig, 1853.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 35.

the necessary cost of his funeral;[1] 'and in our time,' says Diodorus, 'the curators of other sacred animals have expended one hundred talents in their burial.'

As soon as he was buried, permission was given to the priests to enter the temple of Sarapis,[2] though previously forbidden during the whole of the festival. From whatever cause the death of Apis took place, the people performed a public lamentation,[3] as if Osiris himself had died: and this mourning lasted until the other Apis, his successor, had been found. They then commenced their rejoicings, which were celebrated with an enthusiasm equal to the grief exhibited during the late mourning. The notion entertained by the Egyptians respecting the reappearance of the deity under the same form, and his entering the body of another bull as soon as the Apis died, confirms the opinion of Diodorus, that they believed in the transmigration of the soul of Osiris into the body of this animal: and the choice of it as the representative of Osiris was probably owing to the doctrine of emanation already mentioned.

Of the discovery of a new Apis Ælian[4] gives the following account:—'As soon as a report is circulated that the Egyptian god has manifested himself, certain of the sacred scribes, well versed in the mystical marks, known to them by tradition, approach the spot where the divine cow has deposited her calf, and there, following the ancient ordinance of Hermes, feed it with milk during four months, in a house facing the rising sun. When this period has passed, the sacred scribes and prophets resort to the dwelling of Apis, at the time of the new moon, and, placing him in a boat prepared for the purpose, convey him to Memphis, where he has a convenient and agreeable abode, with pleasure-grounds, and ample space for wholesome exercise. Female companions of his own species are provided for him, the most beautiful that can be found, kept in apartments, to which he has access when he wishes. He drinks out of a well or fountain of clear water; for it is not thought right to give him the water of the Nile, which is considered too fattening. It would be tedious to relate what pompous processions and sacred ceremonies the Egyptians perform on the celebration of the rising of the Nile, at the fête of the Theophania, in honour of this god, or what dances, festivities, and joyful assemblies are appointed on the occasion, in the towns and in the country.' He then says,

[1] Diodor. i. 84.
[2] Probably of Osiris or Apis.
[3] Conf. Tibull. lib. i. Eleg. vii. 28.
[4] Ælian, xviii. 10.

'The man from whose herd the divine beast has sprung, is the happiest of mortals, and is looked upon with admiration by all people;' which refutes his previous statement respecting the divine cow: and the assertions of other writers, as well as probability, show that it was not the mother which was *chosen to produce* a calf with particular marks, but that the Apis was selected from its having them. The honour conferred on the cow which bore it, was retrospective, being given her *after* the Apis with its proper marks 'had been found' by the priests; and this is consistent with the respect paid to the possessor of the favoured herd, in which the sacred bull had been discovered. 'Apis,' continues the naturalist, 'is an excellent interpretation of futurity. He does not employ virgins or old women sitting on a tripod, like some other gods, nor require that they should be intoxicated with the sacred potion; but inspires boys who play around his stable with a divine impulse, enabling them to pour out predictions in perfect rhythm.'

It was in consequence of these festivities that the anger of Cambyses was so much excited against the people of Memphis. Supposing that they intended to signify their satisfaction at the defeat of his army in the Ethiopian war,[1] he sent for the priests, and asked them the reason of their rejoicings. They replied, that it was the celebration of the manifestation of the god Apis, who had been a long time without appearing amongst them. Cambyses, little pleased with this reply, ordered the pretended deity to be brought before him; when, drawing his sword, he plunged it into the animal's body; and having killed it, he ordered the priests to be beaten, and all those who were found celebrating the festival to be put to death.

The Egyptians not only paid divine honours to the bull Apis, but, considering him the living image[2] and representative of Osiris, they consulted him as an oracle, and drew from his actions good or bad omens. They were in the habit of offering him any kind of food, with the hand: if he took it, the answer was considered favourable;[3] if he refused, it was thought to be a sinister omen. Pliny and Ammianus Marcellinus observe that he refused what the unfortunate Germanicus presented to him; and the death of that prince, which happened shortly after, was thought to confirm most unequivocally the truth of those presages. The Egyptians also drew omens respecting the welfare of their

[1] Herodot. iii. 27.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 39. Amm. Marcellin. lib. xxii.

[3] Plin. lib. viii. c. 48.

country, according to the stable in which he happened to be. To these two stables he had free access; and when he spontaneously entered one, it foreboded benefits to Egypt, as the other the reverse; and many other tokens were derived from accidental circumstances connected with this sacred animal.

Pausanias[1] says, that those who wished to consult Apis first burnt incense on an altar, filling the lamps with oil which were lighted there, and depositing a piece of money on the altar to the right of the statue of the god. Then placing their mouth near his ear, in order to consult him, they asked whatever question they wished. This done, they withdrew, covering their two ears until they were outside the sacred precincts of the temple; and there listening to the first expression anyone uttered, they drew from it the desired omen.

Children, also, according to Pliny and Solinus, who attended in great numbers during the processions in honour of the divine bull, received the gift of foretelling future events; and the same authors mention a superstitious belief at Memphis, of the influence of Apis upon the crocodile, during the seven days when his birth was celebrated. On this occasion, a gold and silver patera was annually thrown into the Nile, at a spot called from its form 'the Bottle:' and while this festival was held, no one was in danger of being attacked by crocodiles, though bathing carelessly in the river. But it could no longer be done with impunity after the sixth hour of the eighth day. The hostility of that animal to man was then observed invariably to return, as if permitted by the deity to resume its habits. Apis was usually kept in one or other of the two stables—seldom going out, except into the court attached to them, where strangers came to visit him. But on certain occasions he was conducted through the town with great pomp. He was then escorted by numerous guards, who made a way amidst the crowd, and prevented the approach of the profane; and a chorus of children singing hymns in his honour headed the procession. The attention paid to Apis, and the care they took of his health by scrupulously selecting the most wholesome food, were so great, that even the water he drank was taken from a particular well set apart for his use; and it was forbidden to give him the water of the Nile, in consequence of its being found to have a peculiarly fattening property. 'For,' says Plutarch,[2] 'they endeavour

[1] Pausan. lib. viii.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 5.

to prevent fatness as well in Apis as themselves; always studious that their bodies may sit as light about their souls as possible, in order that their mortal part may not oppress and weigh down the more divine and immortal.' Their idea of the fecundating qualities of the Nile water led the Egyptian shepherds to raise it from the river for their flocks, especially for ewes or goats which were not prolific; and to this Ælian attributes their producing five at a birth.[1] I have seen an instance of a bull with the globe and feathers between its horns, standing on a monument built at the side of a mountain—probably the Libyan range behind Memphis—and over it the name 'Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, the God of the West;' which was probably intended to represent Apis, in the character of that deity.[2] On the opposite side was a cow, also coming from a mountain, with a similar head-dress, and the long horns usually given to Athor, over which was the name Isis. This is one of many proofs of the analogy between the two goddesses; the more remarkable, from Isis being introduced with Apis, as she usually is with Osiris. A black bull with a white crescent on its shoulder, or a white spot upon the shoulder, and others on the haunch, the nose, round the eye, and on its legs, carrying a dead body, covered with a red pall, is sometimes represented at the foot of a mummy-case, or on a board deposited in the tomb.[3] This appears to be the Apis, in some office connected with Osiris, as ruler of Amenti. It runs in haste over the hills, on its way to the western region, where Osiris presided: and it is remarkable that the king, when running into the presence of the gods, with vases or other emblems in his hand, is sometimes accompanied by a bull. A 'white' bull also attended in the procession at the coronation of the Pharaohs; and the bull of Tum at Heliopolis, the Mnevis, was called 'the strong bull of Tum, of An or Heliopolis.'[4]

[The discovery by Mariette Bey, in 1851, of the Serapeum at Saqqára has added considerably to the knowledge of the Apis worship. It appears also that the step-shaped pyramid of Saqqára of the 1st Dynasty is the Apeum of the so-called old empire. The Serapeum of Memphis consisted of the series of galleries and chambers in which the bulls were buried, from the reign of Amenophis III. to the Roman Empire. The numerous

[1] Ælian, iii. 33.
[2] This is found on coffins.
[3] The inscription on some states it is 'Apis bearing away the body of Osiris.' Brit. Mus. No. 6681.
[4] Burton, Exc. Hier. 51.

tablets discovered record the date of the death of the Apis,[1] that of his discovery and enthronement at Memphis at the time of the later dynasty, and afford important chronological results. A long dromos of one hundred and thirty-six sphinxes led from the east side of the Egyptian Serapeum to the Greek Serapeum, which was a temple dedicated to the worship of the Sarapis of Pontus, and the alliance of Sarapis and Osiris, and not a sepulchre. The Asar-Hapis, Osiris or deceased Apis, was the son and 'repeated ' or ' second life of Ptah.'—S. B.]

The account given by Plutarch[2] of the introduction of Sarapis into Egypt, is as follows:—'Ptolemy Soter had a dream, in which a colossal statue, such as he had never seen before, appeared to him, commanding him to remove it as soon as possible from the place where it then stood, to Alexandria. Upon this, the king was in great perplexity, not knowing where the statue was. Sosibius, however, who was a great traveller, declared that he had seen one answering its description at Sinope. Soteles and Dionysius were, therefore, sent thither, and with much difficulty succeeded in bringing the statue to Egypt.

'Timotheus[3] the interpreter, and Manetho the Sebennite, as soon as it arrived and was shown to them, concluded, from the Cerberus and dragon, that it represented Pluto, and persuaded the king that it was no other than Sarapis. For it was not so called at Sinope; but, on its arrival at Alexandria, it obtained the name of Sarapis, which with the Egyptians answers to Pluto.[4] The observation of Heraclitus the physiologist, that Hades (Pluto) and Bacchus are the same, leads to a similar conclusion: Osiris answering to Bacchus, as Sarapis to Osiris, after he had changed his nature; for Sarapis is a name common to all, as those know who are initiated into the mysteries of Osiris. The opinion of those who pretend that "Sarapis is no god, but the

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[1] Mariette, 'Choix de Monuments,' Paris, 4to, 1856; 'Mémoire sur la Mère d'Apis,' 4to, Paris, 1856; 'Le Serapeum,' fol. Paris, 1857.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 28.

[3] Tacitus says he was an Athenian.

[4] This is the Greek type of Sarapis or Serapis, that of a bearded man, draped, with the expression of Hades or Pluto, wearing on his head a modius, and holding a sceptre, either standing or seated on a throne, at the side of which are an eagle, emblem of Zeus or Jove, and Cerberus, emblem of Hades. The modius is occasionally decorated with floral ornaments. This type of Sarapis without the adjuncts replaces on the coins and monuments the leading deities of the Egyptian Pantheon, such as Khnum, Amen, Ptah, Osiris, and Tum. It is to be distinguished from the Egyptian Asar-hapi, or Sarapis, which was always represented bull-headed, sometimes wearing the solar disk, and personifying the deceased Apis in contradistinction to the bull, or living Apis. At Rome and elsewhere the Egyptian religion under the Empire, known as the Isiac worship, was represented by Osiris, Sarapis, and Isis, and temples were erected to Sarapis alone. The greatest temple of Sarapis was at Alexandria.—S. B.

mere denomination of the sepulchral chest, into which the body of Apis, after death, is deposited," is perfectly absurd. The priests, indeed—at least, the greatest part of them—tell us, that Sarapis is no other than the mere union of Osiris and Apis into one word;[1] declaring that "Apis ought to be regarded as a fair and beautiful image of the soul of Osiris." For my own part, I cannot but think that this word is expressive of joy and gladness, since the festival which the Greeks call Charmosyna, or the feast of joy, is by the Egyptians termed Sarei.' Tacitus[2] gives the same account of the introduction of Sarapis into Egypt, which is confirmed by Macrobius and Pausanias;[3] and Clemens of Alexandria[4] states, 'on the authority of some persons, that the statue was sent as a present by the people of Sinope to Ptolemy Philadelphus, who had relieved their city from famine by a supply of corn. It was a representation of Pluto, and was placed in the promontory now called Racotis, where the temple of Sarapis stands. Others, however, affirm this Sarapis to be a Pontic statue, brought to Alexandria in consequence of the great concourse of strangers in that city.' From the foregoing statement of Plutarch, it is evident that the Sarapis, whose worship was introduced by the first Ptolemy from Sinope, was a new deity, previously unknown in the Pantheon of Egypt; and Macrobius[5] affirms that, though the Egyptians were compelled to receive Sarapis and Saturn into the order of gods, and to celebrate their rites after the manner of the Alexandrians, their temples were never admitted within the precincts of their towns. We therefore find no mention of Sarapis till the time of the Greeks and Romans; and that principally in cities founded or greatly frequented by them, as Alexandria, Canopus, Antinöopolis, and Berenice, in small Roman towns of the Oasis, in the Nitriotis,[6] or in quarries and stations in the deserts, where he was also invoked under the names of Pluto and Sol Inferus.[7] The form of Sarapis, according to the statues found at Rome, is totally different from that assigned to him in the Græco-Egyptian temples of Egypt; where he appears to be merely a modification of Osiris himself. Clemens describes the figure of the god to be of an azure colour approaching to black.

Indeed, from what Plutarch says, that Sarapis answered to

[1] Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 21, also says the name of Sarapis is composed of Osiris and Apis.
[2] Tacit. Hist. iv. cc. 83, 84.
[3] Pausan. in Athen.
[4] Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 20.
[5] Macrob. Saturn. i. 4.
[6] Strabo, xvii. p. 552.
[7] These inscriptions usually begin ΔΙΙ ΗΛΙΩΙ ΜΕΓΑΛΩΙ ΣΑΡΑΠΙΔΙ.

Osiris after he had changed his nature (that is, when Judge of Amenti, or, as Diodorus says,[1] in the character of Pluto), and that Sarapis was a name given to all persons after their death, it is evident that he was thought to resemble Osiris, in his character of President of the Lower Regions. But the mode of celebrating his worship was repugnant to the religious scruples of the Egyptians; he was therefore kept distinct, and refused a place amongst the gods of their Pantheon. Tacitus[2] tells us, that so great was the difference of opinion respecting this deity, that some thought him to be Æsculapius, others Osiris, others Jupiter, and others Pluto. According to Macrobius,[3] 'the Egyptian Sarapis being asked who he was, replied in these verses:

"I will let you know what kind of god I am.
The heavenly host is my head, my belly is the sea,
My feet are the earth, my ears are air,
And my two eyes the far-shining bright light of the sun."—[S. B.]

From which it appears that Sarapis and the sun are one and the same deity;' and hence the formulæ of so many Greek dedications to this god, which are inscribed, 'To Pluto, the Sun, the great Sarapis.' Prichard supposes that 'the rites of Æsculapius were borrowed by the Greeks from the worship of the Egyptian Sarapis;' 'the same animals, the serpent and cock,' which were 'appropriated to Sarapis, being the symbolical emblems or consecrated victims of the god of health:' but it must be observed that these emblems are not given him by the Egyptians; and the cock is never represented. He also states, on the authority 'of Porphyry and Eusebius, that he was supposed to preside over the invisible world, and to be the ruler of dæmons, or maleficent spirits.'[4] Some, indeed, are disposed to think that Sarapis was an Egyptian deity of an early era, and that the resemblance found to exist in the attributes of the god of Sinope shows the Egyptians recognised in him a god already known to them; while others conclude that he was altogether unknown in Egypt previous to the age of Ptolemy Soter. But I will endeavour to reconcile these opinions. The statue was thought to bear analogy to Osiris; the word Sarapis was taken from the name of that Egyptian deity, being a corruption of Apis-Osiris[5]

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[1] Diodor. i. 25. [2] Tacit. Hist. iv. 83.
[3] Macrob. Saturn. i. 25.
[4] Prichard, Egypt. Myth. p. 94.
[5] Plutarch (de Isid. s. 37) says, 'Osiris and Sarapis are none other than Epaphus (or Apis).' According to Clemens, 'Aristeas the Argive thought that Apis was called Sarapis;' and he has a strange idea of the Argive king Apis being the founder of Memphis. (Strom. i. p. 29.)

(or Osiris-Apis); and the new god was made a separate divinity in consequence of some objection to the mode of celebrating his worship. This is confirmed by what Pausanias says of the worship of Sarapis being introduced into Egypt; and of there having been a temple dedicated to him at Memphis, and another at Alexandria, previous to the reign of Ptolemy; the latter being, according to Pausanias,[1] 'the most splendid, as the former was the most ancient.' Tacitus also states that 'at Rhacotis[2] a small temple had been consecrated to the same deity, and *to Isis* before that time.' The deity, then, to whose temple they allude, was Osiris: Sarapis, who was only introduced into temples built by the Ptolemies and Cæsars, was a modified form of the husband of Isis; and the god of Sinope was thought or made to accord with the same deity. We may at once reject the statement of Eustathius, that the Jupiter of Sinope was the deity of Memphis, as we may question the truth of there being a hill near that city which bore the name of Sinopion. The endeavour, on the part of his votaries, to discover in Sarapis a resemblance to so many different deities, arose from their desire to remove that antipathy to his worship which the Egyptians had conceived, from the moment this foreign deity was introduced into their country; and every means were resorted to which could serve to dispel their prejudice, or induce them to perceive in him an affinity to their ancient gods. But the artifice had, as might be expected, little effect upon the priesthood, with the exception of those appointed to temples erected by the Ptolemies, in remote places, as at the Oases, Berenice, and other towns situated in the desert. And while few gods were known at Alexandria but this intruder, who was arbitrarily made to conform to or usurp the attributes of several other respectable divinities, the Alexandrian Greeks fancied, by giving him a comprehensive character similar to that mentioned by Macrobius, that they had united in him the essence of a whole assembly of gods.[3] But Sarapis was at no time Egyptian; he was always foreign to their worship, and treated as an intruder by the Egyptians; and at most he may be considered a Græco-Egyptian deity, attached to rather than belonging to the Pantheon of Egypt.

Isis, more frequently worshipped as a deity in the temples of

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[1] Pausan. Attic. edit. Siebelis, p. 42.

[2] Rhacotis or Racotis, Racôt, stood where Alexandria was built. (Tacit. Hist. lib. iv. 84; and Strabo, xvii. 545.)

[3] The Emperor Hadrian saw in him the God of the Jews and Christians.

Egypt than Osiris, except in a mystical character, has, from the number of attributes given her, been confounded with many other deities, and has obtained the title of Myrionymus, or 'with ten thousand names.'[1] Plutarch supposes her the same as Neith,[2] Athor,[3] Proserpine,[4] the moon,[5] and 'the beginning,' opposed to Nephthys, who was 'the end.' In the region of Amenti, she corresponded to Proserpine; where, as the wife of Osiris, the judge of the dead, the title Thermuthis, 'the *giver of death*,' if it really was applied to her, might serve to indicate her office. And if Philarchus says the latter name was given to the sacred asp, or basilisk, with which they crowned the statues of Isis, it may either have been confined to those occasions when so employed, or have been given it in the sense of 'deadly,' from its fatal bite.

Apuleius[6] addresses Isis as Ceres, or heavenly Venus, the sister of Phœbus, or Proserpine; and makes her say, 'I am Nature, the parent of all things, mistress of all the elements, the beginning of ages, sovereign of the gods, queen of the manes, the first of heavenly beings; my divinity, uniform in itself, is honoured under numerous forms, various rites, and different names. The Phrygians call me Pessinuntian,[7] mother-goddess; the Athenian autochthones, the Cecropian Minerva; the people of Cyprus, Paphian Venus; the arrow-armed Cretans, Diana Dictyana; the Sicilians, Stygian Proserpine; the Eleusinians, ancient Ceres; others, Juno, Bellona, Hecate, Rhamnusia; but the sun-illumined Ethiopians, and the Egyptians, renowned for ancient lore, worshipping me with due ceremonies, call me by my real name, Queen Isis.'[8]

According to Herodotus,[9] 'Ceres and Bacchus were the same as Isis and Osiris, and had sovereign power in the lower regions.' An inscription of Arrius Balbinus, found at Capua, calls 'Isis one and all things:' and Diodorus[10] makes the goddess say, 'I am Isis, queen of the country, educated by Mercury (Thoth). What I have decreed, no one can annul. I am the eldest daughter of Saturn (Seb), the youngest of the gods. I am the sister and wife of King Osiris. I am the first who taught men the use of corn. I am the mother of Horus; I am she who rises in the Dog-star;

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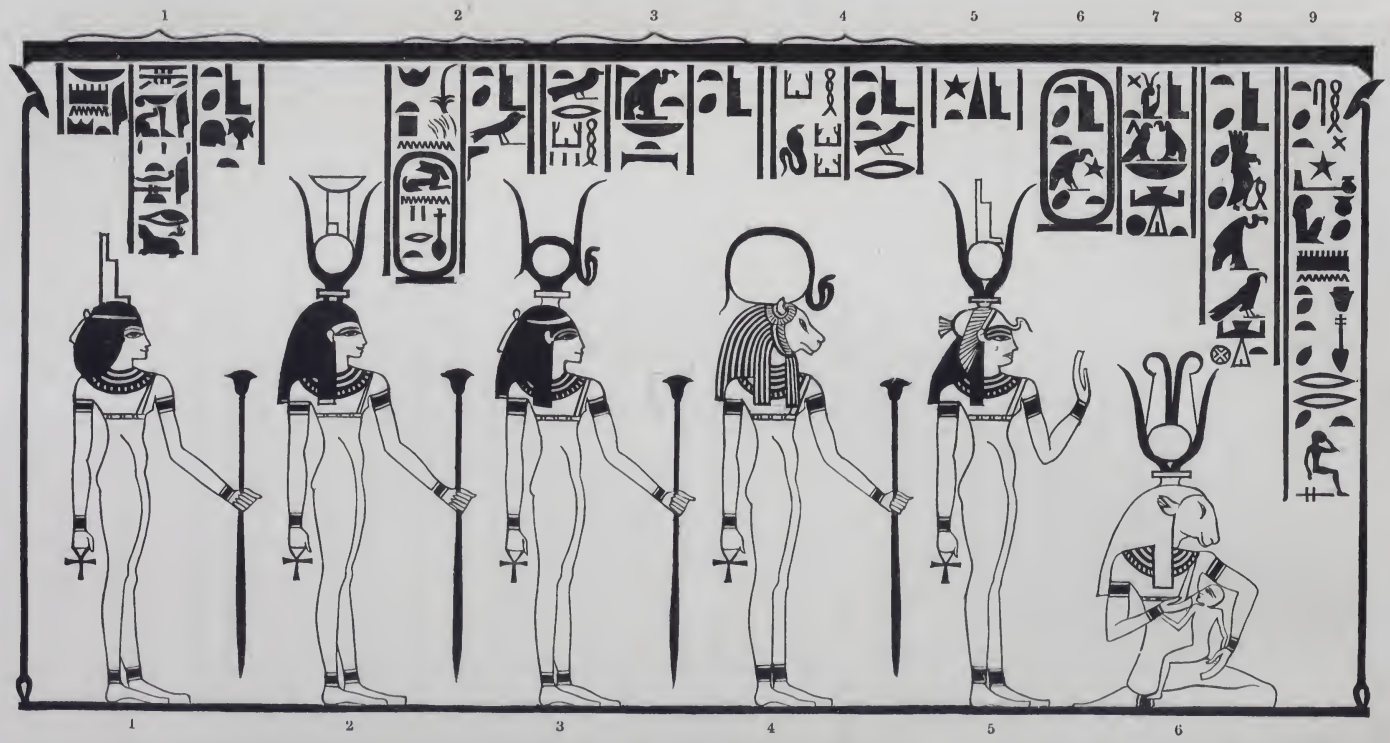
[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 33: Greek inscriptions in Egypt, &c.
[2] Ibid. s. 9.
[3] Ibid. s. 56.
[4] Ibid. s. 27.
[5] Ibid. s. 52. The moon was supposed by the Greeks to have a similar diversity of character. (Diodor. i. 25. Diog. Laërt. de Vit. Philos. in Proëm. &c.)
[6] Apul. Met. ii. 241.
[7] The Cybele of Pessinus.
[8] Diodorus (i. 29) says, the Athenians swore by Isis.
[9] Herodot. ii. 123, 156.
[10] Diodor. i. 27.



Asi or Isis.

1. 'Isis, dwelling in the heart of the two countries, lamenting her father [brother] Osiris.' 2. 'Isis, the great [mother] goddess, royal principal lady (chief wife) of Unnefer or Onnophiris.' 3, 4. 'Isis, the mother-lady of heaven, Urthet.' 5. 'Isis Setp or Sat (Sothis).' 6. 'Isis, the mother-goddess.' 7, 8. 'Isis, the great mother of Horus, lord of Denderah.' 9. 'Isis, the mother-goddess, the good nurse suckling her son.'

the city of Bubastis was built in my honour. Rejoice, O Egypt, which hast been to me a nurse.' The same author also says, 'There is a great question respecting this goddess, as well as Osiris; some calling her Isis, others Ceres, Thesmophoros, the Moon, or Juno; and many give her all these names.' [1]

Plutarch considers Isis 'to be the Earth,[2] the feminine part of nature,[3] or that property which renders her a fit subject for the production of all other beings;' and he thinks [4] 'that the dresses of her statues were made with a variety of colours, from her power being wholly conversant about matter, which becomes and admits all things.' The notion of Isis [5] being the earth agrees with her supposed resemblance to Ceres, under the name of Demeter, or Mother Earth; and Diodorus [6] says, that 'the Egyptians, considering the earth to be the receptacle of all things that are born, call it *mother*, as the Greeks in like manner denominate it Demeter;—the word being slightly altered by time from the ancient Mother Earth,[7] as Orpheus attests: "Mother of all things, Demeter giver of wealth." [8]'

The numerous characters she bore, arose from the various combinations into which she entered. She was considered to be matter in reference to the intellect of the Deity, which operated upon it in the creation. And, in accordance with this idea, Osiris and Isis were supposed to resemble the two members of 'the nuptial diagram of Plato, representing a right-angled triangle, whose perpendicular side is equal to 3, the base to 4, and the hypothenuse to 5; and in which the perpendicular is designed to indicate the masculine nature, the base the feminine, and the hypothenuse the offspring of both. Accordingly,' adds Plutarch, 'the first of these aptly represents Osiris, or the prime Cause; the second, Isis, or the receptive power; and the last, Orus, or the common effect of the other two.' [9] She was thought to answer to Proserpine, because she presided with Osiris in Amenti; and the hieroglyphics not only identify her with Hecate, but point out the Egyptian origin of that name in the legends accompanying her name, where she is styled 'Isis, the potent

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[1] Diodor. i. 25.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 38.

[3] Ibid. s. 53. Conf. Athenagor. Supplic. pro Christianis: Ἶσιν φύσιν αἰῶνος, ἐξ ἧς πάντες ἔφυσαν.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 78.

[5] The name of Isis was *As* or *Hes*, and written by the throne, and meant 'the seat;' the throne also entered into the name of Osiris, as *As-ar*, 'seat-maker,' but it is doubtful if the esoteric meaning was the same for her phonetic name. Woodcut No. 527.—S. B.

[6] Diodor. i. 12.

[7] Γῆν μήτερα.

[8] Γῆ μήτηρ πάντων, Δημήτηρ πλουτοδότειρα. Conf. Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

[9] Plut. de Isid. s. 56.

Hekte.' In comparing Anubis and Hecate, Plutarch would have been more correct if, for the former, he had substituted the name of Isis, when he says,[1] 'Anubis seems to be of the same power and nature as the Grecian Hecate, a deity common both to the celestial and infernal regions.' She is sometimes figured under the form of a scorpion, the emblem of the goddess Selk, with the legend 'Isis Selk;' but this is only in some inferior capacity connected with the mystic rites, or the region of Amenti. The greater number of the characters given to Isis by Greek writers appear to be mere fancies of a late time, unsupported by the authority of the monuments; and some are in direct opposition to the known sentiments of the Egyptians; as an instance of which, I may mention her supposed identity with the moon, which was represented by the god Thoth, and in no instance considered a female deity. I do not stop to examine, or even to enumerate, the idle tales which the Greeks repeated concerning Isis. I have already observed that both Osiris and his sister Isis were not deified persons who had lived on earth, but fabulous beings, whose history was founded on metaphysical speculation; and adapted to certain phenomena of nature, as in the allegory of the rising of the Nile, where she is the land of Egypt irrigated by the waters of the inundation. With the same spirit, and in continuation of her fabulous history, it was said that her soul was transferred after death to Sirius or the Dog-star, 'which the Egyptians call Sothis.'[2] That she had the name of Isis-Sothis, and was supposed to represent Sirius, is perfectly true, as the sculptures themselves abundantly prove;[3] and the heliacal rising of that star is represented on the ceiling of the Memnonium at Thebes, under the form and name of this goddess. It was not, however, in consequence of a belief entertained in Egypt—at least, by the initiated—that the soul of Isis had been transferred to the Dog-star: this was looked upon in the same light as the connection between the god Thoth and the moon, who in one of his characters answered to the Lunus of the Egyptians, and in another corresponded to Mercury. In like manner, Isis and other deities assumed on different occasions various characters; and Sothis, the Dog-star, was one of those assigned to the sister of Osiris. This adaptation of Isis, and other deities, to the planetary system, led to the remark of Eusebius,[4] 'that the Egyptians

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[1] Plut de Isid. s. 44.
[2] Ibid. ss. 21 and 61.
[3] Plate XXVI., hierog. No. 5.
[4] Euseb. Præp. Evang. iii. c. 4.

esteem the sun to be the demiurgus, and hold the legends about Osiris and Isis, and all their other mythological fables, to have reference to the stars; and their appearances and occultations, and the periods of their risings, or to the increase and decrease of the moon, to the cycles of the sun, to the diurnal and nocturnal hemispheres, or to the river.' Plutarch[1] also gives one explanation of the history of Isis and Osiris, taken from the phenomena of eclipses.

The great importance attached to Sothis was owing to the peculiar period of the year when the heliacal rising of that star took place; and the influence it was supposed to exercise upon the commencement of the inundation, which was typified by Osiris, very naturally led the Egyptians to connect it with Isis.[2] I have already noticed, in a former work,[3] the use made of this star in their astronomical calculations, in speaking of the two Egyptian years; from which I shall extract a few observations. 'The conquest of Egypt by the Romans had acquainted that people with the existence of the arch, and its utility as a substitute for wood, to which it probably owed its invention; nor can anyone for a moment imagine that the vanity of that nation would have allowed to remain concealed the name of its inventor, had he been a Roman. The same remark applies to the intercalated year; and surely the Romans were at no time celebrated for astronomical knowledge. The Roman Calendar was, indeed, put in order by Julius Cæsar, but with the assistance of Sosigenes, an Egyptian; who, to supply the defect of 67 days, that had been lost through the inattention of the Pontifices, and in order to bring the beginning of the year once more to the winter solstice, as was instituted by Numa, made that year consist of 15 months, whence called "the year of confusion." The ensuing years were formed of 365 days; and every fourth, a day was added, making 366. The 27th of August at *that time* coincided with the 1st of Thoth.[4] The Egyptian civil solar year consisted of 365 days, divided into 12 months of 30 days each, at the end of which were added the 5 days called epact,[5] or intercalated. This

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 44.

[2] For a figure of Isis-Sothis see Plate XXVI. *fig.* 5. She was called 'Sothis, the great lady of the commencement of the year,' and shining over the heavens at the opening 'or determination of the year;' also as causing the rise of the Nile at its proper time, 'or abundance of water to inundate the land.' (Brugsch, 'Matériaux pour le Calendrier.' Leipzig, 4to, 1864, p. 27).—S. B.

[3] 'Materia Hierog.,' Appendix No. 1.

[4] 'The Canicula regularly rises in Egypt on the 1st of Thoth.' This corresponded to the 20th of July in the year B.C. 1322, which was the commencement of the Canicular period. (Censor. de Die Natali.)

[5] Censor. de Die Natali. Cory, p. 323.

civil year was always used by the Egyptians, for the common epochas and calculations of the people; as the dates of their kings, ages of men, and the like. That used by the priests for astronomical purposes was different, and was calculated from the heliacal rising of the Dog-star (Sothis) to that of the ensuing year, and consisted of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days: that is, every fourth year a day was intercalated, as in the Julian year, making it to consist of 366 days. Hence, as the Egyptian solar year, in every four years, loses a day of the Sothic, and the 1st of Thoth vague, or solar Thoth, runs through every part of that year, in the space of 1460 Sothic years, before it again coincides with the 1st of Thoth of the Sothic year, this period is called "the Sothic period." The intercalated year was afterwards adopted by the Copt inhabitants of Egypt, as their common civil year, and the solar was no longer used: but as the real year merely contains 365 days 5 hours 48 minutes $45\frac{1}{2}$ seconds, this year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days exceeds the true solar year by upwards of 11 minutes, amounting to a day in about 131 years; and as the Copts have never corrected the year, the 1st of Thoth, at the present time,[1] falls on the 10th of September; on which day they celebrate a festival, and bathe in the waters of the rising Nile. The first correction for this excess of the Julian year was made in Europe by Pope Gregory XIII., in 1582 (a correction which was adopted in England in 1752), and is called the New Style, as that of the Copts and Greeks, the Old.

'To satisfy the reader that the ancient Egyptians had two years, I shall first call his attention to the origin and derivation of the expression "Sothic period," which I before mentioned; secondly, to the authority of ancient writers.

'Horapollo expressly tells us, the Egyptian Sothic year was called the squared year, from the intercalation of the quarter-day, or *fourth* year. Diodorus[2] says they make their month of thirty days, and add five days and a fourth to the 12th months; but does not allow it to have been a Roman innovation:[3] and

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[1] This was written in 1828.

[2] Diodor. i. 50. He visited Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy Neus Dionysus (i. 44).

[3] Strabo also mentions it as an Egyptian custom, when he says (lib. xvii. p. 561), 'They (the Egyptians) do not divide their year according to the course of the moon, but of the sun: and to the twelve months, each of thirty days, they add five days at the end of the year. But to make up the complete sum of the whole year, which has an excess of a portion of a day, they put together the whole surplus of each year, until it makes a whole day. All which calculation they attribute to Hermes.' And in another place (xvii. p. 554) he states, that they had the same knowledge in the early time of Plato and Eudoxus, when the year was unknown in Greece.

Macrobius[1] actually affirms that "Julius Cæsar derived from the Egyptian institutions the motions of the constellations, concerning which he left some very learned papers, and also borrowed from the same source the mode of regulating the extent of the year with the course of the sun." In another place he says, "Cæsar, imitating the Egyptians, the only people acquainted with all divine matters, attempted to regulate the year according to the number required by the sun, which completes its course in 365¼ days." Had this been due to the care and skill of the Roman astronomers, the Romans would, with their usual vanity, have informed us of a fact they could have had no object in concealing, and which they would have been proud to acknowledge. But the regulation of the Roman year awaited the conquest of Egypt: and the uniform mode of calculating the extent of the annual revolution, adopted by the Egyptian priests, hinted the propriety of employing an Egyptian mathematician to settle the errors which, through time and the neglect of the Pontifices, had been suffered to accumulate in the year of Numa. It does not appear whether the Egyptians omitted the intercalary day every 130 years in the Sothic system, which we might expect from the usual accuracy of their calculations, or were contented with the approximation of the quarter-day; for though the Copts do not reject this increase, and are satisfied with the regular intercalation of one day every fourth year, this might have been from their finding it perplexing, and that additional accuracy might have been rejected in later times, when Christianity took the place of the pagan institutions of Egypt. If, however, their solar year exactly coincided with the Sothic, every 1460 years, it is evident that neither the ancient Egyptians, nor the Copts, ever rejected the intercalary day; whence these, like the common civil years, went forward at the increasing ratio of one day in 130 or 131 years. The point, however, in question is, I think, sufficiently clear,—that the intercalary day[2] every fourth year was of Egyptian origin, and

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[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 18.

[2] The question of the use of the fixed year has been so often discussed that it is useless to reopen it. The existence of it under the Middle Empire has been supported by M. Brugsch ('Matériaux pour le Calendrier,' Leipzig, 1866). The discovery, however, of the tablet of Canopus by Professor Lepsius ('Das bilingue Dekret von Canopus,' fol. Berlin, 1866), proves that at the time of Euergetes II., B.C. 238, the use of the vague year both for sacred and civil purposes had so disturbed the year, that the festivals were celebrated at the wrong seasons, and an attempt was made to reform the calendar by the introduction of a leap-year, with the intercalary day after the five epagomenæ—a proof that the fixed year was not previously in use, although no doubt abortive attempts had been made

used by the priests long before the conquest of Egypt by the Romans. The name of "the Sothic period" would alone prove this; and the particularly minute observations made by the priests respecting the future state of their river, from prognostics drawn from the aspect of the star at rising, and the anxiety with which they expected its first appearance, are well known. Nor is it at all compatible with reason to suppose that all this was of a late time, and owed its origin to the conquest of the country by the Romans. The rising of the Nile had *always* been looked upon as the moment of rejoicing; the heliacal rising of this star happened when it was beginning to leave the confinement of its banks, to overflow the lands,[1] and promise abundance to the inhabitants of Egypt; and its first appearance had *always* been the signal for the priests to ascertain the favourable or unfavourable prospects its aspect was said to forebode. Nor could the time of its coincidence with the sun have been ascertained, unless the period of its return were calculated. And were all this anxiety, all this *rejoicing at the rise of their river*, and all these peculiar institutions of Egypt, to await the late epoch of the Roman conquest? If we admit the accounts of every historian who has mentioned the Egyptians and Romans, we cannot for one moment suppose that Egypt was indebted to her conqueror for any skill or hint in astronomy or mathematical science.'

The introduction of Isis-Sothis at the Memnonium is remarkable, not only from its illustrating the connection between that goddess and the Dog-star—instances of which occur elsewhere—but in a chronological point of view. In the astronomical subject there introduced, the twelve Egyptian months are represented, each in a separate compartment, under the usual heads, of the four months of the water-plants, the four of ploughing, and the four of the waters—making the three seasons of which their year consisted.[2] In the first season were Thoth, Paopi, Athor, Choeak; in the second, Tobi, Mechir, Phamenoth, Pharmuthi; in the third, Pachons, Paoni, Epep, and Mesoré. Between this last and the first, or Thoth, a space is left, corresponding, as I imagine, to the five days of the epact (introduced between the end of Mesoré and the commencement of Thoth of the ensuing year), and beneath this is the figure of Sothis, representing the heliacal rising of that star. This, then, must

to reform it as early as the 12th Dynasty, by marking the festival of Sothis or Sirius, and at the time of the 19th and 20th dynasties.—S. B.

[1] Ælian, x. 45. Tibull. i. Eleg. vii. 21.

[2] Woodcut No. 463.

have occurred either at the beginning of Thoth, or in the middle of the five days of the epact; and it serves to point out the period when the building was erected. For, since the Canicular period commenced when the 1st of Thoth fell on the 20th of July, in the year 1322 B.C., we may assign this date to Rameses the Great, in whose reign it was built; and it may not be presumption to consider that it justifies me in fixing his accession to the year

No. 523. As or Isis, winged.

1–3. 'Isis, the great mother-goddess.'
4. 'Isis, protector of her brother.'
5. 'Isis lamenting her brother.'
6. 'Isis, giver of life, dwelling in Menab, the Abaton of Philæ.'
7. 'Isis, giver of life, lady of the Abaton.'

1355 B.C., which I had already concluded from other data previous to observing this astronomical fact. The appearance of Isis-Sothis in a boat confirms the statement of Plutarch,[1] that the heavenly bodies 'were not represented by the Egyptians drawn in chariots, but sailing round the world in boats, intimating, that to the principle of moisture they owe not only their power of moving, but even their support and nourishment.' According

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 34.

to Herodotus,[1] Isis was the greatest of all the Egyptian goddesses. This remark must, however, be limited to her mysterious character, as husband and sister of Osiris, and attending him in his office of judge of the dead: as Ceres, in a similarly mysterious character, enjoyed greater honours among the Greeks than other deities who held a far higher rank in their Pantheon. It appears that she enjoyed a more general worship at a late period than in the early Pharaonic ages: and the almost exclusive repute she obtained among the Greeks may have been partly owing to their attributing to her many of the honours which really belonged to other deities, as I have already observed. This last may also have been from her mysterious character then acquiring more general celebrity; from the great ambition felt by numerous individuals to be admitted to the mysteries; and from the readiness of the Egyptian priests to flatter the prejudices and ignorance of those strangers who showed a desire to uphold the worship of their gods, and build temples in their honour. For since no Egyptian discouraged the wish to erect a shrine to Isis or Osiris, on the score of the right of other deities, these two, who were almost the only deities known to the Greeks, supplied at length the place of others; and few temples in late times were erected or endowed by the Greeks in honour of any other than Isis or Osiris, except to some particular deity who had been for ages the patron of the city where that monument happened to be erected. The worship of Isis was, indeed, universal throughout Egypt[2] at all times; and, according to Herodotus, her festival at Busiris was more conspicuous than any, except that of Diana at Bubastis.[3] 'The festival,' says Herodotus, 'which they celebrate at Busiris, in honour of Isis, is magnificent. After having prepared themselves for it by prayers and fasting, they sacrifice a bull. They first take off the skin, and remove the intestines, leaving the inner parts and the fat. They then cut off the legs, the upper part of the haunches, the shoulders, and neck; and this being done, they fill the rest of the body with cakes of pure flour, honey, dried raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other aromatic substances. In this state, they burn it, pouring a quantity of oil upon the fire. Whilst the victim is consuming,' 'the votaries of the goddess, who are assembled in great numbers, of both sexes, strike themselves in honour of one (Osiris) whom I am not permitted to mention;'[4]

[1] Herodot. ii. 40. [2] Ibid. ii. 42. [3] Ibid. ii. 59. [4] Ibid. ii. 61.

and 'when they cease doing this, they eat what remains of the sacrifice.' 'The Carians who are present on this occasion make themselves very conspicuous, by wounding their foreheads with knives; by which it is easy to see that they are strangers and not Egyptians'—that civilised people not adopting so barbarous a custom.[1] 'All the Egyptians offer clean bulls and calves; but they are not allowed to immolate heifers, because these are sacred to Isis, who is represented in her statues under the form of a woman with horns,[2] as the Greeks figure Io.[3] All the Egyptians have far more consideration for heifers than any other cattle; and there is not an Egyptian man or woman who would consent to kiss a Greek on the mouth, nor even to use his knife, his spit, or his boiler, nor taste the meat of a clean bull which had been cut by a Greek's knife.[4] If a bull or a heifer happens to die, their funeral is performed in the following manner: the heifers are thrown into the river; and the bulls are buried in the suburbs, with one horn or both above ground, to mark the spot. Here the body remains till it is decomposed; and a boat, despatched from the Isle of Prosôpitis, comes round to each town at a particular period.

Athor as Ta-aha, 'the Cow,' mother of Ra, or 'the Sun.' No. 524.

'Prosôpitis is an island in the Delta,[5] nine *schœnoi* in circumference, containing several towns; one of which, called Atarbechis, sends the boats destined to collect the bones, and employs several persons to go from town to town to exhumate them, and take them to a particular spot, where they are buried. They inter in like manner all other cattle which die. Such is their law, for they do not kill

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[1] It is therefore evident that when the Israelites were commanded not to cut themselves, nor to make a baldness between their eyes, allusion was not intended to an Egyptian, but to some Syrian custom. (Deut. xiv. 1.)

[2] This is the usual form of Athor. Conf. Ælian, x. 27.

[3] [This name is evidently connected with *Aha*, 'the Cow,' of the Egyptians, which was given to one of their goddesses.—G. W.]

[4] [The Egyptians considered all foreigners unclean, with whom they would not eat, and particularly the Greeks.—G. W.]

[5] [Some suppose the town of Prosôpitis to have been also called Nicium. The island was between the Canopic and Sebennytic branches, at the fork, and on the west side of the apex of the Delta.—G. W.]

them. At Atarbechis[1] is a temple sacred to Athor, the Egyptian Venus.'[2]

In this statement of Herodotus, the connection between Isis and Athor is evident, both from the description of the goddess with cow's horns, and from the mention of the city bearing her name. Ælian,[3] after stating that the cow was particularly appropriated to Venus, says, 'The Egyptians also represent Isis with *cow's* horns;' and in the sculptures, when these two divinities occur with each other's attributes, they are so closely allied, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. Athor seems even to take the place of Isis; and Plutarch[4] expressly states, that 'Isis is called Athyri, signifying "Orus' mundane habitation," or, as Plato expresses it, "the place and receptacle of generation." She was also styled "Muth," or "Mother;" and Methuer, a name implying "fulness and cause," denoting not only the fulness of the matter of which the world consists, but also its intimate conjunction with the good, the pure, and the well-ordered principle.' The interpretation he gives to Athyr (or Athor) is confirmed by the hieroglyphic legend of that goddess, as I shall have occasion to remark: 'Muth' is the well-known word *Maut*, 'mother,' and in Methuer we trace the Coptic ⲙⲉϩ, *Meh*, signifying 'full.' The remainder of this word is probably the same name of Athor, or Thy-or; or its termination *iri*, 'to make,' may complete the interpretation given by Plutarch.

Herodotus[5] supposes that Latona, who was Buto, performed the office of nurse to Horus (or as he calls him, Apollo), the son of Isis; but the sculptures plainly prove that Isis nursed the child herself; and when Athor is represented with the infant, she is the member of another triad.

The Greeks and Romans seem to have at once adopted the emblems of Athor in their representations of Isis, and,

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[1] [Athor being the Venus of Egypt, Atarbechis was translated Aphroditopolis. It was composed of *atar* or *athor*, and *bechi* or *bek*, 'city.' Aphroditopolis is supposed to have been at the modern *Shibbeen*, in the Isle of Prosôpitis, between the Canopic and Sebennytic branches of the Nile, on an offset of the latter, called Thermuthiac, which formed the western, as the Sebennytic did the eastern, boundary of the Isle of Natho. There were other towns called Aphroditopolis in Upper Egypt.—G. W.]

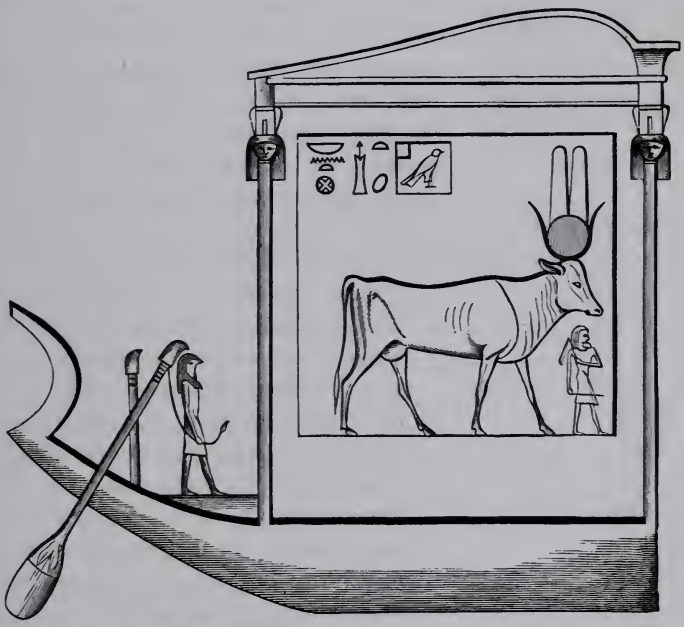
[2] [Herodotus sometimes confounds Isis with Athor (book ii. c. 4). This is not surprising, since the attributes of these two goddesses are often, more especially in later times, so closely connected that it is difficult to distinguish them in the sculptures, unless their names are directly specified; and at Denderah Athor has very nearly the appearance of Isis, though that they were distinct goddesses is shown by each of them having a temple at that place.—G. W.]

[3] Ælian, Nat. Anim. x. 27.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 56. [5] Herod. ii. 156.

unacquainted as they were with the Egyptian Venus, to have assigned exclusively to Isis the sacred cow, with whose horns she was represented in the celebrated festival in her honour, described by Ovid.[1]

It must indeed be admitted, that Isis, even in olden times, was sometimes figured in Egyptian sculpture with a cow's head, as well as with a head-dress surmounted by the horns of Athor;



No. 525. The cow of Athor at Denderah, which the Sepoys are said to have worshipped.

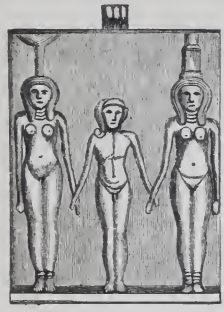
but she then assumed the attributes of that goddess—a custom which I have shown to be common to many Egyptian deities, who frequently appeared with the emblems and even under the form of other members of the Pantheon. The general form of

[1] Ovid, Met. ix. 685:—

'Cùm medio noctis spatio, sub imagine somni,
Inachis ante torum, pompâ comitata suorum,
Aut stetit, aut visa est. Inerant lunaria fronti
Cornua, cum spicis nitido flaventibus auro,
Et regale decus: cum quâ latrator Anubis,
Sanctaque Bubastis, variusque coloribus Apis;
Quique premit vocem, digitoque silentia suadet:
Sistraque erant, nunquamque satis quæsitus Osiris,
Plenaque somniferi serpens peregrina veneni.'

The number of errors in these lines is remarkable.

Isis was that of a female with a throne upon her head, particularly in her capacity of the presiding goddess of Amenti. Her office then related principally to the souls of men in a future state, where she formed the second member of a triad composed of Osiris, herself, and Nephthys, and assisted at the ordeal which took place before the judgment-seat of her brother and husband. Isis was also the second member of another triad, particularly worshipped at Philæ, consisting of Osiris, Isis, and Horus. She was said to be the 'protector (or defender) of her brother,' in which capacity they represented her covering Osiris[1] with her outspread wings. She was styled the 'royal consort and sister of Osiris,' 'Goddess-Mother,' the Muth of Plutarch; and sometimes Hekte—on which account she may be thought to answer to Hecate or Proserpine, as before observed. She was occasionally figured with the head of a cat, or with the attributes of Bubastis; and I have once found her represented with the throne of Nephthys on her head, in the character of her sister.[2] In addition to the globe and horns of Athor, Isis has sometimes the flowers of water-plants rising from her head, particularly when represented as the mother of the infant Horus, and the second member of the triad of Philæ. She often wears a cap representing the sacred vulture; its head projecting from her forehead, its body covering her head, and its wings extending downwards at the side of her face to her shoulder; though this is not confined to Isis, as Ælian supposes,[3] but is given equally to other goddesses,



Triad of Isis, Horus, and Nephthys.
No. 526.

Isis suckling Horus.
No. 527.

[1] Isis protects him in this manner, both in the character of Osiris and of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris; which connects the two deities Ptah and Osiris.

[2] As if uniting in herself the two principles. Plate XXVI. *fig.* 2. [3] Ælian, x. 22.

and even to the queens of Egypt. The title 'royal wife and sister' was derived from her having married her brother Osiris; and this fabulous notion was supposed to have been the origin of a custom prevalent in Egypt from the earliest to the latest periods, which permitted brothers and sisters to marry; such an alliance being considered fortunate, in consequence of the example set by Isis and Osiris.[1]

A head-dress of Isis. No. 528. *Philæ.*

Many individuals, even among the priesthood of early Pharaonic periods, are found, from the sculptures of Thebes, to have married their sisters; and the same authorities agree with the accounts of ancient Greek and Roman writers, in proving that some of the Ptolemies adopted this ancient custom. The principal temple of Isis was in the Sacred Island of Philæ, where she was worshipped as the second member of the triad, already mentioned; and it is probable that the most solemn performance of the great mysteries took place there, which, as at Saïs and Busiris, had been instituted to commemorate the important secret of Osiris's death. Coptos also, according to Ælian,[2] distinguished her worship with peculiar rites; which, if we may believe Plutarch, were connected with the memory of Osiris, and the grief of the goddess. The festivals of Isis were magnificent, and celebrated with all the pomp which religion and superstition could invent; and particular ceremonies were exclusively appropriated to her.[3]

An epigram in the Anthology of Constantine Cephalus,[4] mentioning certain offerings made to Isis, thus addresses her: 'O goddess clad in linen, who governest the fertile black land of Egypt, honour these offerings with thy presence; this cake, this couple of geese, this ointment, these wild figs, these dried raisins, and this incense are already on the altar. Thou hast protected

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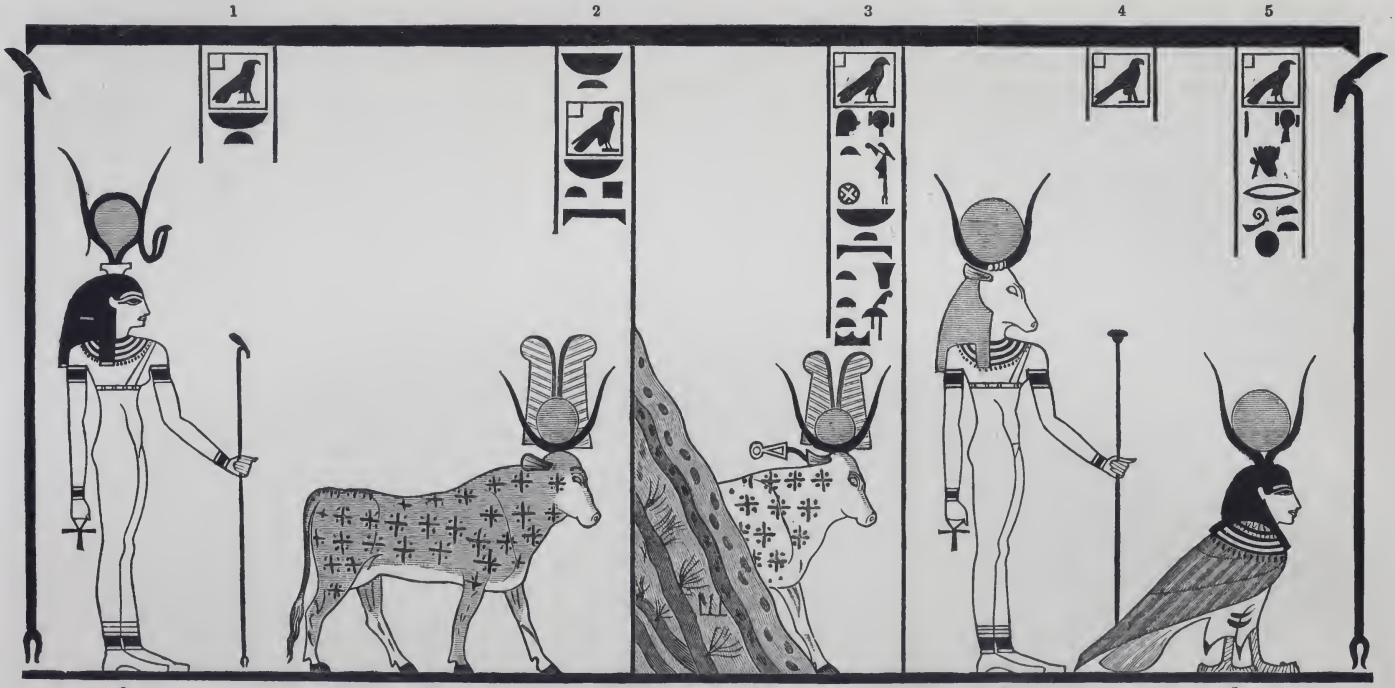
[1] Diodor. i. 27.

[2] Ælian, Nat. Anim. x. 23.

[3] Some of the principal events of the career of Isis are mentioned in the texts, especially the tearing away of her head by Horus, and its replacement by Set on the 26th of Thoth, in the battle of three days and nights between Set and Horus, when it was replaced by that of a cow. (Chabas, 'Calendrier Sallier,' p. 31.) Her titles on the monuments are, 'The great mother or mother-goddess, mistress of heaven, ruler of earth, queen of the Two Countries.' Her principal types were her celestial one, crowned with a cylindrical cap of uræi, surmounted by the disk and horns, and her terrestrial or chthonic one, represented by her wearing the seat or throne, kneeling at the feet of Osiris laid out on the bier; at a later period winged, and on the symbol of gold following Osiris and covering him with her wings. She was supposed to be the moon. (Birch. 'Gall. of Antiq.,' p. 31.)—S. B.

[4] In Reiske. Given by Larcher, Herodot. vol. iii. p. 567.



Hat-har, Athor, or Hathor.

1, 2. 'Athor, lady of the heaven.' 3. 'Athor, dwelling in the heart of Uas or T'am (Karnak), regent of the west.' 4. 'Athor.' 5. 'Athor in the land of T'ertut.'

Damis from the dangers of the sea; if thou wilt also deliver him from poverty, he will offer you a fawn with gilded horns.'

From the connection which appears to subsist between Isis and Athor, it may not be out of place to introduce the last-mentioned goddess, before I proceed to mention Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, and the other members of the family of Seb.

Athor, Hathor, or Athyr, the Egyptian Venus or Aphrodite,[1] is frequently represented with the attributes of Isis,—with whom, therefore, she is identified by Apuleius; and in one of her characters she so nearly resembles her, that with difficulty, as already observed, she can be distinguished from the consort of Osiris. The analogy between these divinities is also strongly marked by the name Athor, which, as Plutarch justly observes, implies 'Horus's habitation.' Thy-hor,[2] Têi-hor, or Eit-hor, 'the house of Horus,' is a literal translation of her hieroglyphic name; which consists of a hawk, the emblem of Horus, within the character representing a house, the Coptic *êi* or *têi*,[3] the whole group reading, *êt Hor* or *têi Hor*,[4] 'the house of Horus.' In a papyrus published by Champollion she is said to be 'Neith in the East Country, and Sme in the lotus and waters of the West;' which calls to mind the Venus of Sparta and Cythera, who wore the dress and arms of Minerva. She is frequently figured under the form of a spotted cow, thought to live behind the western mountain of Thebes, from which the paintings of the Necropolis represent it issuing. She is probably then the morning star;[5] since there is every reason to believe that the planet Venus belonged to her,[6] and that from the Egyptian Athor was borrowed the Greek Venus, the reputed daughter of Cœlus and Dies,[7] distinct as this last was from the goddess of beauty the wife of Vulcan. From her presiding over the West, we may conclude that the western part of Thebes, or indeed of the Thebaïd, derived the name of Pathyris,[8] 'belonging to Athor;' for it was applied to the whole district on that bank, even to the city of Hermonthis, which was said to belong to Pathyris of the Thebaïd.[9] It was into her arms that the setting sun, as it retired

[1] She was sometimes called *Nub*, or golden, recalling to mind the *Chrysê Aphrodite*, or golden Venus.—S. B.

[2] Her correct name is *Ha.t har*.—S. B.

[3] HI or ⲦHI.

[4] HⲦ-ϩOP or ⲦHI-ϩOP.

[5] [Or she may be Aurora.—G. W.]

[6] Pliny says, to Isis; but these two deities are easily mistaken for each other.

[7] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. iii.

[8] [Ptolemy, Geog. iv. c. 5, who speaks of 'Memnon and the inland village Tathyris,' using Ta for Pa.—G. W.]

[9] In a papyrus mentioned by Reuvens (Lettre iii. p. 30), *ἐν Ἑρμωνθεῖ τοῦ Παθυρίτου τῆς Θηβαίδος*.

behind the mountain, was thought to be received; and in this character she answered to *Night*, who presided over the West,—though, as already observed, she was distinct from that primeval night, or primitive darkness, from which all things proceeded into existence.

While mentioning this subject, I cannot but pay a just tribute to the diligent inquiry of the learned Jablonski, who, though wrong in his etymology of Athor, and in not observing the distinction between the two *Nights* of their mythology, claims the greatest credit for that research and accurate perception which, without the aid of hieroglyphical discovery, enabled him to ascertain one of the most important characters of the Egyptian Venus. We may also see in the name of the cow, *aha*, the origin of the Greek Io, who, according to the mythological tales of the ancients, was supposed to have visited Egypt in her wanderings,[1] and to have been 'changed into Isis,[2] in the city of Coptos, where she was worshipped under that name.' The third Egyptian month was called after Athor, in which the death of Osiris was fabled to have happened;[3] and it was at this season that the shrines of the goddess (Ceres or Isis) were carried in procession; 'the common time,' says Plutarch,[4] 'for the solemnisation of the feasts in her honour, falling within the month in which the Pleiades appear, and the husbandmen begin to sow their corn, called by the Egyptians Athyr.'[5]

She was held in particular veneration at Aboccis, or Aboosimbel, or, as it is called in the hieroglyphic legends, Abushak, Abshak, where she appears as the second member of the great triad of that place. In the temple dedicated to her there, she is represented under the form of a cow, to which the king and queen offer flowers and libations, as it stands in a sacred boat surrounded by water-plants; and in a niche at the upper end of the adytum is the fore-part of a cow, bearing on its head the globe and feathers of Athor. In the hieroglyphic legends at the side she is styled, 'Athor, the lady of Abushak, the foreign land'—the town being out of Egypt, though within the territories of the Pharaohs. Strabo[6] tells us, that 'at Momemphis, where the Egyptian Venus was adored, a sacred cow was kept with the

[1] Jablonski, iii. l. p. 11, and ii. l. p. vii.

[2] Diodor. i. 24. Conf. Ovid. Met. i. and Propert. ii. Eleg. xxviii. 17:—

'Io versa caput primos mugiverat annos:
Nunc Dea, quæ Nili flumina vacca bibit.'

Of Io, see Herodot. i. 1.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 39.

[4] Ibid. s. 69.

[5] Hesychius says, 'One of the months, and the cow, are called Athyr by the Egyptians.'

[6] Strabo, xvii. p. 552.

same religious feeling as the Apis at Memphis, or the Mnevis at Heliopolis;' and the sacred animal of Momemphis was the same which received divine honours at Atarbechis, and other places devoted to the worship of Athor. The geographer[1] also speaks of the sacred cow of 'Aphroditopolis, the capital of a nome of the same name on the Arabian side of the river,' which he describes of a white colour; and Ælian[2] says, that 'at the small but elegant village of Chusæ, in the Hermopolitan nome, they worshipped Venus under the name Urania or heavenly, and paid honours to a cow, which animal was thought to appertain more particularly to that goddess.' It must, however, be observed that the 'latuit niveâ Saturnia vaccâ,'[3] of Ovid, does not suffice to establish any analogy between Juno and the Egyptian Venus; and the monuments disprove the opinion of the learned Prichard, that 'the goddess *Nephthys* was sometimes called Urania, or the dark or nightly *Venus*, at other times Juno or Saturnia, and that a white cow was the sacred animal or living symbol of that goddess.'[4]

Atarbechis, or the city of Athor, a part of Thebes called Pathyris, already mentioned, and several other places, vied with each other in the honours paid to the Egyptian Aphrodite; and at Denderah, the ancient Tentyris, a magnificent temple still remains, erected to her in the reigns of the last Ptolemies, and completed under Tiberius, where she is represented nursing her son, the third member of the triad of the place. This is the temple of Aphrodite mentioned by Strabo. The name of Tentyris may have signified the abode of Athor, and have been corrupted from Tei-n-athor, or Tynâtyr, to Tentyra. She is generally represented as a female with a head-dress surmounted with long horns,[5] and a solar disk; and between the horns of the spotted cow, her emblem, are the same disk and two feathers. She sometimes bears on her head a perch, upon which is seated a hawk, with an ostrich-feather before it, being the head-dress of the genius or goddess of the West. She is then in the character of President of the Western Mountain, and in an office particularly connected with the dead. In temples of a Ptolemaic epoch, Athor is often represented with the long feathers in addition to the horns and globe; but this is rarely the case on monuments

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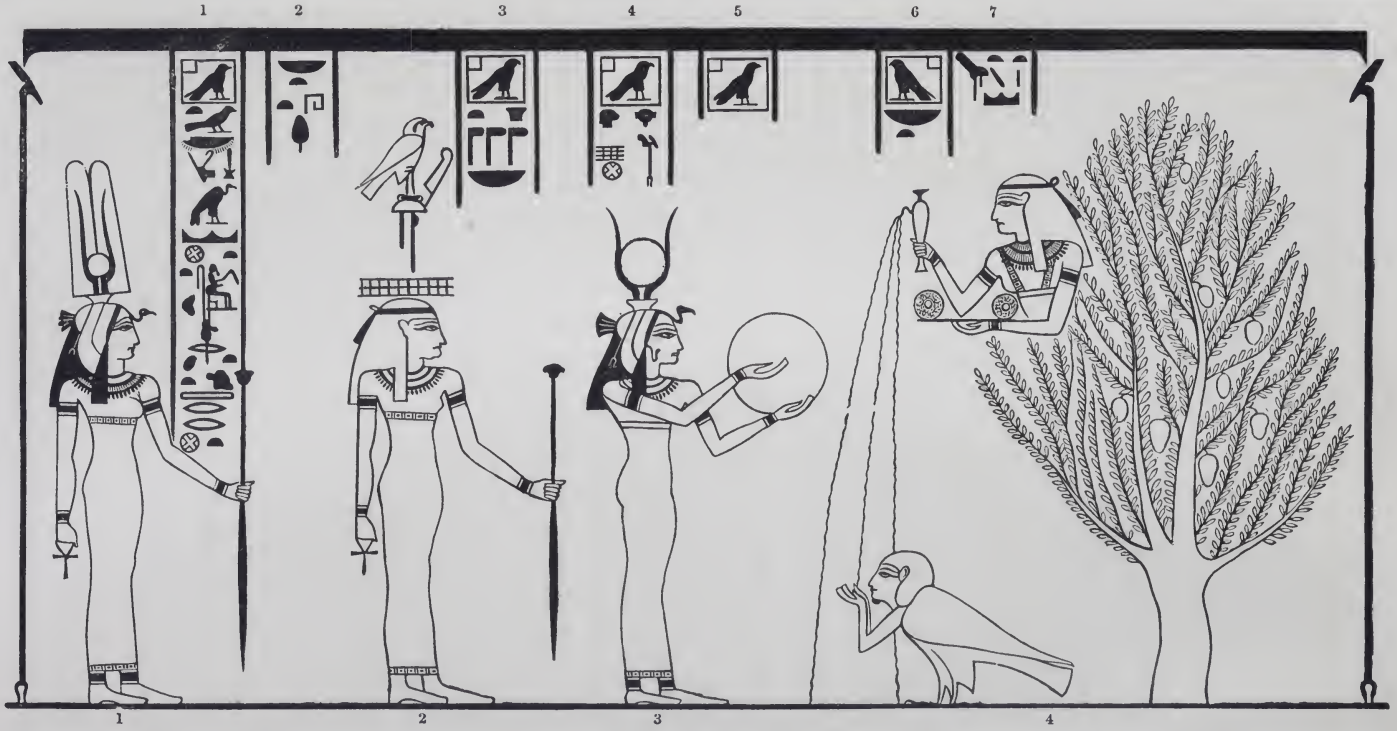
[1] Strabo, xvii. p. 556.
[2] Ælian, Nat. Anim. x. 27.
[3] 'Saturnian Juno lay hid under the type of a white cow.'
[4] Prichard, p. 148.
[5] The figure 1 of Plate XXVII. is from a Ptolemaic Temple.



Athor.

1. 'Athor, great lady of Senmut (Senem), the august supplier, resident in Tarer.' 2. 'Lady of the sycamore.' 3. 'Athor, regent of all the gods.' 4. 'Athor, who is over T'am (Karnak).' 5. 'Athor.' 6, 7. 'Athor, lady of the West.'

of early Pharaonic date, where that head-dress is appropriated to the queens, and only given to Athor when under the form of a cow.

[Athor, in fact, was identified with Nut, as the goddess of the celestial water or ether, and as such gives the bread and water of life, out of the sycamore, to the soul which thirstily drinks the living waters flowing from her vase. She is also supposed to represent Isis in her cow form, when she suckles the young Horus, and as such the kings are often seen nursed by this goddess. That she presided over the passion of love will be seen by the inscriptions at Denderah, in which she states that she gives the love of women to the king. Like Isis, too, she becomes Sothis, or the Dog-star, and is also Truth itself, representing, in the deepest sense, the female reproductive power of nature, and the dual element, from which the Kosmos proceeded. Her connection with the West allied her with the setting sun, or the god Atum, also one of the demiurgic deities, another form of the god Ra, of whom she was the wife; while, as her name signified the 'abode of Horus,' it intimately connected her with the final habitation of the great luminary. Hence she is found inside coffins, on the board on which the mummy was laid, receiving him, as it were, into her arms, as the earth, or West; while Nut, as the heaven, on the inner part of the lid, covers the body of the deceased—or the two symbolise the day and night.—S. B.]

The Persea was sacred to her, as the sycamore to Nut; and in the funeral subjects of the Theban tombs she is seen performing the same office to the deceased and his friends as that goddess—giving them the fruit and drink of heaven. But the title 'Lady of Het,' bestowed on Athor at Thebes, Memphis, and other places, appears to signify 'Lady of the Tree,' and not exclusively 'of the Persea;' the same being applied to Nut, to whom the sycamore was sacred. That the Persea and peach were often confounded by ancient authors, is very evident; and the fact of the former being the sacred tree, on whose fruit (which in the sculptures resemble the human heart) the gods inscribed the name of a favourite king, sufficiently proves that Plutarch[1] had in view the Persea, or at least the sacred tree of Athor, when he speaks of the fruit of the peach-tree resembling the heart, and the leaves being emblematic of 'the human tongue.' The analogy seems also to be increased by the circumstance of

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 68.

the goddess of speech (language, or letters) being present on the same occasion, and assisting to write the name of the prince on the fruit.

Athor sometimes, under the form of a cow, gives milk to an infant king—the hieroglyphic legend accompanying the picture stating that she treats him 'as a mother.' The female heads with cows' ears, which form the capitals of columns at Aboosimbel, Denderah, and other temples, usually ascribed to Isis, are of the Egyptian Aphrodite; and many shrines, arks, and sacred emblems are ornamented with the head of Athor. These heads are certainly the most beautiful which the Egyptian artists have invented. They argue in favour of Athor being the goddess of beauty, like the Venus of the Greeks; and some of the sculptures of Denderah may show her to have been the patron of laughter and amusements. From some subjects represented in the sculptures it appears that this goddess was considered to be the patroness of ornaments and dress, symbolically designated by a necklace.[1] A peculiar neck-ornament is sometimes surmounted by a head of Athor; being a form of that placed on the neck of sacred cows and bulls, and worn by some deities. The worship of the cow[2] in Egypt has led many persons to suppose an intimate connection between the religions of India and of that country; and the fact of some Sepoys in our Indian army, who crossed from the Red Sea to the Nile, having, on a visit to the temple of Denderah, prostrated themselves before the cow of Athor, has been considered a decisive proof of their resemblance. The mere circumstance, however, of a cow being sculptured on the walls of an Egyptian temple, and respect being paid to it by those strangers, proves nothing beyond the accidental worship in two countries of the same animal. Had it been an arbitrary emblem of some peculiar form, which only existed in the imagination, the case might have been different; but the cow being chosen by two agricultural people, as the sword or any other arm by two military nations, as a fit emblem of the deity, does not imply the necessity of any intercourse between them. Nor was it as a mere emblem that the cow and

[1] As 'mistress of sports and dancing,' she is represented holding the tambourine. (Birch, 'Gall. of Antiq.,' p. 20.)

[2] It appears from the tale of the 'Two Brothers' that there were seven cows of Athor, and that they were maleficent, like the fairies of modern folk-lore. In this tale it says, 'The seven Hathors came to see her, and they said with one mouth, that she should die a violent death.' These seven cows are represented in chapter cxlviii. of the Ritual, along with the bull, perhaps Mnevis, or the bull of Tum. Each has a name. (Lepsius, 'Todtenbuch.' 'Records of the Past,' vi. p. 145.)—S. B.

ox were selected by the Egyptians, in consequence of their utility in the tillage of the land; another and a more forcible reason subsisted for the honours paid to the former, which is explained by Porphyry.[1] 'The utility of cattle, and the smallness of their herds, induced the Egyptians to prohibit the slaughter of cows; therefore, though they killed oxen for the altar and the table, they abstained from the females, with a view to the preservation of the race, and the law deemed it a sacrilege to eat their meat.' 'The Egyptians and Phœnicians,' he adds, 'would rather feed on human flesh than the flesh of a heifer,' in consequence, as St. Jerome observes, of the small stock of cattle in Palestine and the valley of the Nile; and a similar motive may originally have induced the Hindoos to venerate the cow.

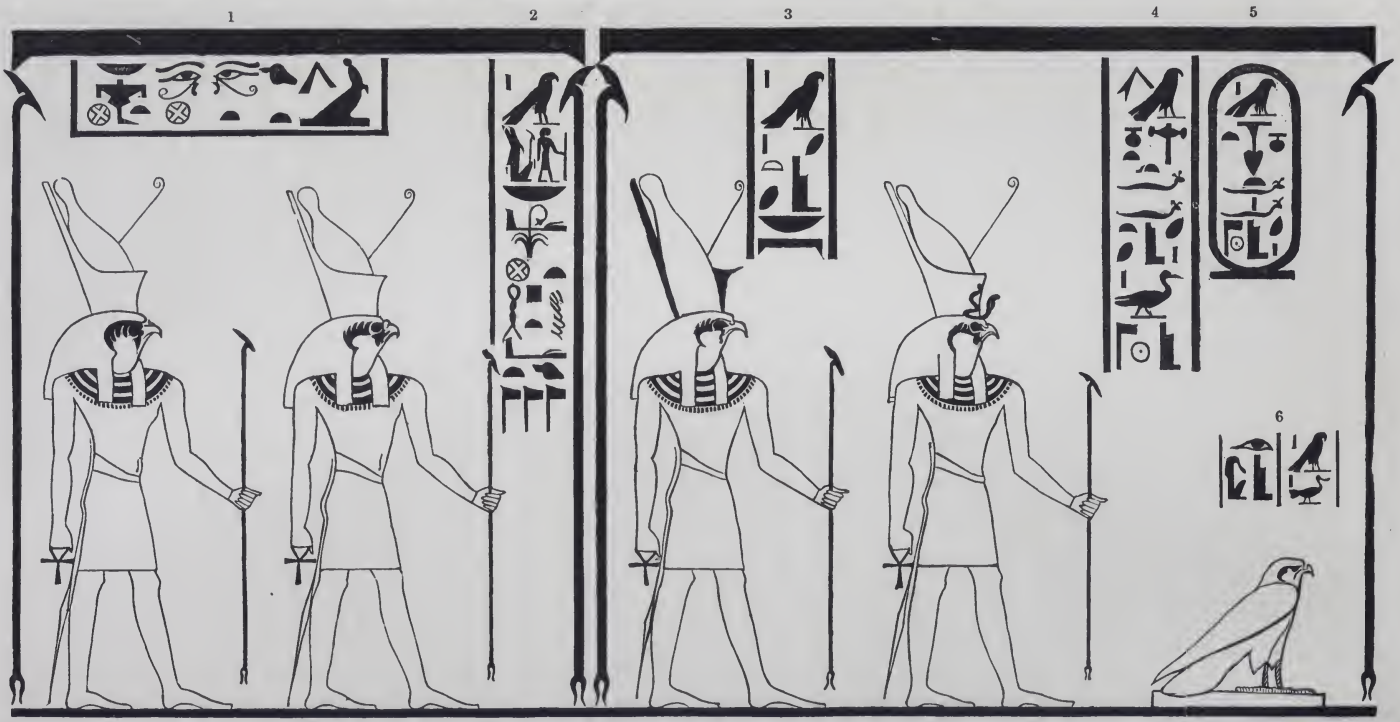
Instances sometimes occur of the cow with a human head, wearing the asp and horns of Athor. The goddess is also represented as a bird with a human head, wearing her disk and horns. She is then in a character connected with the virtuous souls who have been admitted to the regions of Amenti. To Athor also appears to have been dedicated one of the sacred fish of Egypt, which even bears her name in the hieroglyphic legend that accompanies it.[2]

The name of Younger Horus was given to Horus, son of Isis and Osiris, to distinguish him from Aroeris, the brother of Osiris, who was styled the Elder Horus. He was supposed to have come into the world soon after the birth of his parents, and on the death of Osiris to have stood forth as the avenger of his father, defeating Typho in several battles, and enabling Isis to thwart his evil intentions. It was probably in consequence of his victories over the enemy of mankind, that he was so often identified with Apollo, the story of whose combat with the serpent Pytho is evidently derived from the Egyptian mythology;[3] and, indeed, the evil genius of his adversary is frequently figured under the form of a snake, whose head Horus is seen piercing with a spear. But this is not confined to Egyptian and Greek mythology. The same fable occurs in the religion of India, where the malignant serpent Caliya is slain by Vishnoo, in his avatar of

[1] Porph. de Abst. ii. 11.

[2] Sometimes Athor wears on her head the emblem of the West, of which she was 'regent,' and her other titles called her 'mistress' or 'lady of the heavens.' She was also mother of the god Shu, who lived by the breath which came out of her mouth. Her other children were Ahi-ur, Har-semta, and Kamutef, all types of Horus.—S. B.

[3] Macrob. Saturn. i. 19, p. 131, for this fable, which he explains by the rays of the sun overcoming the humidity of the earth.



Har-ur, Haroeris, and Harsaasi, or Harsiesis.

1. 'Horus, resident in Egypt, lord of Ombos.' 2. 'Horus, lord of the south, [son] of Ptah, dwelling amongst the gods.' 3 and 6. 'Horus, son of Isis.' 4, 5. 'Horus, assister of his father, son of Isis, son of Osiris.'

Crishna; and the Scandinavian deity Thor was said to have bruised the head of the great serpent with his mace. The origin of this may be readily traced to the Bible history. The serpent pierced by the spear of Horus is evidently the Apophis alluded to by Plutarch,[1] which, from the signification it bears in the Egyptian language, 'the giant,' appears to have been the origin of the fable of the wars of the gods and giants. Horus generally stands in a boat accompanied by other deities, while piercing the evil being in the water, who is sometimes represented under the form of a man, though generally as a long serpent; calling to mind 'the dragon in the sea' mentioned by Isaiah.[2]

The hawk of Horus is sometimes perched on the back of an oryx, whilst various gods approach it in an attitude of prayer; but this is apparently of late date, and perhaps connected with astrological speculations. Aroeris, or the Elder Horus, may with equal reason be supposed to correspond to Apollo, if we may judge from the Greek dedications at Ombos and Apollinopolis Parva, inscribed to 'Aroeris, the great Apollo.' But the opinion of Herodotus,[3] that Horus the Younger answered to that deity, is of greater weight, from the connection subsisting between the deity of the floating Isle of Buto and Apollo, who is shown by the fabulous history attached to him to be the son of Isis. 'Latona,' says the historian, 'who lived at Buto, where her oracle now is, having been charged by Isis with the care of Apollo, concealed him in this island. She preserved him there in safety, while Typho was searching everywhere for the son of Osiris. For they say that Apollo and Diana are born of Bacchus (Osiris) and Isis, and that Latona was their nurse and preserver. Apollo is called Orus (Horus) in Egyptian; Ceres, Isis; and Diana, Bubastis.' This appears to have been the origin of the fable respecting the Delos of the Greek Apollo, which floated on the sea till it was made stationary by Neptune in order to receive Latona, who was on the eve of being delivered of Apollo.

Diodorus[4] tells us that Apollo is the same as Horus, that the latter was taught the art of medicine by his mother Isis, and that he was the last of the gods who were fabled to have reigned on

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[1] Plut. de Isid. ss. 36 and 25.

[2] Isaiah xxvii. 1: 'Leviathan, that crooked serpent; and he shall slay the dragon that is in the sea.

[3] Herodot. ii. 144, 156.

[4] Diodor. i. 25. Macrob. Saturn. i. 21. Ælian, x. 14, &c.

earth,—a figurative tale, which I have already explained by the historical fact of the priesthood of different gods having ruled Egypt before the monarchical form of government was established in the person of Menes and his successors.

Little reliance, however, is to be placed on what the Greeks tell us of the deities of Egypt. The authority of Greek inscriptions in the temples should be preferred to that of Herodotus, Diodorus, Macrobius, or any other writers; but, unfortunately, some difficulty arises from the uncertainty of the hieroglyphic legends themselves,—and these even leave undecided the claims of Horus and Aroeris to the name of Apollo.

Plutarch[1] would lead us to conclude that the city of Apollo was sacred to Horus; since 'the solemn hunting of the crocodile, annually held there, commemorated the escape of Typho from the pursuit of Horus under the form of that animal.' And as there is evidence of that city having been Apollinopolis Magna, now Edfoo, it is probable that the god worshipped there, who answered to the Greek Apollo, was another character of Horus the son of Osiris, having the additional title and attributes of Hat, or Agathodæmon. Such is the uncertainty on this point, that the deities of the two cities of Apollo do not appear to be the same,—one being Aroeris, and the other Har-Hat, or Agathodæmon: Strabo even appears to mistake Mentu for Aroeris; and there is great confusion between the elder and younger Horus. This last and Harpocrates are not always easily separated, nor has Plutarch maintained a proper distinction between the elder and younger Horus; and he not only gives to both of these the name of Apollo,[2] but even to Harpocrates,[3] whom he confounds with the elder Horus.

Horus, Aroeris, and Har-Hat, are all represented with the head of a hawk[4] crowned with the *pshent*, or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. But the peculiar and distinguishing title of the younger Horus is 'the support or defender of his father, Osiris;'[5] and to him the kings of Egypt were likened, when, in the proclamation issued at the coronation, they were said to 'put on the crown of Egypt like Horus, the son of Isis.' A similarly complimentary formula is used in the Rosetta Stone,

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 50.
[2] Ibid. s. 12. [3] Ibid. s. 54.
[4] The hawk's head is also given to Ra, Mentu, Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, Khonsu, and Qabsenuf.
[5] In the fabulous interpretation of this story, Horus may be supposed to assist his father, the inundation, by forming the clouds carried to the sources of the river whence it proceeded.

relative to the benefits conferred on the country by Ptolemy Epiphanes,—the king being compared to 'Horus, who assisted his father Osiris;' and these, with numerous other legends, show that Horus was the prototype of royalty, and the representative of divine majesty. It was this idea which obtained for him the post of director of the sacred boats; under which form was indicated 'the governor of the world,' as we are told by Iamblichus:[1] and there can be little doubt that, from his occupation of steersman in the *baris* of the dead, were borrowed the name and office of Charon in the mythology of Greece. The hieroglyphic legend accompanying the figure of Horus is the hawk, sometimes with a *line*, sometimes with the *flagellum of Osiris*, over it,—the same signs which are given to the child Harpocrates. It is probable that an additional reason for supposing the Apollo of the Greeks to be the same as Horus, was owing to his being the son of Jupiter and grandson of Saturn, as the latter was son of Osiris, the son of Seb; and the connection of the two deities is confirmed by the name 'Horapollo' borne by individuals; though it is true that this might, with equal justice, apply to the elder as to the younger Horus.

Plutarch,[2] on the authority of Manetho, says, 'The loadstone was called by the Egyptians the bone of Horus, as iron was the bone of Typho:' he also tells[3] us, that 'the constellation of Orion was sacred to Horus,[4] as the dog-star to Isis;' and in another place,[5] he mentions the allegorical and fanciful notion of 'Horus being of a fair, as Typho was of a red, and Osiris of a black, complexion.' The same author states that Horus signified that just and seasonable temperature of the circumambient air which preserves and nourishes all things;[6] and that the festival celebrated on the 30th day of Epiphi, when the sun and moon were supposed to be in the same right line with the earth, was called the birthday of Horus's eyes,—both those bodies being looked upon equally as the eyes or light of Horus.[7] This deity was also reputed to have instituted the sacrifice to the sun, which was celebrated on the 4th day of every month in honour of that luminary; and Horapollo even says that Horus was the sun.[8] It is scarcely necessary to

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[1] Iambl. de Myst. ch. i.: 'When they introduce the deity as pilot of a ship, they mean government, or the ruler of the world.'

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 62. [3] Ibid. s. 22.

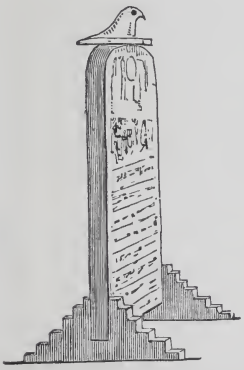
[4] The name of the constellation Orion is supposed to have been *Sah*, the 'Traverser,' or *Sek*. (Lepsius, 'Einleit.,' p. 109.)—S. B.

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 22. [6] Ibid. s. 8.

[7] Ibid. s. 52. [8] Horapollo, i. 317.

observe, that the remark of Suidas,[1] who says Horus was identical with Priapus, can only apply to a character given him at a late period; an instance[2] of which occurs at Denderah in sculptures of Roman time. But these are of little authority respecting the real forms of the Egyptian deities; several innovations in the forms and attributes of the gods having been introduced on the monuments of that era, totally unauthorised by the sculptures of an ancient Pharaonic age.

One of the principal duties of Horus was that of introducing the souls of the dead into the presence of Osiris, after they had passed the ordeal of their final judgment. He also assisted Anubis in weighing and ascertaining their good conduct during life, previous to their admission into the august presence of his father, in the blessed regions of Amenti. The hawk placed on the wooden tablets in the tombs, and sometimes on the mummy case itself, was an emblem of Horus.



Tablet surmounted by hawk, mummied, *aχem*, perhaps emblem of Horus.
No. 529.

The warlike character, as well as the name of Horus, may also suggest a resemblance to Ares, the Mars of Greek mythology; and, indeed, Horapollo seems to have in view either Horus or Aroeris, when he says,[3] 'To denote Ares and Aphrodite, the Egyptians delineate two hawks,'—since the hawk is the emblem both of Horus and Athor, the Egyptian Venus. This, however, could only be a partial analogy; since the god of war is represented under another distinct form, with the name Resppu; and the weapons put into the hand of Horus only serve to prove his connection with the Apollo of Greece, the patron of the bow, and the destroyer of the serpent. If the Greeks assigned to Mars, Apollo, and Minerva, the use of destructive weapons, which might appear exclusively to belong to the gods of war, the Egyptians in like manner extended the privilege to several deities independent of their god Reshpu. The spear was given to Horus and to Shu; the bow and arrows to Neith, to Sati, and to Khemi, who also holds the battle-axe and spear; and the

[1] Suidas, *voc.* Πρίαπος. [2] Burton's Excerpta, plate 26.
[3] Horapollo, Hierog. i. 8.

shield and arrows were not denied as an emblem to a goddess who has the office of nurse.

The fanciful notion of Diodorus, Macrobius, Horapollo, and others,[1] that the *horai, horæ,* 'hours' and 'seasons,' received their name from Horus, because the sun was so called by the Egyptians, is on a par with many other Greek etymologies, with this difference—that the Greeks usually derived the words of other languages from their own. The analogy between Horus and *ouro,* 'king,' mentioned by Salmasius,[2] is remarkable, as Horus was the representative of majesty among the gods, and the hawk is put to designate a Pharaoh. But, as I have frequently had occasion to observe, it is from Ra or Phra and not from Horus, or, as Josephus supposes, from *ouro,* that the word Phrah, Pharaoh, was derived.[3] The close affinity in some instances between Ra, the sun, and Horus, makes it difficult to distinguish between them, especially as the hawk is an emblem of both. But the hawk bearing on its head the disk of the sun belongs to Ra; and that which wears the *pshent,* to Horus, the son of Osiris (who, like Ra, was the type of majesty); though, as already stated, this crown is sometimes appropriated by other hawk-headed deities, as Aroeris and Har-Hat.

I have noticed the difficulty which presents itself in deciding which of these deities, the elder or younger Horus, corresponds to the Greek Apollo.

It is true that Aroeris[4] is mentioned, in the Greek dedication at Apollinopolis Parva, as the deity of the place, answering to Apollo; and the same occurs again at Ombos, where he is figured as Horus, though not as the son of Osiris. But the many points of resemblance brought forward by Herodotus, Plutarch, and others, between Apollo and the son of Osiris, argue strongly in favour of the opinion that the younger Horus answers to the Greek Apollo. Aroeris was son of Seb and Nut; and in a hieroglyphic legend at Philæ he is styled son of Nut, and represented under the singular form of a hieracosphinx. Plutarch thinks him to have had the sun for his father, and to have been born on the second day of the epact. Little more is related concerning him, nor does he appear to have acted a very

[1] Diodor. i. 26. Macrob. Saturn. i. 26. Horapollo, i. 17.

[2] Jablonski, ii. 4, p. 222.

[3] The texts show that it is derived from *per āā,* 'the great house' or 'court,' or 'the great two houses' or 'courts.'—S. B.

[4] Haroeris, in Egyptian Har-ur, means 'the greater' or 'elder Horus.' He was the brother of Osiris, and personified divine pre-existence, and was adored at Ombos, and so united with Set or Nubti.—S. B.

prominent part in the mythological history of his brother Osiris. In a papyrus published by Champollion, he is styled 'Haroeris, lord of the solar spirits, the beneficent eye of the sun;' and it is in this last sense that he appears to bear some analogy to Apollo, who, according to Plato, received his name from 'the emission of the rays of light.' Apollo and the sun were distinct in the mythology of Greece; and it is probable that the Egyptians separated the light from the heat, and perhaps even from the splendour of the sun; considering it in the various characters to which I have already alluded. Har-oeri, or Aroeris, may be considered the eye and light,[1] or the splendour and brightness of the sun, like the Greek Phœbus; and if his connection with Ra is not sufficiently obvious, the statements of Greek writers, added to the testimony of dedicatory inscriptions at Ombos and Apollinopolis Parva, authorise this opinion, while the younger Horus may enjoy an undisputed claim to the character of Apollo.

Harpocrates[2] was born of Isis after the death of her husband, and is therefore distinct from Horus, her elder son by Osiris, who is said at that time to have been engaged in war with Typho. Plutarch tells us,[3] that 'Harpocrates, being the offspring of the intercourse of Osiris with Isis after his death, and having come into the world before his time, was lame in his lower limbs.' This allegorical fable he explains[4] by interpreting 'Harpocrates, whom she brought forth about the time of the winter solstice, to be those weak and tender shootings of the corn which are as yet feeble and imperfect; for which reason the Egyptians dedicate the firstfruits of their lentils to this god, and celebrate the feast of his mother's delivery just after the vernal equinox.' 'We must not, however,' he adds,[5] 'really look upon Harpocrates as an infant and imperfect deity, or as the young and tender shoots of the pulse, but rather as the governor and rectifier of those weak, incomplete notions, which we are apt to form of the divine nature. For which reason, we see him described with his finger pointing to his mouth—a proper emblem of that modest and cautious silence we ought to observe in these matters. So, when they offer him the firstfruits of their lentils in the month

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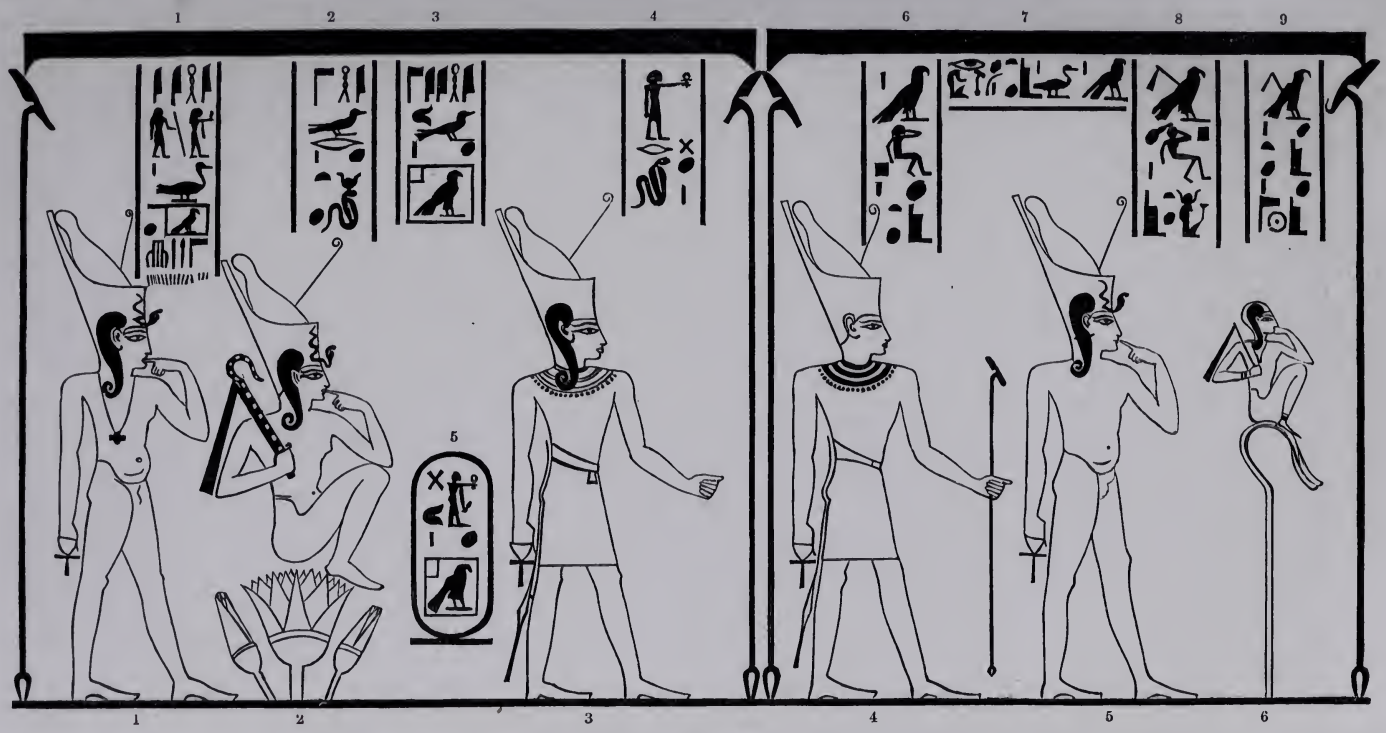
[1] This cannot fail to call to mind the *aor*, 'light,' of the Hebrews; though not resembling the Egyptian word of the same meaning.

[2] His name was Harpaχrat, 'Horus the child' or 'germ.' (Pierret, Vocab. p. 247.) —S. B.]

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 19.

[4] Ibid. s. 65.

[5] Ibid. s. 68.



Harsaasi, Harsiesis.

1. 'Ahi, son of Athor, great god, resident in . . . . .' 2. 'Ah, son of Athor.' 3, 4, 5. 'Ah, eldest son of Athor.' 6. 'Harpaχrat, son of Isis.' 7. 'Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris.' 8. 'Harpocrates, son of Isis.' 9. 'Horus, son of Isis, son of Osiris.'

Mesoré, they at the same time exclaim, "The tongue is fortune, the tongue is god:" and hence it is that, of all Egyptian plants, the peach-tree is looked upon peculiarly sacred to Harpocrates, because of the resemblance observed between its fruit and the heart, and between its leaves and the human tongue.' There is, however, reason to believe that this is one of the many errors with which the accounts of Greek writers abound. The peach-tree, unless it be the same as Persea, was not sacred to any deity; and it is evident that he had in view the holy tree of Athor, whose fruit, as represented in the sculptures, so strongly resembles the heart.

Harpocrates is represented as an infant nursed by Isis, or with his finger to his mouth, having a lock of hair falling from the side of his head. The same figure is commonly employed by the Egyptians to indicate a child. He is generally in a sitting posture; instances, however, occur of his standing upright, and walking alone, or at the side of his mother. The lock of hair, the distinguishing mark of a child, though one of his principal characteristics, is not confined to Harpocrates: it is given to the younger members of other Egyptian triads, as Ahi, Har-semt-ta, Pneb-ta, Har-para, Harka, and Haké, who in form and general attributes are similar to the child of Isis. It is also worn by Khonsu, the offspring of Amen and Mut, in the great Theban triad; and the priest who officiates in the leopard-skin dress, even though he be the king himself, assumes this badge of youth, probably emblematic of that spotless innocence with which it became the supreme pontiff to approach the presence of the gods. I have occasionally met with Harpocrates wearing round his neck a vase, the emblem of Ma, the goddess of truth; which probably refers to 'the amulet' said by Plutarch[1] to have been 'worn by Isis at the time she brought him into the world, which was reported to mean "speaking the truth."' As the child of Isis, he may represent *youth* in general: and when seated in Hades before Osiris, or in the sepulchral chambers containing the sarcophagi of the dead, he is the symbol of resuscitation, or new birth. This alludes to the change of state which every one undergoes at his death, purporting that dissolution is only the cause of reproduction; that nothing perishes which has once existed;[2] and that things which appear to be

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 68.

[2] *Θνήσκει δ' οὐδεν τῶν γιγνομένων*, of the Chrysippus of Euripides; and Plato, Phædo: 'The living are generated from the dead, no less than the dead from the living' (p. 280, trans. Taylor).

destroyed, only change their natures and pass into another form. The same idea is probably repeated in the triad (so often found in the tombs made of blue pottery or other composition) consisting of Isis, Nephthys, and Harpocrates, which I suppose to signify the beginning, the end, and reproduction after death.[1] It may also be traced in what Macrobius says of the mode of representing the sun 'by an image having a lock of hair on the right side of its head,'[2] which was emblematic of the reappearance of that luminary 'after it was concealed from our sight at its setting; or of the return of the sun to the solstice.'[3] But this seems rather to apply to the god Ahi. In some monuments of the late date of the Ptolemies and Cæsars, Harpocrates is represented seated on a throne, supported by lions, and even placed upon the backs of those animals;[4] which cannot fail to call to mind the remark of Horapollo,[5] that 'the Egyptians put lions under the throne of Horus—this being their name for the sun:' though he is wrong in supposing the sun to be the same as Horus. The notion respecting his being the god of silence appears to be of Greek origin: for, as I have already observed, the Egyptians did not indicate it by the finger, but by placing the whole hand over the mouth.[6] The position of Harpocrates' finger, therefore, appears rather to refer to a habit common to children in all times and in every country: and that the form of his body, with a prominent abdomen, was aptly chosen to indicate extreme youth, is sufficiently proved by the appearance of Egyptian children at the present day. Instances occur of Harpocrates with the cap and feathers of Amen; but as these are bronze statues, and unaccompanied by hieroglyphics, there is no possibility of ascertaining the exact character he bore when so represented.[7]

The connection between Harpocrates, as well as other of these infant deities, and the god, generally called Typhonian, whom I have supposed to represent death, is very remarkable. But I shall treat of it more fully in another place, when describing the attributes and character of that deity.

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[1] The supposed connection in Hebrew between *mout*, 'death,' and *mut*, 'mother,' is an erroneous notion; since the latter is *am*, and not *mut*.

[2] Macrobius, Saturn. i. 26: 'Rursum emergendi uti capillos habere substantiam.'

[3] Ibid. i. 26: 'Rursus emergens ad æstivum hemisphærium tanquam enascens in augmenta porrigitur.'

[4] Rosellini, plate 18.

[5] Horapollo, i. 17.

[6] In the bronze figures the finger is raised to the level of the chin.—S. B.

[7] They represent Har as the eldest son of Amen, perhaps a variety of the type of Khonsu. (Birch, 'Gall. of Antiq.,' p. 38.) —S. B.

The form and attributes of the youthful deity Ahi are similar to those of Harpocrates, from whom the hieroglyphic legends alone distinguish him. He is the third member of the triad of Denderah, and son of Har-hat and Athor, by whom he is nursed. This goddess, in the character of mother of an infant, appears to have borrowed the attributes of Isis; but the same office is assumed by other goddesses.

Athor occurs again at Edfoo as the mother of Har-semt-ta, her son by Har-Hat; and Nebuu, a form of Neith, is at Esneh the mother of the young Haké. Like Harpocrates, and other of these infant deities, he is represented with his finger raised to his mouth, the sign of extreme youth; and he is sometimes represented sitting on the flower of a lotus. He is then supposed to signify the sun in the winter solstice, or the rising sun; and the crook and flagellum, the emblems of Osiris, which he sometimes carries, may be intended to indicate the influence he is about to exercise upon mankind. The vase from which the plant grows is a lake of water, and the usual initial of the word *ma* or *moo*, 'water.' 'They do, indeed,' says Plutarch,[1] 'characterise the rising sun as though it sprang every day afresh out of the lotus-plant; but this implies, that to moisture we owe the first kindling of this luminary.' I may, however, venture to offer another interpretation, suggested both by the allegory itself, as well as by his hieroglyphical name Ahi,—that he corresponds to the day or morning; and in this character he may answer to Aurora. Some might perhaps apply to him the name Phosphorus, which seems to accord with an inscription mentioned by Jablonski;[2] but he was distinct from Venus, or the morning star.

The resemblance, indeed, between Ahi, or Pa-hru, 'the day,' in Egyptian, and Eôs, the Greek Aurora, is sufficiently striking: and if for the 'sun' rising every morning from a lotus-flower, we substitute the 'day,' we find the remark of Plutarch justly applies to this deity: and we may readily pardon his error in mistaking him for Harpocrates, whom he so much resembles. It may, then, be supposed that he represents the *day;* and he is with justice considered the child of Athor, or *night*, from which every new day was supposed to spring. I must, in conclusion, make this remark on the lotus-plant on which he is represented

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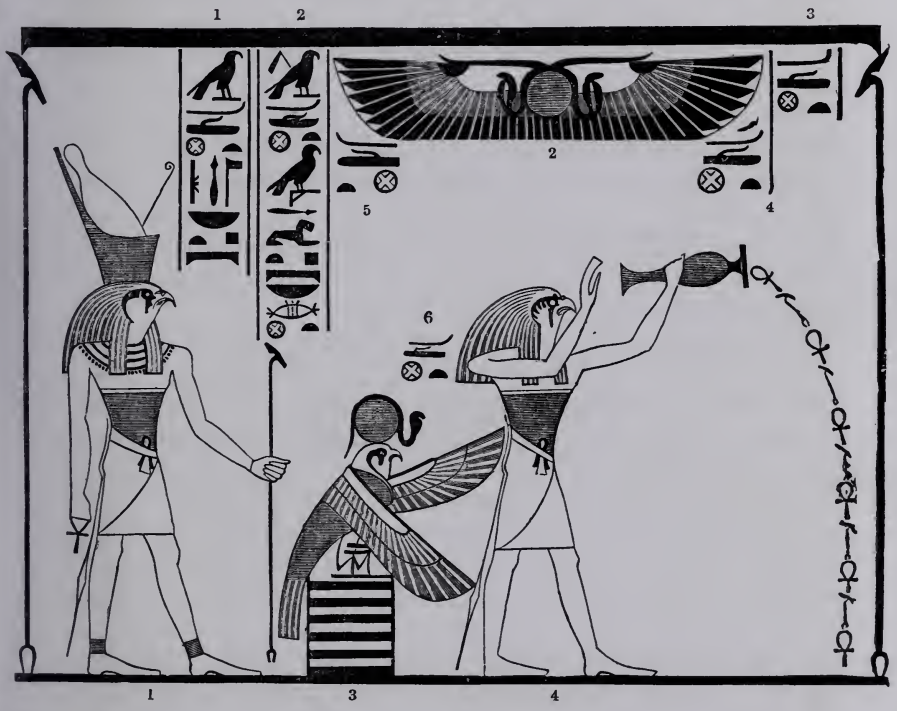
[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 11.

[2] Jablonski, ii. 6, p. 256 :—
'Bono Deo,
Puero Phosphoro.'

seated,—that it is always the Nymphæa lotus, and in no instance the Nelumbo. And though this last is mentioned by several ancient authors among the plants of Egypt, it is never introduced into the sculptures as a sacred emblem, or, indeed, as a production of the country; a fact which goes far to disprove one of the supposed analogies of the Egyptian and Indian objects of veneration. With regard to the common lotus, so frequently represented as a favourite flower in the hands of the Egyptians



No. 530. Hat and Har-hat.

1. 'Har-hat, great god, lord of heaven.'
2. 'Har-hat, great god, lord of heaven, lord of Denderah.'
3–6. 'Hat' [Edfu].

(as the rose or others might be in the hands of any modern people), there is no evidence of its having been sacred, much less an object of worship, though it is an emblem of the god Nefer-Atmu.

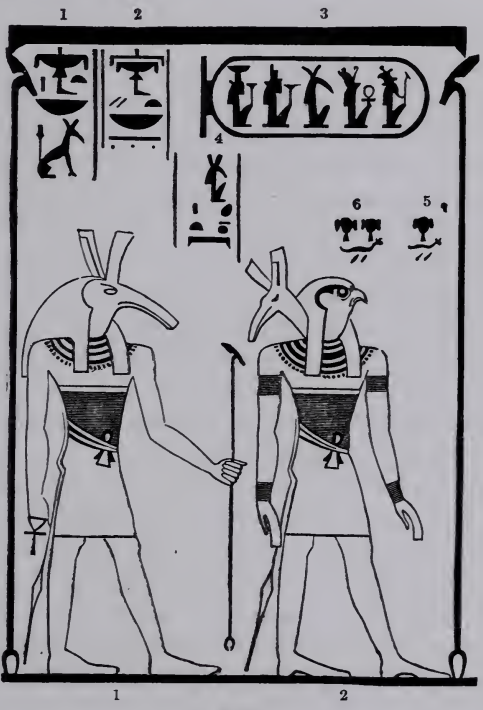
As there appears to be some connection between the deity Hat and Horus, I introduce him with the members of the family of Seb. Hat was the Good Genius, or Agathodæmon, under whose

protection the persons of the kings and the temples of the gods were placed. In the form of a sun supported by two asps and outspread vultures' wings, he occurs over the doorways and façades of buildings. Sometimes he is represented as a winged scarabæus, supporting a globe or sun with its fore-feet; as a hawk, he hovers over the monarch while offering sacrifices in the temples, or on other occasions; and as a deity of human shape, with a hawk's head, he pours alternate emblems of life and power over the prince at his coronation. In this office he is assisted by the god Nilus, Thoth, or Nubti; one of whom, placed opposite him, pours a stream of similar emblems from another vase over the king who stands between them. His place is sometimes taken by one of those deities. When opposed to Nubti, he appears to represent the Upper, as the latter the Lower, Country. He also assists in binding the throne of the monarch with the stalks of water-plants, in company with Nilus, or with Thoth,—one using those emblematic of the Upper, the other of the Lower, Country. The ceremony itself refers to the dominion of the king over Upper and Lower Egypt.

When represented as a man, with a hawk's head, he appears to be related to the Agathodæmon of the Phœnicians; which, according to Eusebius, was supposed (though erroneously) to be the same as Neph, with 'the head of a hawk.' In the character of the winged globe, he unites the attributes of Ra, Khnum, and Mut, the sun, asp, and vulture's wings. He may then be said more particularly to deserve the name of the Good Genius; though, as I have already observed, the Agathodæmon, which presided over the affairs of men as the guardian spirit of their houses, was the asp of Rannu; according with another statement of Eusebius,[1] that Agathodæmon was figured under the form of a serpent. The winged globe may perhaps call to mind the 'land shadowing with wings;'[2] as the figures kneeling at either end of the sacred arks, or boats, recall the winged seraphim. The name of this deity is written Hat, when under the form of a hawk, and of the winged globe, in attendance on the kings; and when under the name and character of Har-Hat, he usually wears the *pshent*, or crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, which seems to connect him with Horus. He is sometimes represented with wings, holding a spear, and crowned with the *pshent* of Horus; but this is in temples of a Ptolemaic

[1] Euseb. Præpar. Evang. i. 10. [2] Isaiah xviii. 1.

era. He frequently appears at Denderah, and also in the oldest temples, in all these characters; and the temple of Edfoo, or Apollinopolis Magna, being dedicated to him, seems to give him a claim to the name of Apollo. At this last place, an instance occurs of the god Har-Hat with the head of a lion and the solar disk, holding a monkey in his hand. He stands in a boat; and before him Thoth, Isis, Nephthys, and two other goddesses, raise their hands in an attitude of prayer, while Horus pierces the head of Apophis with a spear.[1]



No. 531. Nubti.

1. 'Nubti' (Ombos). 2. 'Nubti, lord of the earth.'
3. The five children of Seb—Osiris, Aroeris, Set, Isis, Nephthys.
4. 'Set, son of Nut.'
5. *Her-ef-sen.* 6. The two-headed god Horus or Har of Hat and Set united.

The deity Nubti is sometimes represented, as already observed, in company with, and in the same office as, the last-mentioned god, pouring the emblems of life and power over the kings, in the place of Thoth; and as teaching them the use of the bow, together with the same hawk-headed god, Har-Hat. It might

[1] The winged disk is supposed to represent the sun passing through the heavens. Har of Hat is the type of Horus fighting against the conspirators of Set. (Naville. 'Mythe d'Horus.' Pierret, Vocab., p. 187.) —S. B.

appear that Nubti was connected with the Lower Country, as Har-Hat with Upper Egypt, to whom he was opposed. For, in the ceremony of the Panegyries, where the king is represented running to the temple to perform the accustomed rites, we find this deity introduced on the side of the picture, corresponding to Lower Egypt, with all the emblems of that part of the country, as the asp, the northern water-plant, and the genius of Lower Egypt; the king also wearing the cap of that district. But Nubti generally has, in his hieroglyphic legend, the title 'Lord of the region of the *Upper* Country,' as is the case even in the subject to which I have above alluded, though accompanied by the emblems of *Lower* Egypt. This, then, may be intended to indicate the combined protection of the deities of both regions. In the cartouches of Osirei and other Pharaohs, his figure is introduced as a substitute for Osiris. In the hieroglyphic legends on the monuments,[1] he is shown to have been the son of Nut; on the wooden cubits found at Memphis, the names of Seb and Nut are followed by Osiris, Isis, Nubti,[2] Nephthys, and Aroeris; and I have met with a group of figures representing the family of Nut, in which he occurs with Osiris, Aroeris,[3] Isis, and Nephthys, as the third son of that goddess. This agrees with the statement of Plutarch,[4] that Osiris was born on the first, Aroeris on the second, Typho on the third, Isis on the fourth, and Nephthys on the fifth day.

Hence it is evident that the deity before us was one of the characters of Typho, and the reason of his figure being erased on almost all the monuments where it occurs was owing to the hatred with which they viewed the Evil Being he represented: though, as I shall have occasion to show, the good and bad principles were viewed with a different feeling by the philosophers of early times. He is figured under a human form, having the head of a quadruped with square-topped ears, which some might have supposed to represent an ass with clipped ears, if the entire animal did not too frequently occur to prevent this erroneous conclusion. That it was an imaginary creature is evident from its form, and from being placed at Beni-Hassan with sphinxes[5] and other fanciful animals; all conjecture is

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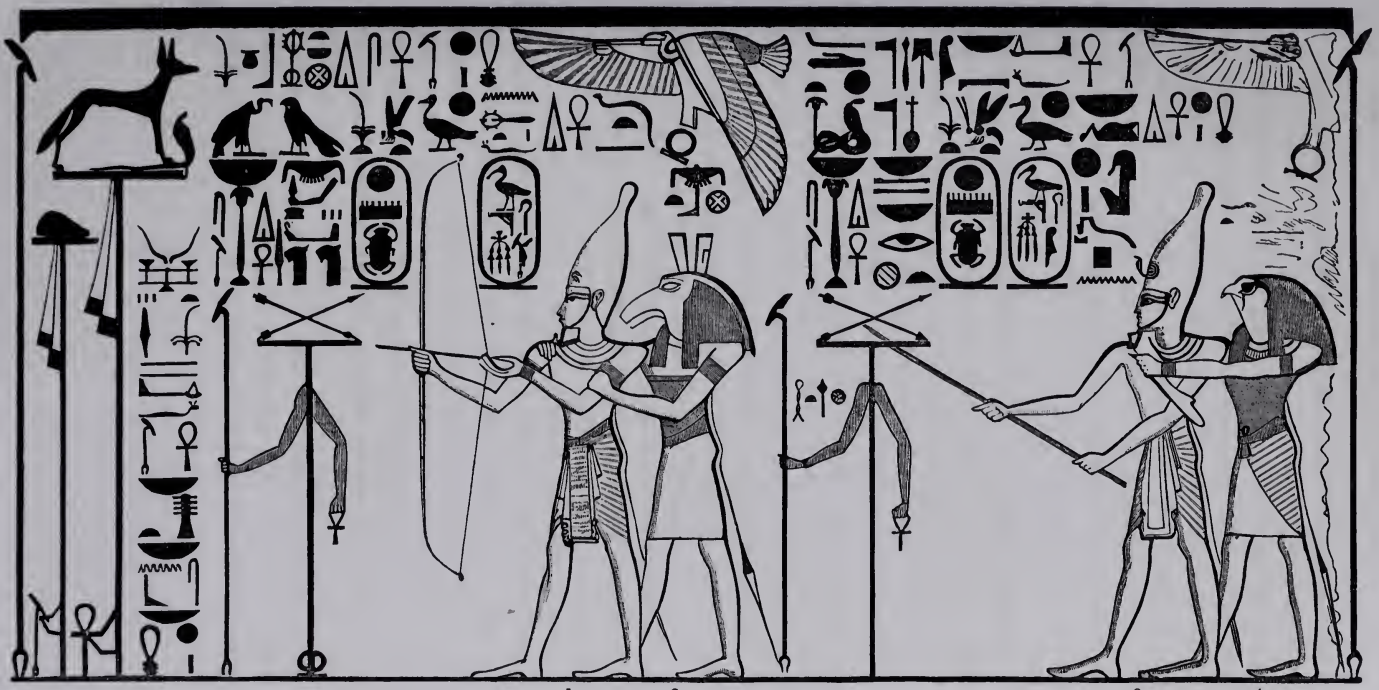
[1] An instance of this occurs on the Obelisk of Luxor, at Thebes.

[2] Nubti means the town of Ombos, and he is the 'Set of Nubti,' when so mentioned. —S. B.

[3] This deity wears the *pshent*, like Horus.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 12.

[5] The sphinx was chosen as an emblem of the king, and was intended to imply the union of physical and intellectual force, by its body of a lion and its human head; or, as Clemens of Alexandria says, 'the union



1 2 Nubti and Thothmes III.

3 4 Har-hat and Thothmes III.

The inscriptions read—'Nishem, lady of Eileithyia, giver of life and strength, like the sun,' which are applied to the vulture. The jackal standard is called 'Ap-heru (determiner of the roads), of the sun, ruler of the Two Countries, who gives all life, stability, and health, like the sun.' The titles of Thothmes are, 'Hawk of gold, distributer of diadems, most valiant king of the North and South, son of the son of his race, Thothmes, ruler of Karnak, giver of eternal life.' Over the god is 'Nubti.' In the second scene the god is called 'Hat, great god of coloured feathers, giver of health.' The vulture is Nishem, with nearly the same titles, but 'lord of the scimitar, true ruler, approved of the sun and giver of life, like the sun,' are substituted for some. Before the target is *Het*, 'Silverland.'

therefore useless, both regarding its name and the reason for which it was selected.

Had the head of this deity been that of the ass, its adoption would have suited the character of the Evil Being, and have accorded with the statement of Plutarch, who says the Egyptians considered that animal emblematic of Typho. 'Hence the Coptites have the custom of throwing an ass down a precipice; and the inhabitants of Busiris and Lycopolis carry their detestation of it so far as never to make use of trumpets, fancying that their sound is similar to the braying of an ass. Indeed, this animal is generally regarded by them as unclean, on account of its supposed resemblance to Typho; for which reason, the cakes offered with their sacrifices, during the two months Paüni and Phaophi, have the impression of an ass, bound, stamped upon them.'[1] Even if the entire quadruped itself were not present to decide this point, their mode of representing animals was too accurate to admit of such a misconception; and a figure with the head of an ass represented among the numerous genii in the temple of Tuôt, or Tuphium, suffices to show the marked distinction between it and the one before us. The inaccuracy of Greek writers presents considerable difficulty in deciding upon any point not elucidated by the Egyptian monuments. We are told that Typho was the name of the Evil Being, who was the son of Nut, and brother of Osiris. But, judging from the hieroglyphic legends, there is reason to believe Typho to be a female deity, apparently distinct from the Evil Being who was the persecutor of Osiris; and we are unable to trace in the name of Nubti any of the titles, Sêth,[2] Bebo,[3] Babys,[4] or Smy,[5] given by Plutarch to Typho. On this last point, however, I shall not insist, since the force of the hieroglyphics[6] composing it is not positively ascertained; but we may be certain that the name Typho was not applied to this deity, though he fulfilled the office of the Evil Being opposed to the good Osiris, his brother, and answered in every respect to the character of the third son of Nut.

It appears that the Egyptian mythology acknowledged two

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of force with prudence or wisdom,' ἀλκῆς τὲ αὖ μέτα συνεσέως ἢ σφίγξ (Strom. v.). He runs into the usual error of considering the sphinx female; the Egyptians making it invariably male, which is consistent with its being a representative of the king.

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 30.

[2] Set and Sutekh constantly occur on the monuments.—S. B.

[3] Buba or Bebon is mentioned in the Ritual, xvii. and xciii. (Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 80.)—S. B.

[4] Athen. Deipn. lib. xv. p. 680.

[5] Plut. de Isid. ss. 62, 49. [Smy is probably the Egyptian *Smu*, or *Semu*, mentioned as the 'conspirator' against Osiris.—S. B.]

[6] He sometimes seems to have a title similar to Sêth.

deities who answered to the description given by the Greeks of Typho: one, who was the son of Nut, and was opposed to his brother Osiris, as the bad to the good principle; the other bearing the name of Typho, and answering to that part of his character which represents him as the opponent of Horus.

From the constant and almost universal erasure of his figure, the Egyptians seem to have looked upon this deity as a hateful being, the enemy of mankind. But the offices he sometimes bore, the presentation of prayers and offerings, and the respect frequently paid to him in temples of the oldest periods, where he occurs as one of the contemplar gods, show that his character was not always the same as ascribed by us to the wicked Satan; but an abstract notion of what was hurtful and bad, acting in opposition to the good, yet still necessary to mankind, and part of the system ordained by the divine intellect. 'For the harmony of the world,' as Heraclitus observes,[1] 'like that of a harp, is made up of discords, consisting of a mixture of good and evil;' and Euripides says, 'Good and evil cannot be separated from each other, though they are so tempered as to produce beauty and order.' If such was the opinion of the Egyptians, we are not surprised to find that sacrifices were offered to the bad principle, as though his votaries considered themselves benefited by his interposition. And it is probable that they so viewed the connection between the good and bad, as to consider that nothing injurious to mankind was not ordained for a good purpose; that virtue even was a vice, when carried to an extreme; and that no bad quality of the mind could not be turned to a good purpose, if properly tempered by the judgment and understanding. These ideas may be obscurely hinted at in the emblematic figure of this deity with the head of a hawk added to his own, as though it represented the union of his attributes with those of Horus, or of Osiris.[2]

The same may also be traced in the office performed by this deity, in company with Horus, of placing the crown on the head of the king; or with Har-Hat,[3] Agathodæmon, of pouring over him, from a vase, the emblems of life and purity. This ceremony might imply, that during his life, and the distinguished career he had entered upon, even the monarch himself could only expect, in the ordinary course of events, an alternation

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 45.
[2] Woodcut No. 531, *fig.* 2.
[3] Har-Hat is really the *Har-en-Hat*, Horus (the lord) of Edfu or Apollinopolis Magna.—S. B.

of good and bad fortune; and that he ought, therefore, unceasingly to appeal to the protection of the gods, who alone could avert calamities and insure his happiness. In the mythological history of Osiris, there is one person who, from having the double character of a friend and an enemy of the gods, bears a resemblance to the deity before us. According to Diodorus,[1] when Osiris undertook his expedition from Egypt, in order to visit and dispense benefits to the different countries of the world, he left Isis in charge of the affairs of his kingdom, aided by the counsels of Mercury. Hercules was appointed generalissimo of Egypt; Busiris, of the sea-coast, with the parts adjacent to Phœnicia; and Antæus, of the Ethiopian and Libyan districts.[2] After the death of Osiris, his murderer Typho was defeated by Isis and Horus, at a spot on the Arabian side of the river, near to the village of Antæus, so called from the Antæus whom Hercules punished during the lifetime of Osiris. Whence it appears that Typho and Antæus were the enemies of the good deities Osiris and Hercules. Antæus, however, was admitted into the Egyptian Pantheon; temples were erected to him; and the city of Antæopolis, the capital of a nome of the same name,[3] and the successor of the village mentioned by Diodorus, acknowledged the god whose name it bore. In this we perceive the origin of the fable respecting the giant Antæus, in Greek mythology;[4] of which, however, I do not stop to inquire the meaning. It is of little moment, if Antæus, according to one of the many allegories devised for explaining the story of the wars of the gods, represented the sand of the desert, and was thence reputed to be the offspring of the earth. The only point of importance for my present object is the double character of Antæus, like that of the god Nubti, which I think clearly established; and the error of the Greeks, who confounded the latter deity with Typho, may be readily accounted for, by the connection between Typho and Antæus, in the account given by Diodorus. At Gau, the ancient Antæopolis, a temple till lately stood on the banks of the Nile; but the last standing column was swept away by the river in 1821; and we have now lost the only monument which could decide this interesting question, to confirm or disprove the identity of Nubti and Antæus.

[1] Diodor. i. 17, 21.

[2] The chief god of Antæopolis is Horus, who is supposed to be Antæus in one of his forms or types.—S. B.

[3] Plin. v. 9. It is of the Greek and Roman period.

[4] Juv. iii. 89. Pindar, Pyth. ix. 185. Luc. Phars. iv. 615. Strabo, xvii. p. 570, ed. Cas. Plin. v. 1.

Sufficient proof exists of the possibility of the same deity being looked upon in two different characters; and Plutarch has given some of the various theories respecting the two principles. 'Some,' he says,[1] 'assert that there are two gods of two contrary offices,—one the cause of all that is good in the world, the other of all that is evil. Others, again, call the good principle only God—giving the name of Dæmon to the Evil Being—in which number is Zoroaster the Magos, who is reported to have lived 5000 years before the Trojan War. That philosopher named the good principle Oromazes (Ormusd), and the evil one Arimanes (Ahriman); between whom he supposed another intermediate being, called Mithras, considered by the Persians the Mediator. He also taught that sacrifices for future or thanks for past benefits were to be offered to the Good Being, as those for the purpose of averting misfortunes to the evil one.

'In the writings of Empedocles, the good principle is sometimes defined by the name of Love and Friendship, and frequently by that of sweet-looking Harmony; the evil one being denominated pernicious Enmity and Strife. By the Pythagoreans, the good one is called "the Unit, the Definite, the Fixed, the Straight, the Odd, the Square, the Equal, the Dexterous, and the Lucid;" and the evil one, "the Duad, the Indefinite, the Movable, the Crooked, the Even, the Oblong, the Unequal, the Sinistrous, the Dark." Anaxagoras styles the one Intelligence, the other Infinity; and Aristotle describes them by the names of Form and Privation. Plato in his Books of Laws observes that "this world is not moved by one soul only, but perhaps by many—certainly not fewer than two: one of whom is of a benevolent disposition, and the author of everything that is good; whilst the other is of a contrary turn of mind, and the author of everything that is evil." In the Egyptian theory, we are to understand by Osiris, the faculties of the universal soul, such as intelligence and reason; and in the general system of matter, whatever is regular, permanent, and salutary, such as orderly seasons, a due temperament of the air, and the stated revolutions of the heavenly bodies. But those powers of the universal soul which are subject to the influence of passions, and in the material system, whatever is noxious—as irregular seasons, bad air, eclipses of the sun and moon—are ascribed to Typho.' 'Upon the whole, however, Osiris, or the good principle, has the superiority; which

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 46, *et seq.*

seems likewise to have been the opinion both of Plato and Aristotle.'[1]

Looking, therefore, upon the bad as a necessary part of the universal system, and inherent in all things equally with the good, the Egyptians treated the Evil Being with divine honours, and propitiated him with sacrifices and prayers. It is not, however, impossible that they may have looked upon this deity with different feelings in later times, and have ceased to pay him the respect he formerly enjoyed. During the 18th and 19th Dynasties, and perhaps long after that period, he continued to receive the homage of numerous votaries; but subsequently a general feeling of hatred seems to have sprung up against him, and his figure was erased from the sculptures. This does not appear to have been done in a systematic manner, as the result of a general order given by the priesthood to that effect, but in a moment of anger, as would be the case when the people acted from sudden impulse or excitement. It therefore happens that the figure sometimes escaped this indignity; which could not have been the case, had the careful scrutiny of the priesthood been employed to detect and deface it.

There is some difficulty in ascertaining the exact time when the erasure took place. The monuments of the later dynasties offer few of the subjects in which this deity usually took part. It is not therefore right to conclude that he had then ceased to be worshipped as in olden times; and, indeed, there is so much uncertainty on this head, that we are not sure if the erasure was the work of the Egyptians or of the early Christians. But this last is far from probable, since they could have had no reason to respect or hate any particular deity of a Pagan temple.

If so marked an aversion for his figure really indicates a change in the feelings of the Egyptians towards this deity, it is possible that it may have had some connection with the invasion of Persia—the god having fallen into disgrace in consequence of that event; as the Roman deities were sometimes punished for their supposed neglect of the interests of their votaries.[2] But it is evident that it could not date from the early period of the Exodus, since the temple of Rameses III. alone suffices to show he was in favour long after that event.

Whether owing to a change in the religious fancies of the

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 59.

[2] This was also the case in Egypt, as Plutarch (de Isid. s. 73) tells us, with the sacred animals.

Egyptians, or to any other cause, it is not a singular instance. We have already noticed the erasure and substitution of hieroglyphics in the name of Amen: and though the Egyptians were great conservatives in their religious institutions, some innovations were introduced during the long period of their history. Nor can anyone suppose that the accessories of their religion underwent no modifications, that the simplicity of the early worship had not many new ideas engrafted upon it, and that speculative theories did not from time to time increase the number of the Egyptian gods.

I am even disposed to think that a change of this kind might proceed from another cause: that good and bad, which were viewed abstractedly at one period, were afterwards treated literally; nothing then remaining but the mere opposition of Osiris and Typho, the positively good and the positively bad being, the one all that was beneficial, the other all that was noxious to mankind. If the one was the Nile, which fertilised the country, the other was the desert, which destroyed all vegetable life: and they no longer entertained the opinions of those earlier philosophers, who contended that good and bad formed part of one great principle; that evil proceeded from good, as good from evil; and that both were intended for the benefit of mankind.

It was not until men considered the bad distinctly separate from the good, in a positive and literal sense, that Typho was treated as the enemy of man. Such was the idea entertained by the Roman votaries of Osiris. There is even reason to believe that a similar change in the sentiments of the Egyptians towards this deity is hinted at by Plutarch,[1] when he says, 'It is evident they hold Typho in great abhorrence, though they still make offerings to him, as if to console him for the loss of his power, which had become less formidable than formerly.' 'It was in consequence,' he adds, 'of their hatred of Typho, that they treated with ignominy those persons who, from the redness of their complexions, were imagined to bear a resemblance to him;' and, 'from a similar notion, they made choice of red oxen in their sacrifices.' The 'ass[2] was also selected as an appropriate emblem of the evil deity, from its being usually of that colour.' Diodorus[3] even asserts, that 'men of red complexions were formerly sacrificed to Osiris, in consequence of their supposed

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 30.

[2] The head of Set is not that of an ass, but of a kind of gryphon.—S. B.

[3] Diodor. i. 88.

resemblance to Typho;' though this may be reasonably doubted, as so many tales related by the Greeks respecting the customs of the Egyptians. The supposed birthday of Typho was, in like manner, looked upon as inauspicious; and 'accordingly, on the third day of the epact, the kings neither transacted any business, nor even suffered themselves to take any refreshment till the evening.'[1] If it appears singular that this hatred of the Evil Being did not prevent their propitiating him on certain occasions, the custom is not confined to the Egyptians; far less speculative people have adopted it even to the present day; and philosophers have offered many conflicting opinions on the abstract theory of the good and bad, the origin of sin, and the power, cause, and nature of evil.

The fact of the figure of this deity being so generally erased, and the change in the name of Amen, go far to prove that certain innovations took place in the religious theories of the Egyptians; and if we could discover earlier monuments than those which now remain, we might find the number of deities more limited than in the time even of the 18th Dynasty.

[The myth of Set has attracted from an early period the attention of Egyptologists, and has been treated at great length. He appears on the monuments as early as the 6th Dynasty, and is treated with the same honour as the other members of the family of Seb. His subsequent titles are 'the great god, lord of heaven, the very valiant,' and in the Ritual he is mentioned in connection with Horus, of whom he was the great antagonist. The great contest between Set and Horus after the death of Osiris lasted three days and nights, and the gods changed themselves into two animals, probably lions. This battle took place at the back of the sea, and after the defeat of Set the companions of the god were changed into animals. Set was supposed to have been stabbed by Horus in the heart, and part of his organs torn away. He also injures the eye of Horus in the shape of a pig. In the Egyptian mythology he appears as the evil principle, and also the sun-god. But the great interest of the god Set was his connection with the Hykshos and Canaanites, when he generally bears the name of Sutekh or Sut. As such he was worshipped during the Shepherd rule in Amaris; after which his

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 12. It is singular that the name 'Typhon' (Tiphoon) was applied to a 'sudden whirlwind' in former times (Plin. ii. 28), as at the present day; and that Tuphán is the Arabic name of the Deluge. [It is the Chinese Tai fung, 'great wind.'—S. B.]

worship still continued, apparently in connection with Baal, and he was the type of Northern, as Horus of Southern, Egypt. Two of the monarchs of the 19th Dynasty bore his name; and his worship as Set-ra, from which it is supposed may be derived the Sethroites, was kept up by Osorkon II. He was the chief god of the Khita, and at a later period, for reasons unknown, either religious or political, his name was erased from the public monuments. The chief seat of his worship was at Ombos, where he had the name Nubti, or Ombos, and Set-Nubti, or Set, Lord of Ombos. One idea is, that his name was the most ancient one of God amongst the Semitic races. He assumed the form of a man, of a lion, or beast, perhaps a hippopotamus, a boar, and a serpent, in the war of the gods. His name Set means 'limestone' and 'fire.'[1]—S. B.]

I have already observed, that there is reason to consider the evil being, the son of Nut, distinct from Typho; and this last to be a female rather than a male deity. The son of Nut whom, in the uncertainty which still attends the reading of his name, I consider to be Nubti, has evidently no office in connection with Horus; but the figure in the accompanying plate is represented opposed to the son of Osiris, and holds a conspicuous place in those temples and sculptures which refer to his mysterious history. Taur appears to be the principal personage amidst the frightful and capriciously formed figures which appear as the evil genii of the Egyptian mythology; and in astronomical subjects she may be supposed to represent, as Plutarch says of Typho, the eclipses of the sun and moon, and the occultations of the stars, or to preside over the birth of the sun. She has the body, apparently, of a hippopotamus, or of a bear, with the head sometimes of a hippopotamus, sometimes of a crocodile, the tail of the latter, and the hands and breasts of a woman; and she frequently wears on her head the globe and horns of Athor, with two long feathers. Her hand reposes on an emblem not very unlike a pair of shears; and she sometimes rests one hand upon a crocodile's head, standing on its tail.[2]

At the quarries of Silsilis she is worshipped as a deity,

[1] M. Ed. Meyer, 'Set-Typhon,' Leipz. 1875. Pleyte, 'Die Religion der Pre-Israelites,' Utrecht, 1862.

[2] The name of this goddess is Taur or Thoueris, and she is said to be the concubine of Typhon; she also had the name of Shepu, and Apt or Apet, 'the hippopotamus.' At Ombos these deities presided over the months. Taur has the title of 'resident in the pure waters belonging to the abyssal heights of heaven, regent of gods.' Apet is called 'the great one who has given birth to the boy, companion of the great one who resides in Thebes, the great mother of Kamutf.' (Birch, 'Gall. of Antiq.,' p. 41. Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 52.)—S. B.

Taur, Thoueris, and S'epu.

1. 'Shepu, mistress of Aahenni.' 2. 'Shepu, resident in the place of embalming.' 3. 'Taur the great.' 4 and 5. 'Taur the licker of the earth.' 6. 'Isis established, mother of the festivals of heaven.' 7–12. Various forms of Taur.

accompanied or followed by Thoth and a goddess, apparently Nut, before whom, as a triad, the queen of Rameses the Great holds two sistra. She has a human head, with the usual body of a monster standing erect on its hind-legs; and I have met with the same deity with a *human figure* and head of a hippopotamus, on a tablet, where she is the first person of a triad made up of Eileithyia and Athor. She sometimes appears to be connected with the idea of parturition, or gestation—which may account for her being introduced with the Egyptian Lucina. Her figure in the hieroglyphic legends of Isis[1] and Nut[2] appears to refer to her capacity of protectress of mothers. I have also found an instance of this goddess with the name Isis over her, in an astronomical subject on a mummy-case now in the British Museum.

The hippopotamus and the crocodile were emblems of Typho, except, perhaps, in those towns where they happened to be worshipped: as at Papremis, the city of Mars, which held the former among the animals dedicated to its protecting deity; and at Ombos, and other places, where the crocodile was sacred. 'At Hermopolis,' says Plutarch,[3] 'there is shown a statue of Typho, which is a hippopotamus with a hawk upon its back fighting with a serpent. By the hippopotamus is meant Typho; and by the hawk, the power he frequently assumes by violence, and then employs to his own annoyance and to the prejudice of others. So, again, the cakes they offer on the 7th day of Tybi, to celebrate the return of Isis from Phœnicia, have the impression of a hippopotamus, bound, stamped upon them. The solemn hunt of the crocodile in the city of Apollo, when every one is obliged to eat of its flesh, is in like manner established to show their abhorrence of Typho, whose emblem it is. The same feeling is the origin of their hatred of the ass.'

The connection of Typho and Mars, of both of whom the hippopotamus was said to be an emblem, is singular; and there appears to be a great analogy between Hercules and other of the reputed Typhonian figures.

In the buildings called by some Typhonia, and in many of the mysterious subjects above alluded to, she is accompanied by another figure of hideous shape, which has also been considered Typhonian. This monster forms the ornamental part of the capitals of the columns around the Mammeisi Temples, formerly called Typhonia, as at Denderah and other places.

[1] Plate XXVI., hierog. 8. [2] Plate XXIV., hierog. 2. [3] Plut. de Isid. s. 50.

The name of Typhonium has been improperly applied to these monuments, since they were not consecrated to Typho, but are rather connected with the mysterious rites of Harpocrates and other infant deities, relating to their birth, or generally to the principle of regeneration. The ingenious Champollion has assigned to them the appellation of Mammeisi, the 'lying-in places,' where the third member of the triad, worshipped in the adjoining temple, was born, and nursed by the deities who were supposed to perform that office in Egyptian mythology.

[The next deity to consider is the god Bes, a god not of Egyptian origin, but coming from Arabia, and subsequently identified with Set. Like the Pataikos or Ptah, he has the appearance of deformity, but is an unborn child of Herculean proportions of limbs, covered with the skin of a lion entirely concealing his face, and giving it a Gorgonian appearance.—S. B.] His appearance is of a short deformed man, with a tail, a curly beard, and a head-dress of long feathers: but little is known of his office and attributes, nor have I been able to ascertain if he be the husband of Typho. The story of Nephthys being the wife of Typho, even if Typho were a god, is not authorised by the sculptures; and the origin of this notion is probably owing to Nephthys being placed in contradistinction to Isis, as the end to the beginning, and in the funeral rites being in an office opposed to that of her sister.

No. 532. Bes.

I have reason to believe that he represented 'Death,' in a bad sense, as the dissolution of the animal part of man, and the decay of all things, applied to animals as well as to mankind: and this will readily account for the presence of the peculiar demonstrative sign—the hide of an animal with the tail attached to it—which always follows the legends denoting 'a beast.' He is also said 'to adore his lord'—alluding to the attitude in which he stands before Harpocrates, who in the character of renovation, or new life, might properly be adored by the god of death. He occurs, as already stated, on the columns of the Mammeisi of Denderah and other places; and he presents

the same appearance in some of the temples of Southern Ethiopia. He is found at the distant Kermesat, in Wady Kerbeeán, beyond Wady Benát; and in the sculptures of the supposed hunting palace of Wady Benát, where he is represented armed with a shield and sword, slaying the captives he grasps in his hand.[1] Images of this deity are also found at Thebes and other places, armed in the same manner with the emblems of war, which may argue his being *death* in the sense of *destruction;* and an instance occurs of his having the dress of a Roman soldier;[2] which

No. 533. Bes holding nosegays.

seems to connect him with the god of war, in the same sense the destroying power. In a papyrus of M. Reuvens, he approaches near to the figure of Hercules, whom I shall presently have occasion to notice; and we might even suppose him to be the deity of strength.

[1] Besides these warlike types, he is seen in more festive mood playing on the trigon or triangular lyre, or on the tambourine, or holding children, cynocephalic apes, and other objects. He is often found carved on stibium-pots, on the handles of mirrors and parts of head-rests, and his appearance suggests that he had evil attributes.—S. B.

[2] Woodcut No. 534. The shrine he bears on his head is remarkable. But this figure is of late date—Roman period.

If he represented Death, his frequent occurrence in company with the infant Horus may readily be explained by the connection supposed to subsist between death and reproduction; and I have seen a statue which combines the attributes of both those gods, under the form of a youth with the lock of childhood descending from his head, and the beard and unseemly features of this aged monster. Sometimes, and indeed more generally, the head of the latter is placed over that of the youthful deity (as in the cippus, Plate XXXIII.), who, holding in one hand two snakes with a scorpion and capricorn, in the other similar snakes with a lion and scorpion, stands upon two crocodiles, and is surrounded by the emblems and figures of different gods. Though most of these are well known, I do not pretend to offer an explanation of the whole subject, which appears to bear an astrological as well as a mythological sense.[1] The three principal figures—the crocodile, the young Horus, and the monster head—may signify darkness,[2] the origin of all things, existence or production, and death.[3] They may also explain an apparent resemblance between this deity and a representation of Ptah the Creative Power.[4] These groups are, I believe, of late date—of Ptolemaic or Roman time; and it is generally observable that similarly complicated subjects are of a period when the religion of Egypt was overgrown with fanciful speculation, which the simplicity of earlier sculptures had not adopted.

No. 534. 1. Bes, armed.
2. Details of another shield.

[1] Macrobius, Saturn. i. 26. Clemens (Strom. v.) says, 'The Egyptians sometimes represent the sun in a boat, sometimes on a crocodile.' [2] Horapollo, i. 69, 70.

[3] These cippi (one of which is figured on page 153) are all of a late period, and are covered with representations of the principal deities of the Egyptian Pantheon in adoration or present with Horus. The mystical inscription, stating Horus to be the god, son of a god, sheep, son of a sheep, proceeding from Osiris, and that he is the old one who becomes young, and the direction to the crocodiles to shut their mouths, is given by Messrs. Chabas and Pierret, 'Zeitsch. f. ägypt. Spr.,' 1868, pp. 99–136. —S. B.

[4] Woodcuts No. 536 and No. 498.

May this deity have been Besa, whose oracle is placed by ancient writers in the vicinity of Abydus or of Antinoë?[1] His name in some of the hieroglyphic legends resembles that of the unknown Besa; and if his character appears little likely to justify the notion of his possessing an oracle, it will cease to present an objection, when we recollect that in Greece even the monster Geryon, slain by Hercules, was deemed worthy of

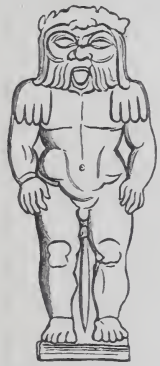
No. 535. Bes and Hi.
'Hi adores his lord.' 'Bes adores his lord.'

a similar honour. Professor Reuvens[2] gives an invocation to Typhon Seth, 'who destroys and renders desert, and is surnamed "he who agitates, and is *invincible;*"' which seems to suit the character of this destroying deity, and to account for his presumed connection with Typho. The fact of his being thus invoked corresponds with his ambiguous title and appearance; and the learned Professor's[3] opinion, that he was derived from Ptah or from Chnoumis, is sufficiently plausible. But I should exclude the name of Chnoumis, and for Ptah should substitute

[1] Hamilton places this Abydus at Aboo Hannes (a Christian village) to the S. of Antinoë.
[2] Reuvens, Lettre i. p. 39. [3] Lettre iii. pp. 78, 79.

that of the pigmy Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, to which I have already alluded. This also calls to mind the connection between the operation of the Creator and of the Destroying Power.

Having mentioned the bad principle, and shown the distinction between Typho and the son of Nut, it may not be out of place to introduce another character of the Evil Being; in which we cannot fail to recognise the serpent the enemy of mankind, and from which the Pytho of Greek mythology was evidently derived. Aphôphis, or Apôp, which in Egyptian signifies *a giant*, was the name given to the serpent of which Horus is represented as the destroyer. From this, the Greeks borrowed the story of Apollo's destruction of the serpent Pytho; as from the name Aphôphis, the wars between the giants, or



Bes like Hercules.
No. 536.

Bronze figure of Bes.
No. 537.

Bes, seated, holding some object.
No. 538. *British Museum.*

Titans, and the gods. 'For,' as Plutarch observes,[1] 'those wars, which are so much spoken of by the Greeks, the detestable actions of Saturn, and the combats between Apollo and Pytho, the flights of Bacchus, and the wanderings of Ceres, are of the same nature as the adventures of Osiris and Typho.' In another place,[2] he speaks of 'Apopis as a prince, who was brother to the sun, and made war upon Jupiter, by whom he was defeated through the assistance of Osiris,' which tends to the same point; and it is remarkable that the combat of the gods and giants occurs under various forms in many religions.

The destruction of the serpent by Horus, who, standing in a boat, pierces his head with a spear, as he rises above the water, frequently occurs in the sculptures; and whether it has the body

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 25.

[2] Ibid. s. 36.

Cippus representing Horus on the Crocodiles, with the head of Bes.

1. Horus. 2. Thoth and Har-shef. 3. Hek and Neith. 4. Khnum. 5. Ast.t. 6. Ptah. 7. Serq, or Selk. 8. Nebhotep. 9. Commencement of long inscription continued on back. 10. Urhek. 11. 'Great god in Kat, and snake User.' 12. Isis. 13. Sebak. 14. Horus. 15. Golden hawk, Isis, Selk. 16. Horus. 17. Buto, Hu, and Sa.

of a snake with the head of a man, or assumes the entire human form, it appears to be the same monster. The representation of Typho, mentioned by Plutarch, at Hermopolis, evidently refers to this conflict of Horus and Aphôphis.

I will not decide whether the serpent Aphôphis has any relation to 'the snake which, when Thoueris, the concubine of Typho, deserted to Horus, was killed by his soldiers' as it pursued her; 'an event,' says Plutarch,[1] 'still commemorated by the ceremony of throwing a rope into the midst of their assemblies, and then chopping it in pieces.'

Nephthys, the sister of Isis, and youngest daughter of Nut, was supposed by the Greeks to have been the wife of Typho; but, as I have already observed, this notion probably arose from her being placed in opposition to Isis, particularly in funeral subjects, where Isis stands at the head and Nephthys at the feet of the deceased. She represented the end, as Isis the beginning, of all things; but she was not opposed to her sister in a bad sense, as Typho to Osiris. In the regions of Amenti, a triad was composed of Osiris, Isis, and Nephthys; and another consisted of Isis, Nephthys, and Harpocrates.

In the fabulous history of Osiris,[2] she may have been considered as the sea-shore, and the confines of Egypt, from being opposed to Isis, who was that part of the land irrigated by the inundation of the Nile; without the idea of her possessing the injurious nature which was attached to Typho. Even in this character her inferiority might be of a negative kind, not that of a positive agent of evil, being merely the representative of a barren soil, whose unproductiveness was owing to its not having received the fertilising influence of the inundation. Like Isis in her mysterious character, Nephthys was principally employed in offices connected with the dead; and she is represented assisting her sister to perform the last rites to Osiris, when he quitted the earth to assume his duties in Amenti as judge of the dead. She is therefore appropriately styled 'rectrix of the lower regions.' Her name, written Nêb-thy, or Nêb-têi, signifying 'the lady of the abode,' consists of a bowl or basket, called *nêb*, placed upon a house, answering to *ei* or *têi*. These she wears upon her head; as Isis has the throne, her hieroglyphic emblem.

She is frequently styled the sister-goddess, referring to her relationship to Isis and Osiris; and I have met with an instance

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 19. [2] Ibid. s. 38.

1. Apap, or Apôphis. 2. Horus spearing Apap, or Apôphis. 3. 'Apap,' or Apôphis.

of her being called 'Nephthys, the saviour sister-goddess, Anóuka.' This connects her with Anóukis the Egyptian Vesta, and accords with the Greek notion of Vesta being the daughter of Saturn and Rhea, who answered to the Seb and Nut of the Egyptian Pantheon. In another hieroglyphic inscription over a door at Dakkeh, the Ethiopian king Ergamen is said to be 'a son of Osiris, born of Isis, and nursed by Nephthys;' and the two triads of which she was a member frequently occur in the

No. 539. Neb-ta, or Nephthys.

1, 2. 'Nephthys Uat, sister-goddess Anoukis, daughter of the sun, regent of the land.'
3. 'Nephthys, great sister-goddess Ma or Truth.'
4. 'Nephthys, lady of heaven, regent of the two countries.'

Egyptian tombs. She is sometimes called 'a daughter of the sun,' though Plutarch[1] supposes her begotten by Saturn; and the same author gives to her the names of Teleute, or the end, Aphrodite, and Niké. He considers her,[2] in one of her characters, 'the lower and invisible, as Isis was the upper and visible, parts of the world;' and he says,[3] that 'the sistrum having the face of Isis on one side and of Nephthys on the

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 12. [2] Ibid. s. 44. [3] Ibid. s. 63.

other, symbolically represents generation and corruption.' This idea, like that previously expressed respecting the contradistinction of Isis and her sister, did not convey the impression of a malevolent deity; corruption or the termination of life not being looked upon as annihilation, as I have already had occasion to observe. All persons, therefore, who died, were thought to pass, through the influence of Nephthys, into a future state; and the presence of Nut on the coffins of the dead also purported that, being born again and assuming the title of Osiris, each individual had become the son of Nut, even as the great Ruler of Amenti, to whose name he was entitled when admitted to the mansions of the blessed. But though Nephthys was the 'End,' she was distinct from 'Death,' whom I have mentioned as a separate deity. I have once met with an instance of Nephthys with the adjunct Sothis, connecting her with the dog-star. This is perhaps an assumption of the attributes of her sister, or may refer to that star at the *end* instead of the *beginning* of the year, from which its heliacal rising was usually calculated: but, being of rare occurrence, it is not important, nor does it suffice to connect the dog-star with the sister of Isis. According to Hesychius, 'the Egyptians worshipped a goddess, called by the Greeks *Aphrodite skotia*, "the dark or nocturnal Venus,"' whom Prichard supposes to be Nephthys;[1] but this rather applies to the Egyptian Athor.

The jackal-headed god was one of the principal deities of Amenti. He was 'son of Osiris,' not by Nephthys, as Greek writers state, but, according to the positive authority of the hieroglyphics, 'by Isis,' as is shown in a legend given by Salt, from a mummy-case in his possession, where 'Anubis'[2] is called 'the son of Isis.' This suffices to disprove the opinion of Plutarch[3] respecting Nephthys; though the same author allows that 'Isis was also reputed his mother, though born of Nephthys.'[4] Another notion, which assigns to Anubis the

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[1] Prichard, p. 146.

[2] Anubis was the god of embalming, and as such is represented as the divine embalmer of his father Osiris. At the earliest period the sepulchral dedications at Memphis were addressed to him, and not Osiris; and his titles are 'president of embalming' and 'chief of the mountain,' referring to the western hills where the dead were deposited. He was also guide of the roads of the north and south, and opener of those which led to Rusat, the gateway of Hades. In connection with the legend of Osiris, he is called conqueror of the enemies of his father. (Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 50.) At a later period an Anubeum or temple of Anubis is found attached to the Serapeum at Memphis, which was kept by Pastophori, priests who had charge of the libations. Under the Roman Empire he formed one of the personages of the universally disseminated Isiac worship. (Rhoné, 'L'Égypte,' p. 256.)—S. B.

[3] Plut. de Isid. ss. 14, 38. [4] Ibid. s. 44.

Anepu, or Anubis.

1. 'Anepu,' or 'Anubis.' 2, 3. 'Anubis, son of Osiris, great god in . . . .' 4. 'Apheru, guide of the roads of the south, ruler of the Upper and Lower Country.' 5. 'Apheru, lord of the roads.' 6, 7. 'Apheru of the south, ruler of the Two Countries.'

head of a dog instead of a jackal, is one of the greatest and most generally accredited errors which the ignorance of the Greeks and Romans has set forth respecting the gods of Egypt; and every writer, whether in poetry or prose, who has mentioned this deity, has described him with the head of a dog. Even altars were erected to him under this form by his votaries at Rome; and so universal was the belief in the canine character of the *latrator Anubis*,[1] that the fabulous history of Osiris was perverted in order to accord with this established notion. The unquestionable authority, however, of the Egyptian sculptures, has corrected this misconception, and we there find that he was not only represented with the head of a jackal, but also under the form of the entire animal. And lest scepticism and the force of long-received opinion should still retain a doubt, or suppose this jackal to be intended for a peculiar species of dog, it may not be irrelevant to remark, that the same jackal is introduced at Beni-Hassan with the wolf and other *wild* animals of Egypt, and that the dogs are never figured in the paintings of a form which could justify a similar conclusion. According to the explanation given by Plutarch[2] of the history of Osiris from the phenomena of the heavens, Anubis was supposed, in one of his characters, 'to represent the horizontal circle which divides the invisible part of the world, called by the Egyptians Nephthys, from the visible, which they term Isis. In short, Anubis seems to be of the same power and nature as the Grecian Hecate, a deity common both to the celestial and infernal regions.' This last, however, I have shown to apply to Isis rather than to Anubis. 'Others,' he adds, 'are of opinion, that by Anubis is meant *Time*, which begets all things out of itself; but this is one of the secret doctrines known only to those who are initiated into his worship. . . . . The universal reason, moreover, is called by them Anubis, and sometimes Hermanubis; the first of these names expressing the relation it has to the superior, as the latter to the inferior, world.'[3] The office of Anubis was to superintend the passage of the souls from this life to a future state, in which he answered to the Mercury of the Greeks in his capacity of Psychopompos, or 'usher of souls.'[4] He presided over tombs, and at the final judgment he weighed the good actions of the deceased in the scales of truth, and was thence styled 'director

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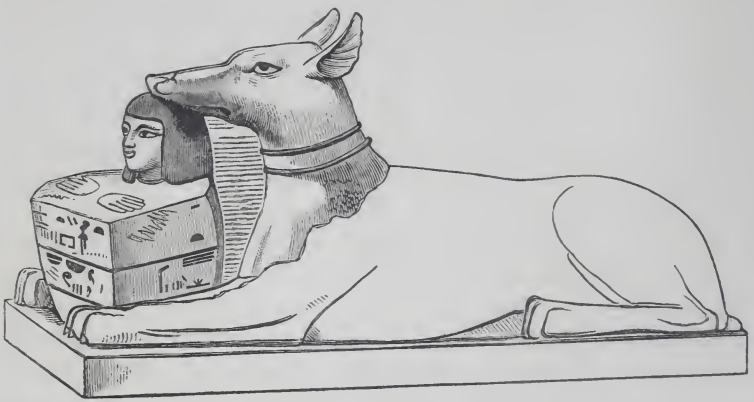
[1] Propert. lib. iii. Eleg. xi. 41.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 44.
[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 61.
[4] Hom. Odyss. ΙΔ', 1, and Hor. Od. I. ix. 17.

of the weight.' He is frequently introduced on coffins, standing over a bier on which a corpse is deposited. [He appears, too,



No. 540. Jackal of Anubis protecting a deceased person.

in the vignette of the eighty-ninth chapter of the Ritual, laying out the body on its sepulchral bier, which the soul revisits in the shape of the human-headed hawk, and in the preceding plate[1] it is seen holding life in one hand, and a sail, the emblem of breath, in the other.—S. B.]

Anubis may be considered to answer to *death*, in a good sense, as the departure of the soul from the body, on its way to a better state, and applied only to mankind; death in another sense, as the decease of the animal portion of man, being figured by the Egyptians under a different form, as I have already shown. It is probably from this his character, that Plutarch was led to the notion of Anubis being *Time*, the *Tempus edax rerum*.

Apuleius[2] calls Anubis 'the interpreter of gods of heaven and of Hades, sometimes with a black, at others with a golden face, . . . holding in his left hand a caduceus, and in his right shaking a palm-branch.' But in this description we discover the union of Anubis and Thoth, both of whom bear analogy and correspond to the Mercury of Greece. The office of interpreter in heaven and in Hades applies to Thoth. Anubis and Thoth were both deities of Hades, and the former had sometimes a black, sometimes a golden face; but the palm-branch belonged to Thoth, and the caduceus to neither of them. And if Greek and

[1] Plate XXXV., hierog. 3. [2] Apul. Metam. 11.

Roman bas-reliefs give to Anubis a character according with the description of Apuleius, they are at direct variance with the sculptures, and show that they are not taken from Egyptian authority of an ancient date. I have once met with an instance of Anubis with the head of a ram in lieu of that of the jackal; on which occasion he had assumed the attributes of Chnoumis.

Diodorus[1] relates that Anubis accompanied Osiris in his Eastern expedition, together with Pan and Macedo, who were his generals. Mercury held the office of counsellor to the Queen Isis, Hercules was viceroy during his absence, Busiris governor of the provinces on the sea-coast towards Phœnicia, and Antæus of those bordering on Ethiopia and Libya. Anubis and Macedo, according to Diodorus, were sons of Osiris; and the latter is described by him dressed in the skin of a wolf, as Anubis in that of a dog. Of Macedo I have been unable to ascertain anything from the sculptures; though it is possible that he may also have the form of a jackal-headed deity similar to Anubis, with the horns and other devices as his hieroglyphic; and it is not impossible that these horns may in some way refer to the idea of punishment which Horapollo[2] tells us was denoted by a cow's horn. It is also remarkable that this deity is styled the 'Lord of Lycopolis,' Sioout.

[It will be as well here to introduce the account of the destruction of mankind by the gods, although it forms part of an earlier myth than that of Osiris, and strictly belongs to the solar myths. According to the legend, the god Ra tells Nu to summon a certain number of his companions, and the sun-god accuses mankind of speaking against him, and demands counsel of the gods. The god Nu refers the question back to Ra. The result is, that Tefnu proceeds to slaughter the human race, and Sekhet the avenging goddess makes the blood of mankind flow to Heracleopolis. Ra then orders that fruit should be sought to make a drink, and seven thousand jugs are filled with the liquid, which rejoices the god. At night water was put in the vases, and the fields inundated. Subsequently Ra, tired of mankind, and unable to proceed, makes Nu call Shu and Nut to his assistance, and the god is carried by Nut, or the celestial waters, into the sanctuary of the mystical cow, either Neith or Athor. Unsuccessful in his attempt to destroy mankind, the god departs to heaven, and creates there the Aah-lu or Elysium, and the people

[1] Diodor. i. 17.

[2] Horapollo, Hierog. ii. 17.

of the stars, and Shu and Nut are placed over them as protectors. Ra then tells Thoth to call the god Seb into his presence, and confides reptiles to his care, while Hades is placed under the charge of Thoth and the Ibis, the Cynocephalus ape, and the two storks of Thoth, and the wings of the same birds are produced. This remarkable myth, apparently derived from an ancient Ritual, forms part of the mystical cosmogony, portions of which are found in the Ritual of the Saïte period.[1]—S. B.]

Having now mentioned the different members of the family of Seb and Nut, who are Osiris, Aroeris, the Evil Being, Isis, and Nephthys, with their children Horus, Harpocrates, Anubis, and Macedo, and in connection with them Typho and the serpent Aphôphis, I proceed to notice the remaining deities of the Pantheon, which will form a second part of this chapter. I shall not stop to inquire respecting their rank or right to priority; nor shall I distinguish between those of the second and third order, the former of whom are limited by Herodotus to the number of twelve. And if any preference is shown in their arrangement, it is solely in consequence of their being of more frequent occurrence, or represented on older monuments. The monuments indeed afford no proof of this arrangement; and the number of genii or inferior deities suggests that those excluded from the second rank were not all comprehended in the same class of tertiary gods.

It might even be difficult to fix upon the twelve of the second order. The most important are doubtless Ra the sun, Atum, Thoth the moon, Eileithyia, Shu, Ma, Athor, Thriphis, Amenta or Tamen, Mentu, Seb, Nut, Tefnu, Rannu, Sfeχ: but of these fifteen, Shu, Ma, and Tefnu are born of Ra, and should therefore be of the third order; and Seb and Nut only seem to claim a rank in the same class with Ra, Atum, and the others, from being the parents of Isis and Osiris. I should perhaps have placed Atum before Thoth, from the rank he holds on the monuments of Thebes as well as of Lower Egypt; but the duties of Thoth bringing him into frequent communication with Osiris, and his character of the moon connecting him with Ra the sun, may serve to claim for him prior notice.

Thoth,[2] the god of letters, had various characters,[3] according

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[1] M. Naville, 'La Destruction des Hommes par les Dieux,' in the Trans. of the Soc. Bibl. Archæol. 1875, vol. iv. pp. 1–19.

[2] His correct Egyptian name was Tahuti. —S. B.

[3] It is remarkable that the Gauls called their Mercury Theutates.

Thoth.

1. 'Thoth, lord of writing.' 2. Part of a sentence. 3. 'Thoth, great god, lord of Hermopolis, scribe of all the gods.' 4. 'Aah-Tahuti,' or Thoth, the moon. 5. 'Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.' 6. 'Thoth, twice-great lord of Hermopolis, great god, resident in Aahen.' 7. 'Thoth of Hermopolis, scribe.' 8. 'Thoth, lord of Hermopolis.' 9. 'Thoth, great god, twice-great, establisher of millions of years.'

to the functions he was supposed to fulfil. In his office of scribe in the lower regions, he was engaged in noting down the actions of the dead; and in presenting or reading them to Osiris, the judge of Amenti: 'the dead being judged out of those things which were written in the books, according to their works.' He also overlooked and registered the actions and life of man while on earth; holding then, instead of his tablet, a palm-branch, emblematic of a year, to which were attached the symbol of life and a frog.[1] Thoth was the '*first* Hermes' mentioned by Manetho; the same who was reputed to have been the preceptor of Isis, and the Hermes of Plutarch,[2] whom an idle fable represented with one arm shorter than the other.[3] Plato, in his 'Phædrus,'[4] makes Socrates relate the following fable of this deity:—'I have heard that about Naucratis, in Egypt, there was one of their ancient gods, to whom a bird was sacred, which they call Ibis; but the name of the dæmon [5] himself was Theuth. According to tradition, this god first discovered numbers and the art of reckoning, geometry and astronomy, the games of chess and hazard, and likewise letters. Thamus was at the time king of all the country, and resided in that great city of Upper Egypt which the Greeks call Egyptian Thebes: the god himself being denominated Ammon. Thoth, therefore, going to Thamus, showed him his arts, and told him that he ought to distribute them amongst the other Egyptians. Thamus asked him concerning the utility of each; and when they had been explained to him, he approved what appeared reasonable, and blamed that which had a contrary aspect. After Theuth had fully unfolded to Thamus many particulars respecting each art, he proceeded to discourse upon letters. "These, O king," said he, "will render the Egyptians wiser, and increase their powers of memory: for this invention may be regarded as the medicine of memory and wisdom." "O most learned Theuth," replied Thamus, "one person is more adapted to artificial operations, and another to judge of the detriment or advantage arising from their use. Thus it happens that you who are the father of letters, through the benevolence of your disposition have affirmed just the contrary of what letters are able to effect: for these, causing the memory to be neglected, will produce oblivion to the mind of the learner; because men, trusting to the external marks of

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[1] These emblems are mentioned by Horapollo.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 19.
[3] Ibid. s. 22.
[4] Phædr., Tayl. transl., p. 364.
[5] Δαίμων, in a good sense.

writing, will not exercise the internal powers of recollection. So that you have not discovered the medicine of memory, but of admonition. You will likewise deliver to your disciples an opinion of wisdom, and not truth."' Psellus confounds Thoth with Hermes Trismegistus, whom he makes posterior to Moses, and imagines to be the Argeiphontes of the Greeks. But he applies to Trismegistus the characteristics of Mercury, instead of to Thoth. This Argeiphontes Macrobius supposes to be the sun, at whose rising the hundred eyes of Argus, or the light of the fixed stars, were put out. The first month of the Egyptian year, says the former writer, was called after Thoth, as also the city of Hermopolis; where, as we learn from the sculptures of the portico, the cynocephalus shared with this deity, of whom he was the type, the honours of the temple. The few columns which remained of the portico at Oshmoonein, or Hermopolis Magna, were thrown down in 1822 by the Turks, and burnt for lime; suffering the same fate as the ruins at Antinoopolis, and other limestone relics: and though strictly forbidden by Mehemet Ali, many sandstone monuments have been since used as convenient quarries for the construction of modern buildings.

To return to Thoth. The cynocephalus is synonymous with the hieroglyphic of letters; and we even find it holding the tablet, and fulfilling the office of Thoth; which shows that it was not only the emblem, but also the representative of that deity. Iamblichus says that certain physical properties were common to it and to the moon; and, according to Horapollo, the latter was represented in hieroglyphic writing by a cynocephalus. This statement is perfectly borne out by the sculptures, Thoth and the ape, his emblem, being both introduced in the character of the moon. Indeed, the crescent is found followed by the figure of Thoth in several hieroglyphic legends, with the phonetic name Aah or Ioh, signifying the 'moon.' This last word occurs in Plate XXXVI., accompanied by the ibis, the sacred bird of Thoth; and Plutarch[1] states that 'Mercury was supposed to accompany the moon round the world, as Hercules did the sun.' Thoth, therefore, in one of his characters, answers to the moon, and in another to Mercury. The Egyptians represented their moon as a male deity, like the German *Mond* and *Monat*, or the Lunus of the Latins; and it is worthy of remark, that the same custom of calling it male is retained in the East to the present

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 41.

day, while the sun is considered female, as in the language of the Germans.

Thoth is usually represented as a human figure with the head of an ibis, holding a tablet and a pen, or a palm-branch, in his hands; and in his character of Lunus he has sometimes a man's face with the crescent of the moon upon his head, supporting a disk, occasionally with the addition of an ostrich-feather; which last appears to connect him with Shu or with Ma. Plutarch says the Egyptians 'call the moon the "mother of the world," and hold it to be of both sexes;—female, as it receives the influence of the sun; male, as it scatters and disperses through the air the principles of fecundity.'[1] He also supposes 'Osiris to be the power and influence of the moon, and Isis the generative faculty which resides in it.'[2] But this is evidently at variance with the authority of the sculptures, which fully establish the claims of Thoth, and disprove any connection between Isis and the moon. Nor is there any authority for the opinion of Spartianus,[3] who says that, although the (Greeks or) Egyptians call the moon a goddess, they really consider it in a mystical sense a god, both male and female.

'The sun and moon,' observes Plutarch, 'were described by the Egyptians as sailing round the world in boats, intimating that these bodies owe their power of moving, as well as their support and nourishment, to the principle of humidity;'[4] which statement is confirmed by the sculptures: and some have thought that a species of scarabæus was sacred to Thoth or the moon.[5]

The ibis-headed deity was called 'Lord of the Eighth Region,' the name of the city where he was particularly worshipped, which is now called Oshmoonein, the Shmon[6] of the Copts. There is, indeed, an evident connection between his title, 'Lord of the Eighth Region,' and Oshmoonein, the modern name of Hermopolis, which, derived from *Shmen* or *Shmon*, signifying *eight*, implies the 'two eights;' and if some have been disposed to think it refers to the eight books of law which Menes[7] pretended to have received from the Egyptian Mercury, the demonstrative sign of 'land,' following this group, sufficiently refutes this opinion. His title 'twice-great' frequently occurs on the monuments, as in the inscription of the Rosetta Stone, where the Greek styles him 'the great and great,' or twice-great.

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 43.
[2] Ibid. ss. 43, 52.
[3] Spartian. Vit. Antonini Caracall. cap. vii., quoted by Jablonski, i. cap. iii. 6.
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 34.
[5] Horap., i. 10.
[6] ϣⲙⲟⲩⲛ.
[7] Diodor. i. 94. He calls the king Mnevis.

The ibis was particularly sacred to him, and standing on a perch, followed by a half-circle and two lines,[1] indicated the name of the god. It was thought to bear some relation to the moon, 'from its feathers being so mixed and blended together, the black with the white, as to form a representation of the moon's gibbosity.'[2] 'The space between its legs while walking was observed to form an equilateral triangle;' and 'the medicinal use it makes of its beak' was thought to be connected with the office of Thoth, who taught mankind the art of curing diseases, and communicated all intellectual gifts from the deity to man. Such was the respect paid to this bird, from its destroying the venomous reptiles which infested the country, that any person killing one was punished with instant death;[3] and 'those priests who were most punctual in the performance of their sacred rites, fetched the water they used in their purifications from some place where the ibis had been seen to drink.'[4]

According to Plutarch,[5] a sow was sacrificed 'to Typho once a year at the full moon:' and the animal is sometimes represented in a boat, in the paintings of the tombs, accompanied by one or more monkeys. This appears to connect it with Thoth, or the god Lunus; and if, as I suppose, the subject refers to the commencement of a new period, being the beginning of the future state of a soul condemned for its sins to migrate into the body of a pig, the relation it bears to the office of Thoth is readily accounted for. The impression that the animal was offered to Typho may proceed from its having been chosen as an emblem of sin. Ælian says, 'They sacrifice a sow to the moon once a year;' which statement is confirmed by Herodotus, who asserts that 'the only deities to whom the Egyptians are permitted to offer the pig are the moon and Bacchus.' But he makes no mention of Typho, and the supposed 'discovery of the body of Osiris by Typho, while hunting a wild boar at the full moon,'[6] would rather lead them to offer it to Osiris than to Typho: for, as Plutarch himself confesses, 'the opinion of the Egyptians was that sacrifices ought not to be of things in themselves agreeable to the gods, but, on the contrary, of creatures into which the souls of the wicked have passed;'[7] and the pig was an emblem of Evil.

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[1] The half-circle had the force of T, which was doubled by these lines, reading Tot or Taut. [The correct form is Ta-huti or Thaut.—S. B.]

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 75.

[3] Diodor. i. 83. Cic. Tusc. Quæst. v. 27. The same motive induced the Thessalians to protect the stork. (Plin. x. 23.)

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 75.

[5] Ibid. s. 8.

[6] Ibid. s. 18.

[7] Ibid s. 31.

I have observed that Thoth, in one of his characters, corresponded to the moon, in the other to Mercury. In the former he was the beneficent property of that luminary, the regulator and dispenser of time, who presided over the fate of man, and the events of his life: in the latter, the god of letters and the patron of learning, and the means of communication between the gods and mankind. It was through him that all mental gifts were imparted to man. He was, in short, a deification of the abstract idea of the intellect, or a personification of the intellect of the deity. This accords well with a remark of Iamblichus, that Hermes was the god of all celestial knowledge, which, being communicated by him to the priests, authorised them to inscribe their own commentaries with the name of Hermes. He may also be considered analogous to the 'septenary intellectual agents' of modern philosophers. 'These are called by Hesiod guardians of mankind, bestowers of wealth, and royal dæmons; are described by Plato as a middle order of beings between the gods and men, ministering to their wants, carrying the prayers of mortals to heaven, and bringing down in return oracles and all other blessings of life.'[1]

According to the fabulous account of the Egyptian Mercury, 'he was reported to have invented letters,[2] regulated the language, given names to many things, and taught men the proper mode of approaching the deity with prayers and sacrifice. He instructed them in the system of the stars, and the harmony and nature of voices. He was the inventor of the *palæstra*, and of the lyre, to which he gave three strings, in accordance with the three seasons of the Egyptian year; the treble to correspond to summer, the bass to winter, the tenor to spring. He was the patron of elocution, whence called Hermes, "the interpreter," by the Greeks. In the sacred rites of Osiris he was represented as the scribe of the deity, and his counsellor; and it was to him that the Egyptians supposed mankind indebted for the olive, and not to Minerva, as is the opinion of the Greeks.'[3] He was distinct from the Mercury who ushered the souls of the dead into the region of Hades, answering to the Anubis of Egypt, as already stated; and also from Hermes Trismegistus, whom I shall have occasion to mention presently.

The circumstance of the god Lunus being the dispenser of time, and represented noting off years upon the palm-branch,

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 26. [2] Plato, Phileb. p. 374. [3] Diodor. i. 16.

appears to argue that the Egyptians, in former times, calculated by lunar instead of solar years; and the hieroglyphic of a month, which is a lunar crescent, shows their months to have been originally regulated by the course of the moon. I have once met with the figure of an ibis-headed deity as a female,[1] but I am uncertain respecting the character and office of that goddess, nor is it certain that the name of Thoth was applied to her. Thoth at the temple of Samneh appears to be styled the son of Chnoumis. According to Cicero,[2] the Greeks reckoned in their mythology five Mercuries: 'One, the son of Heaven and the Day. Another, of Valens and Phoronis, the same who is beneath the earth, and called Trophonius. A third, the son of Jupiter and Maia, and who is said to have begotten Pan by Penelope. A fourth, the son of the Nile, whom the Egyptians consider it unlawful to name. A fifth, worshipped by the Pheneatæ, who is said to have slain Argus, and on that account to have fled to Egypt, and to have given laws and letters to the Egyptians. He was styled by them Thoyth, and bore the same name as the first month of their year.' Of the last two the former was probably Anubis, whom, in his mysterious office connected with Osiris and the final judgment of the dead, it may have been unlawful to mention;[3] and the latter, the ibis-headed deity Thoth, in his character of the dispenser of intellectual gifts to man, and the god of letters.

The epithet Trismegistus, 'thrice-great,' has been applied by some to Thoth; but the deity here represented is shown by numerous Greek inscriptions upon his temple at Pselcis to have been distinguished from the god of letters by this name, with the additional title, 'Lord of Pautnouphis.' Much confusion has arisen in consequence of these two deities having the name Hermes; many having ascribed to Trismegistus the honour of inventing letters, which in reality belongs to Thoth alone, as the monuments of Egypt prove beyond the possibility of doubt. The temple of Pselcis,[4] now Dakkeh, in Nubia, was erected by the Ethiopian king Ergamen, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed by the Lagidæ, in honour of this Hermes. On the towers of the area, and in the portico, are numerous Greek

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[1] A green porcelain figure formerly in the possession of Chevalier Kestner, formerly Hanoverian minister at Rome.

[2] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. iii. 22.

[3] Or even Thoth, as scribe of Amenti.

[4] Pselcis was probably called from the goddess Selk, if we may judge from a legend given in pl. xv. of M. Champollion's Pantheon.

'The temple of the land of Pselk.'

inscriptions; the general purport of which is that the writers came and 'adored the very great god Hermes,' (frequently with the title) 'Pautnouphis.'

The name Pautnouphis probably refers to the town of which he was the presiding deity, since the name in hieroglyphics, Taut-n̄-pnoubs, or Taut-n̄-pa-noubs, is followed by the sign of *land* and the female sign; which last may perhaps be read as part of the name, making it Taut-n̄-pa-t-noubs. A tree also seems to be a demonstrative sign accompanying the name, as if it ended with 'the land of the tree.'[1]

No. 541. Thoth.

1. 'Thoth, of the land of Penebs, or Pnups.' 2. 'Thoth of Penebs, or Pnups, great god, lord of . . . '

The ibis was sacred to him as to Thoth, of whom, indeed, he may possibly be an emanation; to its perch is attached an ostrich-feather, the emblem of Truth, which, like the head-dress of four plumes he wears, belongs also to the god Shu. In his hand he frequently bears a staff, surmounted by the head of a hawk, the emblem of Ra, with a snake twined round it, accompanied by a scorpion, the symbol of the goddess Selk. From this the idea of the caduceus of Mercury may have been derived, signifying, as some suppose, *prudence.* In the opinion of many writers, as Eusebius, Psellus, and others, Hermes Trismegistus was a priest and philosopher who lived a little after the time of Moses, and taught his countrymen mensuration, theology, medicine, and geography, upon which subjects he wrote forty-two books. According to others, he was a cotemporary of Osiris; but this fable is contradicted by the fact of no Egyptian individual having been raised to the order of gods. It is possible that the works of some philosopher (perhaps of the same name, the Egyptians having the custom of forming the names of

[1] These legends read *Taut en Pnebs*, 'Thoth of the land of Pnebs,' the town of Pnoups, placed by Ptolemy in 22° N. lat., and opposite Tasitia and the 4th nome of Kenous or Nubia. (Brugsch, 'Geogr. Inschr.,' i. pp. 104–107.)—S. B.

individuals from those of their gods) may have been ascribed in after-times, through the ignorance of the Greeks, to a deity, who was in fact no other than the abstract quality of the understanding, the supposed cause of that success which the human mind obtained on the various subjects they ascribed to him.[1]

Their motive for separating this Hermes from Thoth it is difficult to ascertain. It was probably one of those subtle distinctions which philosophy had established, and religion had deified as a separate attribute of the divine wisdom, as modern inquiries have shown the difference between the understanding and the reasoning faculty.

'The principal books of this Hermes,' according to Clemens[2] of Alexandria, 'forty-two in number, were treated by the Egyptians with the most profound respect, and carried in their religious processions. First came the singer, ... holding two in his hand, one containing hymns in honour of the gods, the other certain rules for the conduct of the monarch. Next to him the horoscope, ... whose duty was to recite the four books of astrology, one of which treated of the fixed stars, another of solar and lunar eclipses, and the remaining two of the rising of the sun and moon. Ten books contained those things which related to the gods and the religion of Egypt, as sacrifices, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, holy days, and the like. Last of all came the prophet with ten other books, called sacerdotal, relating to the laws, the gods, and rules of the priesthood. Thus, then, of the forty-two most useful books of Hermes, thirty-six contained all the philosophy of Egypt, and the last six treated of medicine, anatomy, and the cure of diseases.'[3]

[The next of the members of the Pantheon to be considered is the god Shu.] He bears on his head a single ostrich-plume, or a cluster of four feathers, and is always painted of a black or dark colour. In the tomb of Rameses III., at Thebes, he is represented seated on a throne, on either side of a small chamber, where it is possible that the king's minstrel was buried; and before him two figures are playing the harp, as though he were the patron of music. From Porphyry's description of Kneph,

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[1] *Suprà*, p. 168.

[2] Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. vi. p. 196.

[3] The myth of Thoth has been examined in its details by Dr. R. Pietschmann, 'Hermes Trismegistus,' 8vo. Leipzig, 1875. Thoth was lord of the arts and sciences of writing divine words or hieroglyphs, and as such constantly invoked by scribes and writers, of whom he was the patron. He also was the god who presided over all literature and sciences, and the revealer of knowledge of different things to mankind; and all revealed or inspired writings were called Hermetic, and supposed to be written

which represents him of a black colour, and wearing a single feather on his head, Shu has been confounded with the ram-headed deity; but this has been already noticed.

The ingenious and much-regretted Champollion supposed him to be the Egyptian Hercules. As Hercules, the title 'son of the sun,' which he always has in the hieroglyphics, would accord perfectly with his character: for Hercules was the abstract idea of strength, applied to it in every sense; he was the power of the deity and the force of the sun.[1] 'Agreeably to which notion,' says Plutarch, 'Hercules was supposed by the Egyptians to be placed in the sun, and to accompany him round the world, as Mercury does the moon.'[2]

No. 542. Shu.

1. 'The god with two names, minister, son of the sun.'
2, 3. 'Shu, son of the sun.'

According to Herodotus,[3] he was one of the twelve gods born of the eight great divinities of the country. Cicero[4] considers the Nile his father; and shows him to have been distinct from the famous Hercules of Tyre, the reputed son of Jupiter and Asteria. The antiquity of this deity is noticed by Herodotus in contradistinction to the comparatively modern date of the Greek hero,[5] and

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by the fingers of the god himself. He presided over the notation of the festivals and time, was a lunar deity, and justified or pleaded for Osiris against his enemies, and also for the dead in the future state; and in the Ritual a series of these justifications is given under the name of the 'Crown of Truth.' He bore the name of the ibis, *hab*, and was adored under it. Thoth was in fact a kind of Logos, and is a being said to be self-formed, *χeper t'sf*, although at a later time a genealogy may possibly be found. —S. B.

[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 23.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 41.

[3] Herodot. ii. 43.

[4] Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. iii. 16. Diodorus says of Hercules that he was by birth an Egyptian (i. 24, v. 76).

[5] Herodot. ii. 145, 146. It is very doubtful if Shu represents Hercules in the mythology of Egypt, for he was a

is distinctly pointed out by Macrobius, who says, 'Hercules is religiously worshipped at Tyre; but the Egyptians venerate him with the most sacred and august rites, and look upon the period when his worship was first adopted by them as beyond the reach of memory. He is believed to have killed the giants, when, in the character of the valour of the gods, he fought in defence of heaven;' which accords with the title of a work called 'Semnuthis,' written by Apollonides or Horapius,[1] describing the wars of the gods against the giants. Semnuthis, or Semnoutê, signifies the 'power of the gods;' and some suppose the name of Sebennytus to be derived from the same word.

Porcelain figure of Shu supporting the solar disk. No. 543. *Brit. Museum.*

Iamblichus calls Hercules 'the force of nature;'[2] and these different authorities tend to confirm the opinion already stated, that he was the abstract idea of valour or strength, and when represented with the sun, he was the force of that luminary. The Greeks acknowledged two deities of this name, 'one worshipped as an immortal god, the other as a hero;'[3] and it is probable that the former derived his origin from the Egyptian Gom, or from the Tyrian Melcarthus, whose temple was founded in Phœnicia 2300 years before the age of Herodotus. The Greek mythology also acknowledged a goddess of strength, unconnected with Hercules, who was the sister of victory and valour, and the daughter of Pallas, the son of Crius and Eurybia, by the nymph Styx.

Champollion at one time conjectured that the name of the deity in woodcut No. 542 might read *Mouè*, and that he was the *splendour* of the solar rays; but there is no positive authority respecting the force of the ostrich-feather. [The god Shu frequently supports the solar disk with his hands, and appears to be the same as woodcut No. 543. See also the name of the god at Tel el Amarna, Plate XXIII., where Shu seems to be said 'to reside in the solar disk.'—G. W.]

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solar god in immediate connection with the sun, and his name meant 'light.' He is symbolised by the disk and emblem of valour, the hind-quarters of an animal on his head. In the Ritual Shu is represented in the 16th chapter elevating the solar disk, and surrounded by cynocephali. (See the legend of the destruction of mankind, Naville, 'La Destruction des Hommes par les Dieux,' Trans. Soc. Bibl. Arch. iv. p. 12.) Throughout the Ritual the *uta en Shu*, or symbolic eye of Shu, is mentioned as the vital principle. Along with Tef or Tefun, his sister, also a pupil or daughter of the sun, he represented the constellation Gemini at the Roman period. Throughout the solar myths he plays a subordinate part.—S. B.

[1] In Theophil. Antioch. ad Autolyc. lib. ii. c. 6.

[2] Iambl. Vita Pythag. c. 28: δύναμις τῆς φυσέως. [3] Herodot. ii. 44.

There is another deity who appears to lay claim to the name of Hercules, from the lion-skin he wears over his head and back; but as his figure and hieroglyphics are not met with on the monuments, I offer this merely as a conjecture, from his having the principal attribute of the Greek Hercules. The only representations I have seen are small terra-cotta figures of Bes or Besa,[1] with a rude beard, not unlike some of the Typhonian monsters already mentioned, or the deformed Ptah-Socharis of Memphis.

Khonsu was the third member of the great Theban triad, the first two, as already shown, being Amen-ra and Mut. He was also the third member of the first triad of Ombos, composed of Sebak, Athor, and Khonsu, where his name is sometimes accompanied by the hawk of Horus. He is represented under the form of a mummy, holding in his hands the emblems of life, stability, and purity, with the flagellum and crook of Osiris; at the side of his head falls the plaited lock of Harpocrates, or of childhood, given to the youthful third personage of the Egyptian triads; and he has the crescent and globe worn by Thoth in his character of the moon. He is also figured as a man with a hawk's head; and he sometimes holds in his hand the palm-branch of Thoth, on which he is seen marking off the number of years with a reed or pen, like the last-mentioned deity. This, as well as the crescent and the globe, may appear to connect him with the moon; but I am rather disposed to see in him some analogy to the Egyptian Hercules, or the representative of created things. The name of Chon, given to Hercules by the author of the 'Etymologicum Magnum,'[2] is certainly in favour of the former supposition, though much doubt still exists respecting the real character of the Egyptian Hercules. It was from this god that the name of an individual, Petechonsis, mentioned in a papyrus found at Thebes, was derived, which signifies Chonsodotus, or 'gifted by Khonsu.' It is compounded, like Diodotus, Herodotus, Ammonodotus, and others, of the word *pet*, 'gifted' or 'giver,' and the name of the deity. [Chons is the personification of the moon, and in this character he is called Chons-aah, or Chons the moon, and emanates from Han or Nu, the celestial abyss. He wears on his head the lunar disk, or has the head of a hawk, emblem of the deities of light. As a lunar deity the cynocephalic apes sacred to that luminary were adored in the shrine of the god at Thebes.

[1] One in the collection of Chevalier Kestner. [2] Jablonski, lib. ii. c. 3, s. 3.

He bore several names, and is sometimes mentioned as 'the god with two names,' his second name being Nefer-hetp, under which he was worshipped at Uas or the Thebaïd. He was also called the counsellor of Thebes and chaser of the rebels, and his name seems to mean 'the chaser' or 'pursuer.' The small temple attached to his worship at Thebes contained a tablet recording

No. 544. Xonsu, Khonsu, Chons.

1. 'Chons Nefer-hetp.' 2, 3. 'Chons, counsellor in Thebes.'

the mission of Chons to exorcise the daughter of the king of Bakhtan, in the 26th year of the reign of Rameses XIV., his successful expulsion of the dæmon, and triumphal return in the ark in which he had set out for that country.[1] He appears to have had a kind of oracle at Thebes. His type resembled that of Ptah and Horus.—S. B.]

I have already observed that several deities were represented in the same character as the youthful Harpocrates. Khonsu, the last-mentioned god, differs from them by assuming the form of a

[1] De Rougé, 'Stèle Égyptienne,' Paris, 1858.

mummy, by holding in his hands the emblem of stability, united with the sign of life and purity, and by his finger not being raised to his mouth. But he was, like them, the third member of a triad, and his youth was indicated in a similar manner by a lock of hair, the symbol of infancy. At Ombos he has even the hawk of Horus attached to his name, like most of these youthful deities.

Ahi, the child of Athor, has been already mentioned, as well as Harpocrates, the son of Isis. It remains now to speak of Heka, Panêb-ta, Har-pa-ra, Har-semt-ta, and Harka.

Heka is the third member of a triad at Esneh, proceeding from Chnoumis and Nebaut, a goddess who is one of the forms of Neith. He is figured as a child, like Harpocrates, having the usual lock of hair, with his finger to his mouth, and carrying in his hand the crook and flagellum of Osiris. [He formed with these deities a triad adored at Esneh; and with Khem or Amsi, and the goddess Ament, a Theban triad.[1]—S. B.]

The youthful deity Panêb-ta is the third member of the lesser triad of Ombos. He has the usual emblems of Harpocrates, and is styled the son of Horus or Aroeris: his name signifying 'the lord of the world.'[2]

Har-pa-ra, 'Horus the sun,' a deity of similar form, is the third member of the triad of Hermonthis, proceeding from Mentu and the goddess Ra-ta. [His type is endowed with the solar disk and uræus.—S. B.]

Har-semt-ta, whose name implies 'Horus, the support of the world,' is the third member of the triad of Edfoo and Denderah, composed of Har-Hat, Athor, and this infant deity.

Harka is the third member of the second triad of Thebes, the offspring of Amen-ra Generator and Tamen. He is evidently of ancient date, occurring on monuments of the Pharaohs of the 18th Dynasty. In form he resembles Harpocrates and other of these youthful deities, from which the hieroglyphic legends alone distinguish him.

The goddess Ta-sen-t-nefer is the second person of the lesser triad worshipped at Ombos, consisting of Aroeris, Ta-sen-t-nefer, and their son Panêb-ta. Her name seems to apply to Isis, as it signifies 'the sister of the *Good*,'[3] which title peculiarly belongs to Osiris.

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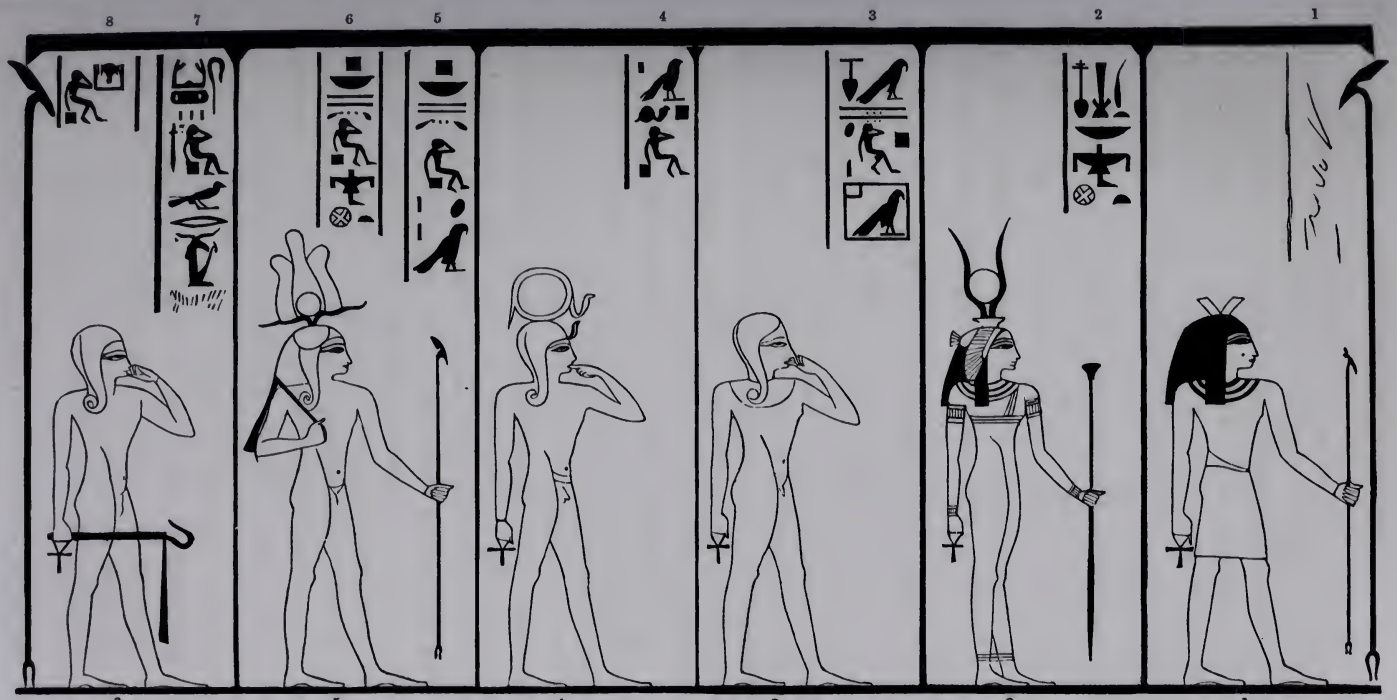
[1] Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 244.—S. B.

[2] In Plate XXXVII., hierog. 5, he is called son of Horus; and in hierog. 6, son of Ombos.—S. B.

[3] Or 'the good sister.'



1. —— 2. 'Ta-sen-t-nefer, mistress of Ombos.' 3. 'Har-semt-ta, the son of Athor.' 4. 'Har-pa-ra, the son of . . .' 5. 'Panêb-ta, son of Horus.' 6. 'Panêb-ta, the son of Ombos.' 7. 'Heka, the great son of Chnoumis.' 8. 'Heka, the son . . .'

The remaining deity represented in this plate [1] is taken from the sculptures at Tuot (Tuphium), but his name is unknown, and the absence of hieroglyphic legends prevents our ascertaining his character and office. From his head project what appear to be two ears, which alone are remarkable in his otherwise simple form. He is probably of an inferior class of deities, and of uncertain date.

Atum was one of the principal deities of the second order of gods. His name appears to read Atum, Tmu, or Tethmu, being written both with A and T as the initial letter. We may perhaps trace in Atum the word *tem*, 'to complete or perfect,'[2] but I am unable to decide to what deity he corresponds in the mythology of Greece.

There is reason to suppose him the Heron of Egypt, from whom the city Heröopolis, on the canal which communicated from the Nile to the Red Sea, was called. A monument still existing amidst the mounds of an old town near the site of that city, which presents his figure with that of Ptah, Kheper, and King Rameses the Great, seems to confirm this opinion. Champollion quotes a passage from a hieratic papyrus, which says, 'My right temple belongs to the spirit of the sun in the day, and my left temple to the spirit of Atum in the night;' which would seem to identify him with Sol Inferus, and recalls the word *atme*, 'darkness,' which in the Arabic language has that signification. The same ingenious *savant* thinks that the analogy between Atum and Heron is confirmed by the monumental inscriptions giving to the kings the title 'born of Atum,' since Hermapion, in his translation of the Obelisk of Rameses, calls that monarch the 'son of Heron.' The expression 'Phrah, Lord of Years like Atum,' common on obelisks and dedicatory inscriptions, serves to maintain the connection between those formulæ and that given by Hermapion; and the latter appears to have reference to the idea of *completion* of time, which accords with the name of Atum. Though principally worshipped in Lower Egypt, he holds a conspicuous place amongst the contemplar gods of Thebes; and the paintings in the tombs show that he fulfilled an important office in the regions of Amenti. He is there represented in a boat, accompanied by Thoth, Ma (the goddess of truth and justice), and Athor; Horus, 'the son of Osiris,' performing, as usual, the office of steersman. The boat

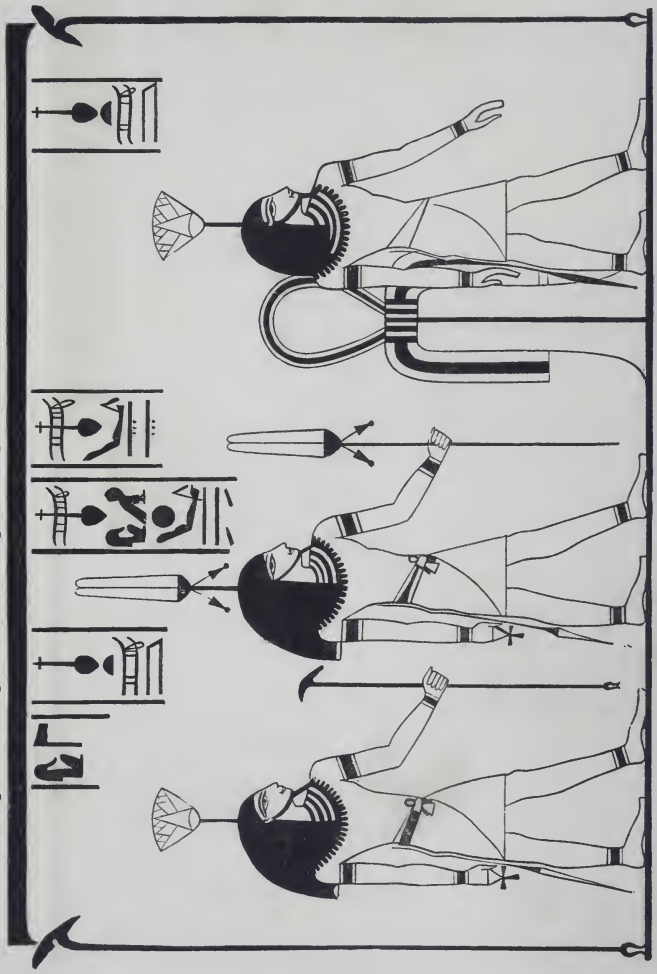
[1] Plate XXXVII. *fig.* 1.

[2] Rather *tamio*, 'to arrange or distribute.'

Atum.

1. Boat of Atum. The inscription is—'The protection of the boat is made by the lord of Hermopolis. Hathor. Ma. Her majesty offers Truth to her father. Tum, the good peace. Ka, of the west. Ka, of the east. The steering of the barge made in the waters is by the son of Osiris.' 2. 'Tum, lord of the lands of Heliopolis, ruler of the gods.' 3. 'Tum, lord of Heliopolis.'

appears to be styled 'of Thoth, the Lord of the Eight Regions,' and also 'of the son of Osiris;' but this last is probably in consequence of its being entrusted to the charge of Horus. On the prow sits a swallow; but the rare occurrence of this bird is not sufficient to fix it as an emblem of Atum; and we even find it in



the same position in the boat of Ra. Atum wears the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt, not however placed one within, but at the side of, the other; and he is always figured with a human head, and painted of a *red* colour. Sometimes, though rarely, he appears with a simple cap, and he holds the staff of purity

common to all the gods of Egypt. [Atum, or Tum, represented the setting sun, and after his setting in the west gave life to the inhabitants of the lower hemisphere. He was the setting, as Ra was the rising sun. Besides his solar character, he was a demiurgos, and a creator of things or existences both visible and invisible. So mingled was he with Ra that the sun-god proceeding from the abyss is said to be his father, and Tum becomes in turn the father of Shu, or the rising sun. His chief worship was at An or Heliopolis, of which he is called the powerful bull, and he appears there with the parhedral gods Harmachis, Nausaas, Athor, and Nebhotep.[1]—S. B.]

Nefer-Atum was perhaps an emanation from, or a character of, the one just mentioned. The prefix Nefer signifies 'good;' and he may possibly be the abstract idea of goodness, without interfering with the privileges of Osiris: for Osiris was, in like manner, distinct from the goddess Ma, though called 'the Lord of Goodness and *Truth*.' Nefer-Atum was styled 'the Defender' or 'Protector of the World,' or 'the Two Regions of Egypt.' He bore on his head a lotus-flower, or two long feathers upon a shaft, on either side of which was attached a peculiar pendent emblem; and he frequently carried in his hand a sceptre with a summit of the same form. I have sometimes found his figure in the tombs of Thebes accompanied by a symbol which appears of particular importance in relation to the dead, and may allude to some office he held in the region of Hades. He is even represented standing on the back of a lion. [He was the son of Ptah and Bast, and his functions are difficult to understand.]

The goddess Anouka was the third member of the triad of Northern Ethiopia and the Cataracts, composed of Chnoumis, Sati, and Anouka; and at Dakkeh she is represented as the nurse of a king, who is said to be 'the son of Chnoumis, and born of Sati,' the two other deities of the same triad. She was the Vesta of the Egyptian Pantheon, as we learn from an inscription at Sehayl, formerly Sété, an island immediately below the First Cataract, which calls her 'Anouka or Hestia.' Herodotus[2] seems to think that Vesta was not among the number of the Egyptian divinities, when he says, 'Nearly all the names of the Greek gods have come from Egypt; for, excepting Neptune, the Dio-

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[1] In the Greek inscriptions he is called Tomos. (Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 77. 'Records of the Past,' vi. p. 52.)—S. B.

[2] Herodot. ii. 50.

scuri, Juno, *Vesta*, Themis, the Graces, and Nereïds, those of all the other deities have always been known in Egypt; and this is asserted by the Egyptians themselves.' It is possible that he means the name, and not the character, of this goddess; for there is abundant evidence of Juno and Themis being Egyptian deities. But still the resemblance between the name of the latter, and of the Egyptian goddess (Ma), was greater than of any other in the two Pantheons; and in proof of this we have only to compare those of Amen and Zeus, Khem and Pan, Thoth and Hermes, and many others, which have scarcely a single letter in common, and directly contradict the assertion of the historian. It is, at all events, certain that Juno, Vesta, and Themis were Egyptian deities, though there is no evidence of the others he mentions being admitted to their Pantheon; and Neptune, according to the historian, 'was only known to the Libyans.' To the Greek appellation of the ocean-god, *Poseidón*, it may not be too presumptuous to apply the meaning of the 'Deity of *Sidon*,' from which maritime town of Phœnicia Greece very probably derived his worship; and the Latin Neptune may present a similar claim to an Eastern origin, in the commencement of his name *Néb*, which in the language of Egypt and Syria signified 'Lord.' Diodorus[1] admits Vesta into the number of the gods of Egypt, together with the Sun, Saturn, Rhea, Jupiter, Juno, Vulcan, and Mercury; and the importance of her office is shown by her frequent occurrence in the oldest temples. She also seems to bear some analogy to Neith, though in reality distinct from that goddess.

No. 546. Anka, or Anoukis.
1, 2. Her name.

The head-dress of Anouka, which is singular, and exclusively

[1] Diodor. i. 13.

appropriated to her, is a cap or crown surmounted by several feathers placed in a circular form.[1]

The deity Ma had a twofold character, as goddess of truth and of justice. Her figure is frequently represented in the hands of the kings, who present it as a fit offering to the gods; and many, in their regal titles, are said to love, or to be loved by, Ma.[2] A small image of this goddess was also worn by the chief judge while engaged in listening to the cases brought before him in court; and when the depositions of the two parties and their witnesses had been heard, he touched the successful litigant with the image, in token of the justness of his cause. A similar emblem was used by the high priest of the Jews; and it is a remarkable fact that the word Thummim is not only translated 'truth,' but, being a plural or dual word, corresponds to the Egyptian notion of the 'Two Truths,' or the double capacity of this goddess.

According to some, the Urim and Thummim signify 'lights and perfections,'[3] or 'light and truth,' —which last present a striking analogy to the two figures of Ra and Ma, in the breast-plate worn by the Egyptians. And though the resemblance of the Urim and the uræus, or basilisk, the symbol of majesty, suggested by Lord Prudhoe, is very remarkable, I am disposed to think the 'lights,' Aorim,[4] or Urim, more nearly related to the sun, which is seated in the breast-plate with the figure of Truth.[5] This goddess was sometimes represented by two similar figures placed close to each other; or by one figure wearing two ostrich-feathers, her emblem; and sometimes by the two feathers alone, as in the scales of the final judgment. It is to these figures that Plutarch[6] alludes, when he speaks of the two Muses at Hermopolis, under the names of *Isis* and Justice. Diodorus describes the chief judge in the sculptures of the tomb of Osymandyas,[7] with the figure of Truth suspended to his neck,

A breastplate with the figures of Ra and Ma.
No. 547.

[1] Her type and name announce a foreign origin, but her worship appears as early as the 12th Dynasty. She was in the same relation to the triad of Elephantine as Nephthys to that of Abydos, and festivals to her were celebrated on the 28th of Paophi and the 20th of Athyr.—S. B.

[2] Conf. the title φιλαλήθης of the obelisk translated by Hermapion.

[3] Exod. xxxix. 8, 10; and Levit. viii. 8.

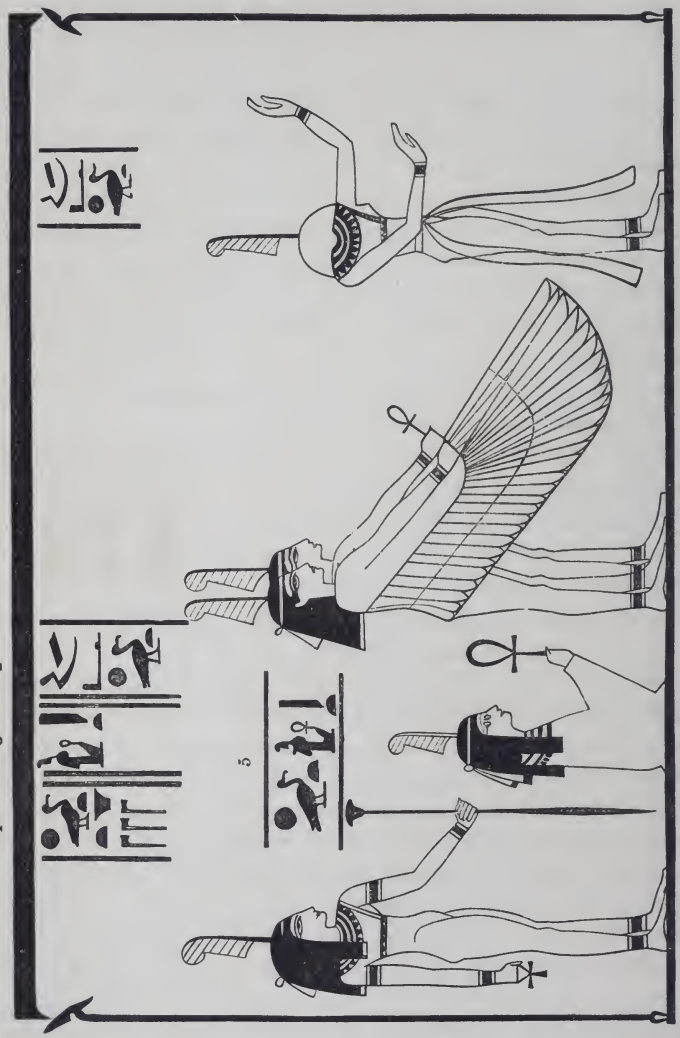
[4] [Conf. Aor, Horus, and Aoûra, with the Ahora, Aoûremez or Ormezd, of the Persian fire-worshippers.—G. W.]

[5] [As the Urim and Thummim were placed in the breast-plate, and to 'be upon Aaron's heart' (Exod. xxviii. 30).—G. W.]

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 3.

[7] Diodor. i. 48.

with her eyes closed; and it is worthy of remark that the same mode of representing the goddess occurs in the paintings of Thebes, confirming the account of the historian, and establishing her claims to the character I have given her.[1] Her principal



No. 548. 1, 2, 5. 'Ma, daughter of the sun.' 3, 4. 'Ma, daughter of the sun, regent of gods.'

occupations were in the lower regions, and she was on earth the great cardinal virtue: for the ancients considered, that as truth or justice influenced men's conduct towards their neighbours,

[1] 'Materia Hierog.,' p. 46.

and tended to maintain that harmony and good-will which were most essential for the welfare of society, it was of far greater importance than the other three—Prudence, Temperance, and Fortitude. These were reflective qualities; and more immediately beneficial to the individual who possessed them than to those with whom he was in the habit of associating.

As the dead, after the final judgment and admission into the regions of the blessed, bore her emblem (either the ostrich-feather, or the vase which indicated their good deeds, taken from the scales of Truth) and were considered approved or justified by their works, the hieroglyphics of her name were adopted to signify 'deceased,' or, in other words, 'judged' or 'justified.' The same idea may be traced in an expression of Plato's Gorgias, where, in speaking of the judgments of the dead, Socrates says, 'Sometimes Rhadamanthus, beholding the soul of one who has passed through life with *Truth*, whether it be of a private man or any other, is filled with admiration, and dismisses that soul to the Islands of the Blessed. The same is also done by Æacus.'[1] Indeed, the modern Persian or Arabic expression in relation to the dead is not very dissimilar, which styles them 'pardoned,' or 'to whom the mercy of God has been shown,' answering to our more simple and matter-of-fact 'the late,' or 'the departed.'

Diodorus[2] mentions a figure of Justice without a head,[3] standing in the lower regions, 'at the gates of Truth,' which I have found in the judgment scenes attached to the funeral rituals on the papyri of Thebes. In one of the subjects of a mummy-case in the British Museum, the goddess occurs under the form of a sceptre (surmounted by an ostrich-feather), from which proceed her two arms, supporting the body of the deceased. Another figure of the same goddess, issuing from a mountain, presents him at the same time two emblems, supposed to represent water, or the drink of heaven. Ma was always styled the daughter of the sun, and sometimes 'chief' or 'directress of the gods.' From her name the Greeks evidently borrowed their Themis, who was supposed to be the mother of *Dikê*, or Justice; but the name of the Egyptian city Thmuis does not appear to have been called from the goddess of truth.[4]

[The name of the god Mendes is supposed to have been found

[1] Plato, Taylor's trans., vol. iv. p. 458.
[2] Diodor. i. 96.
[3] This calls to mind 'the good woman' of modern times.
[4] The place of the great or last judgment was the hall of the Two Truths.—S. B.

in that of Ba-en-tattu, or Bendidi, as some read it; the interchange of the M and the B making it Ma-en-tattu or Mendes. There is also a variant Ba-neb-tat, or 'the soul, lord of Tattu or Abusir.' According to the inscriptions he was represented with the head of a sheep or goat, and the goat of Mendes was the living spirit of the sun, the life of Ra, the generator, the prince of young women, the only god, the original male power of gods and men, who reveals himself with four heads in the region of light, coming in the streams of the Nile and giving air. The enthronement of the ram of Mendes, and the completion of the temple, is given on the tablet of Ptolemy Philadelphus found at Mendes. The god was represented ram-headed.[1]—S. B.]

Herodotus considers Mendes the Egyptian Pan; but I have already shown the deity of Panopolis to be Khem, and it is evident that he has mistaken the characters of both those deities.

'The Mendesians,' says the Father of History,[2] 'abstain from sacrificing goats for these reasons: they place Pan among the number of the eight gods, who were supposed to have preceded the twelve; and this deity is represented by their painters and sculptors in the same manner as in Greece, with the head and legs of a goat. It is not that they believe he really had that form; they think him like the other gods; but the reason being connected with religion, I am not at liberty to explain it. The Mendesians have a great respect for goats, particularly the males; the same feeling is extended to those who have the care of them; and when a he-goat dies, the whole of the Mendesian nome goes into mourning.' 'This animal,' he adds, 'and the god Pan are both called in Egyptian Mendes;' and Plutarch[3] asserts that 'the Mendesian goat had the name of Apis,' like the sacred bull of Memphis. Diodorus[4] says it was chosen as an emblem of the god of generation; who, as I have already shown, was Khem, the Egyptian Pan: but this is not confirmed by the monuments; and though numerous representations occur of the god Khem, we find no instance of the goat introduced as his emblem.

The fact of Herodotus admitting Pan to be one of the eight great gods leaves no doubt respecting his identity with Khem, who, too, is shown by the authority of a Greek dedication at Chemmis, or Panopolis, to be the Pan of Egypt. But the

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[1] Brugsch-Bey, 'Die grosse Mendes-Stele,' Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Spr., 1875, s. 75. 'Records of the Past,' viii. p. 91.

[2] Herodot. ii. 42, 46.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 73.

[4] Diodor. i. 88.

description he gives of this deity, with the head and legs of a goat, is so inconsistent with the Egyptian mode of representing these divinities, that I do not scruple to reject it as perfectly erroneous, fully persuaded that the god Mendes never had that form, either in the Mendesian nome, or in any part of the country. That he bore no relation to Khem, or Pan, I have already shown; and Mendes, if he be the same as Mentu, was totally distinct from the god of generation.

Vain indeed would be the task of endeavouring to reconcile the opinions of Greek writers with the real characters of the Egyptian deities, and it is frequently preferable to reject them than to be influenced by their doubtful testimony.

No. 549. Mentu-ra.

1. 'Mentu-ra Harmachis, great god.'
2. 'Mentu, lord of Thebes.'
3. 'Mentu-ra, lord.'

Mentu was probably one of the deified attributes of the sun, which may have led to the remark of Strabo, that Apollo was worshipped at Hermonthis,[1] since Mentu formed the leading person of the triad of the place: he wore the globe of Ra, with the feathers of Amen, and was usually represented with the head of a hawk, the emblem of the sun. He sometimes had the name of Ra added to his own, as in two of the hieroglyphic legends in woodcut No. 549, which might read Mentu-ra, or 'Mentu the sun.'[2] This may be adduced in confirmation of the opinion, that many Egyptian gods were originally borrowed from a Sabæan worship established in the country at a remote period; which, modified by speculative theory, afterwards assumed a metaphysical character. They appear to have retained in their form the connection they had with the sun or other heavenly bodies, after

[1] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 423.

[2] Mentu-ra was the god of war, and often holds, like Amen-ra, the *khepsh*, or scimitar, in his right hand. In the inscription of Beit-oualli it is said of Rameses II. that 'his hand is firm in his chariot, like Mentu-ra.' He also steers the bark of the sun, and pierces Typhon or the Aphôphis. A statue in the Louvre represents him two-headed. (Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 338. Birch, 'Gallery of Antiq.,' p. 24.)—S. B.

having been converted into representatives of the divine attributes. The Pharaohs frequently styled themselves 'Mentu towards the Gentiles;' from which it appears that he was the avenger or protector against enemies, the Mars of Egyptian mythology, with the additional title of *Ultor*, 'avenger,' like the Roman god of war. In this capacity he might justly be considered 'the guardian of Egypt.' The god of war to whom the expressions[1] more properly apply, is the god Reshpu, the actual destroyer of men and cities; a divinity of inferior rank, and one whose character was not connected with any abstract idea of the deity. Mentu held a higher post. He was the god of war in a metaphysical point of view,—a divine attribute, as the avenging power, and opposed to the mere type of war as distinctly as were several metaphysical and physical characters of other Egyptian deities. He was probably the *Arês*[2] of the obelisk of Rameses, whose inscription, translated by Hermapion, is given in Ammianus Marcellinus.

The name of Mentu may be traced in those of several individuals, as Mentu-hetep, Osymandyas, and others. It also appears in that of Isment, which is given to several towns even at the present day.

Mandoulis, or, according to the hieroglyphics, Maloul, is mentioned in numerous Greek inscriptions at Kalabshi in Nubia, the ancient Talmis, as the deity of the place. From the similarity of the names, I had supposed him to be the same as the preceding god; but his figure in the adytum of the temple differs from that of Mentu, and shows him to be a distinct deity. In the inscriptions mention is made of his horse, an animal sacred among some nations to the sun; but little is known of his attributes, or the office he held in the mythology of Egypt.

At Dabôd he occurs as the third member of a triad composed of Seb, Nut, and this deity; where his dress and title, 'Lord of Philæ,' appear to connect him, on this occasion at least, with Osiris. Champollion, after stating that at Kalabshi he is the third person 'of a triad formed of Horus, his mother Isis, and their son Maloul,' comes to the conclusion that this triad was the link which connected the extremity of the divine chain, as the last of the incarnations of Amen-ra.[3] It was therefore the final triad, of which the three members resolved themselves into those of the first triad, Horus being called the husband of his

[1] Homer, Il. E, 31: Ἄρες, Ἄρες, βροτολοιγὲ, μιαιφόνε, τειχεσιπλῆτα.
[2] Ἄρης. [3] Champoll. Lettre xi. pp. 155, 156.

mother, by whom he had Maloul. Thus these three correspond to Amen, Mut, and Khonsu of the Theban sanctuary. This is on the supposition that Mut was in like manner the mother of Amen as Isis was the mother of Horus.[1]

No. 550. Meru, Meru-ra, or Maloul.

1–3. 'Meru-ra, great great god, lord of Philæ, greatly beloved lord, the scimitar, great god coming in his . . .' 4. 'Meru-ra, great god, lord of Philæ.'

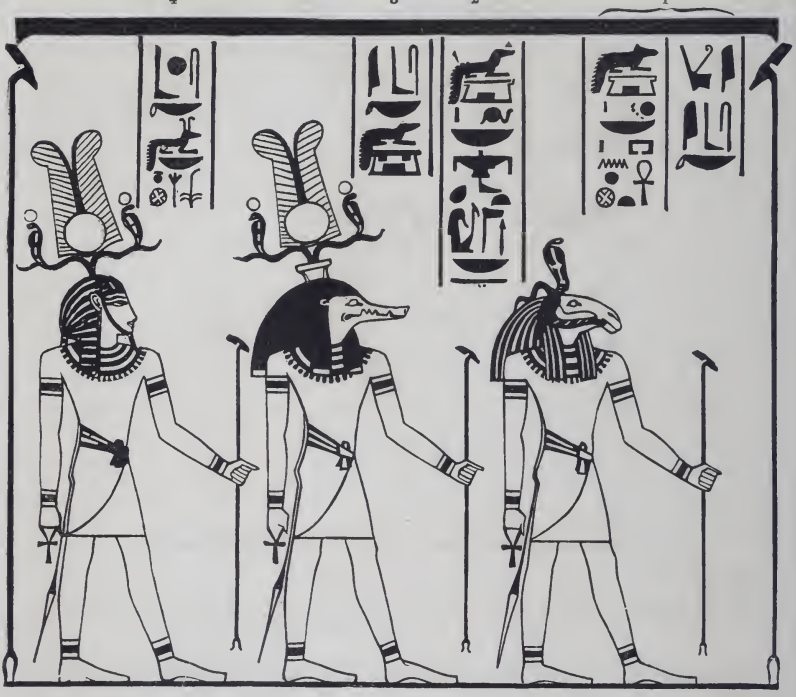
Sebak, the crocodile-headed deity of Ombos, was another deified form of the sun, as may be seen from the hieroglyphic legend where the crocodile is followed by its figurative hieroglyphic, the globe of Ra. This animal was a type of the sun, 'its number sixty,' according to Iamblichus,[2] being thought to accord with that luminary. But the respect paid to it at Ombos, and some other towns of the Thebaïd, was not universal throughout Egypt. The people of Apollinopolis and Tentyris, in particular, held it in the utmost abhorrence; and the enmity consequent upon this difference of opinion was carried so far by the

[1] In woodcut No. 550, *fig.* 1, he appears wearing the helmet surmounted by the crown, *atef*, or triple *atef*, like Har-panêb-ta; in *fig.* 2, only the *atef*. He is a deity of a late period.—S. B.

[2] Iambl. de Myster. s. 5, c. 8.

Tentyrites and Ombites, that a serious conflict ensued between them, in which many persons lost their lives. And, if we may believe Juvenal,[1] to such a degree were the passions of the belligerents excited, that the victorious Tentyrites actually ate the flesh of one of their opponents who had fallen into their hands.

Thebes acknowledged Sebak as a deity, and the figures represented below are taken from the sculptures of the capital of Upper Egypt. The hieroglyphics in the fourth line read, 'Sebak,



No. 551. Sebak, or Souchis.

1. 'By Sebak, Sebak-ra, lord of Paankh.' 2. 'Sebak-ra, lord of Ombos, great god; lord of the earth.' 3. 'Sebak.' 4. 'Sebak, lord of the South and North Country.'

the ruler of the Upper Country, and the Land of the North;' which last appears to confirm what I before observed respecting the title given to Thoth. Champollion considers that he corresponded to the Greek Kronos, or Saturn, in consequence of the coins of Crocodilopolis, or Arsinoë, presenting his figure, and a medal of Antoninus struck at Alexandria having the same deity with a crocodile in his right hand. Clemens of Alexandria, indeed,[2]

[1] Juvenal, Sat. xv. 80.

[2] Clem. Alex. Strom. v.

supposes the crocodile to be the emblem of time; and Horapollo says the two eyes indicate the rising of the sun, its body placed in a curved posture the setting, and its tail[1] the darkness of night; but the fact of 'the years of Seb' occurring so frequently on the monuments seems rather to identify the father of Osiris with the Greek Kronos. He sometimes, though rarely, appears with the head of a ram and the asp of Chnoumis; he then assumes the attributes of that deity. The crocodile, his emblem, forms part of the name of Sabaco, one of the Ethiopian princes of the 25th Dynasty: and at Ombos he shares with Aroeris the honours of the sanctuary, one of the adyta of that double temple being dedicated to him. I have once found an instance of the word Sebak written Sahbak, or Shabak; and if we may follow the authority of Strabo, Souchos, or rather Sovk,[2] is another mode of writing his name, which the geographer tells us was that of the sacred crocodile of Arsinoë.[3]

The goddess Tefnu is represented with a lion's head, and the globe and asp of the sun, of whom she is said to be the daughter; or with a human head, having the horns, feathers, and globe, which form the head-dress of Athor. She held a conspicuous place among the contemplar deities of Thebes; but I am not certain what peculiar office she bore, or to what deity she corresponded in the Greek Pantheon. She may be the same as the following goddess; and the city of the Pelusiac Daphne[4] was probably called after her, as well as the predecessor of the modern Tofnees, in the Thebaïd. The latter town, which lies between Esneh and the Gebelayn, is remarkable for its lofty mounds, and appears to have been the Aphroditopolis of Greek writers. Tafnu is represented in the Oasis holding a bow and arrow in her hand, with an eye on her head; but this is of late time, and of unusual occurrence.[5]

The goddess Thriphis is mentioned in the Greek dedications of the temples at Chemmis and Athribis, as the contemplar

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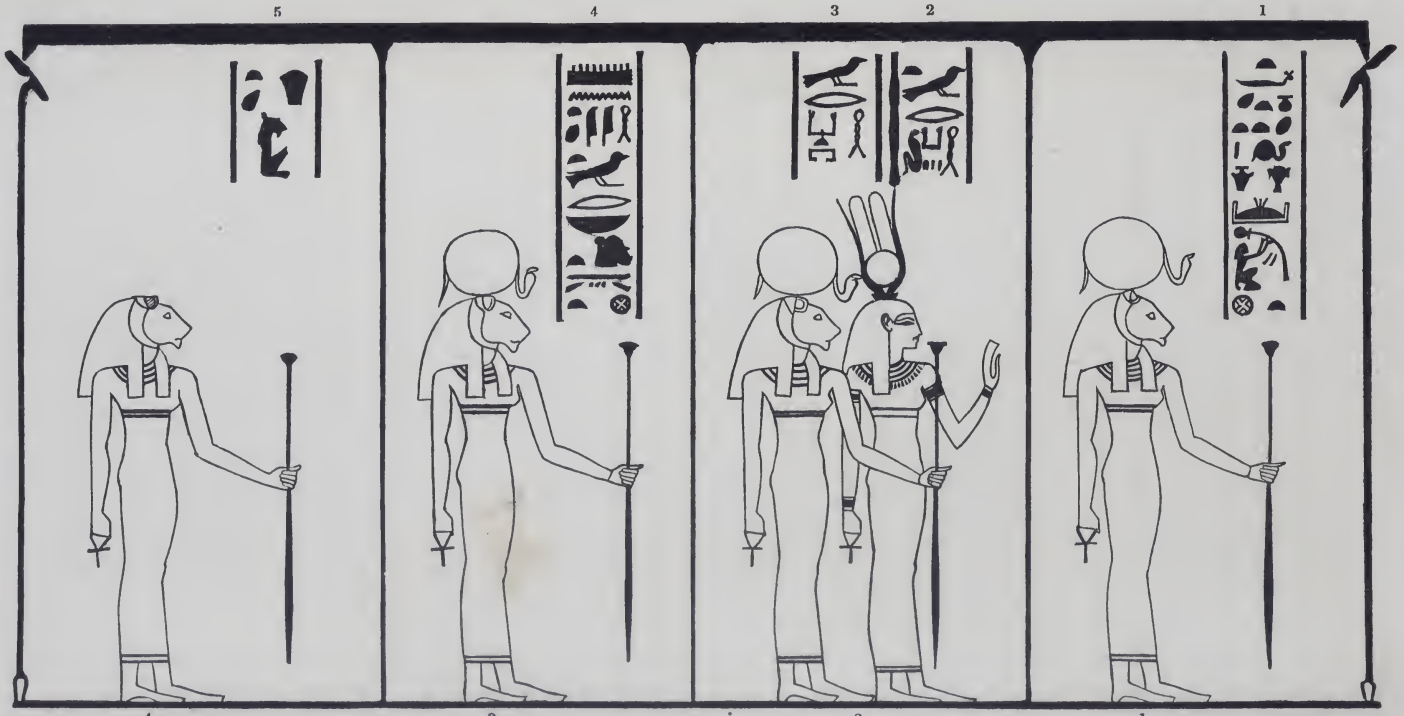
[1] [The crocodile's tail stood for the word *khami*, 'black,' and with the sign ⊗ 'land,' signified 'the Land of Kemi,' or Egypt.—G. W.]

[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 558.

[3] Sebak was a solar god, and in a papyrus he is called son of Isis, and combats, like Horus, the enemies of Osiris. Under this type he was worshipped at Ombos. His worship is as old as the 13th Dynasty. In woodcut No. 551, *fig.* 1, he appears identified with Amen.—S. B.

[4] Herodot. ii. 30, 107. Tehaphnehes, or Tahpanhes, of the Scriptures, and Τάφναι of the Septuagint.

[5] She is represented with the head of a lion and wearing a disk and urœus like the goddesses Sekhet, Bast, and Menhi. She is called the pupil, eye, or daughter of the sun, and was the twin sister of Shu, and represented with him at the Roman period the constellation Gemini.—S. B.



1. 'Tefnu, daughter of the sun, resident in Philæ.' 2, 3. 'Ur-hek.' 4. 'Menhi, the great mistress of Khenta.' 5. 'Bast.'

companion of Khem; and from the conspicuous post there held by her, it is evident that she was a divinity of considerable consequence. Her exact form and attributes, however, are not ascertained, though it is probable she had the head of a lion.

Burton has given another goddess with the head of that animal in the 26th Plate of his valuable 'Excerpta;' but being of late Roman time, and of uncertain character, I have not introduced her with the other lion-headed deities.

There is a deity who has also the head of a lion surmounted by a solar disk. She sometimes appears under a human form, with the head-dress of Athor. Her name reads Ur-heku or Ur-hek-ti,[1] probably the origin of the Grecian Hecate; and it is when bearing the attributes of this goddess that Isis has the name of Hekte, or Hecate, attached to her own, as I have already observed. Even the goddess Mut is found sometimes to assume the title of Hekte, as well as her form and attributes; and the same are likewise given to Bast or Bubastis.

Her figure occurs at Medeenet Haboo, and on other monuments of ancient date, both among the gods of the temples and the deities of the tombs, recalling the line of Virgil.[2] According to Epiphanius, Hecate is the same as Tithrambo: since he says, 'Some are initiated into the rites of Tithrambo, which is interpreted Hecate; others into those of Nephthys; and some into those of Thermuthis.'[3] But the deity Tithrambo seems rather to be connected with the Evil Being Nubti, already mentioned, and distinct from the Egyptian Hecate.

The form and attributes of the goddess Menhai[4] are similar to those of Hekte: a lion's head surmounted by a solar disk, and the uræus. The figure in Plate XXXIX. is taken from the temple of Esneh, which is of a Roman period. But Menhai was not a deity of late introduction, since she appears at Thebes on monuments of an early Pharaonic age. From her name being attached to that of Bast or Bubastis[5] we may conclude she sometimes assumed the character of the Egyptian Diana, though at Esneh she was one of the forms of Neith or Minerva.

Though there is reason to believe that Nut held an important station as the protectress of mothers, the fact of the goddess

[1] This name is applied, as will be seen, to correspond to Athor and Bast or Sexet. Her name probably meant uræus.—S. B.

[2] Virg. Æn. vi. 247:—
'Hecaten Cœloque Ereboque potentem.'

[3] Prichard, p. 144, who quotes Jablonski.

[4] Or Menhi. She was a type of Sexet, and especially adored at Esneh.

[5] Cf. woodcut No. 508, p. 36, with the type of the goddess Bast or Bubastis, whose name occurs from the earliest period.—S. B.

Nekheb presiding over the city of Eileithyia, and her attendance upon Isis while nursing Horus, assert her claim to the name of Lucina.[1] It also seems in some degree confirmed by her emblem, a vulture,[2] the hieroglyphical representative of 'a mother.' Though the monuments show her to have performed the duties of Lucina, she is more usually the protectress of the kings; and she does not appear, like the Greek Lucina, to be connected with the moon, or with Bubastis, the Egyptian Diana. At Eileithyia she was worshipped under the name of Seneb or Soven;[3] and there, as in other places, she had the office of Lucina. Nut, as already stated, had also a claim to that character, being the 'protectress of childbirth and of nurses;' and the monster goddess Typho, who appears to represent childbearing or gestation, Isis, and even Rannu, Athor, and other deities, shared with her the duties of Lucina. Here, as in many instances, we observe the characters of some of the Egyptian deities to be as closely allied as those of the Greek Pantheon; and the occasional transfer of the attributes of one god to another, and the gradual blending of minute shades of distinction, tend to make their mythology obscure and uncertain. Thus we have the goddess Eileithyia; Nut, who was Rhea, the protectress of mothers in childbirth; Typho, the emblem of childbearing or gestation; Rannu, the nurse of infant princes; and Isis, Athor, and other goddesses, who assisted with Lucina, or acted as the nurses of children.

The Romans, in like manner, had several goddesses who presided over parturition and young children, as Partunda and others; and so numerous did their deities become by this subdivision of their nature or attributes, that Petronius observes, 'Italy is now so holy, that it is easier to find a god than a man. The hieroglyphical legend of the Egyptian Lucina reads, Seneb, Sebu,[4] or Soven; and she is styled 'Lady of the land of Seneb, or Seben,' Eileithyia,[5] which is represented by, and appears to be derived from, 'a leg.'[6] It is to this place that Diodorus[7]

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[1] Hor. Carm. Sec. 13.

[2] Horapollo may have in view Eileithyia or Juno-Lucina, when he says Juno and Minerva are both represented by a vulture (i. 11).

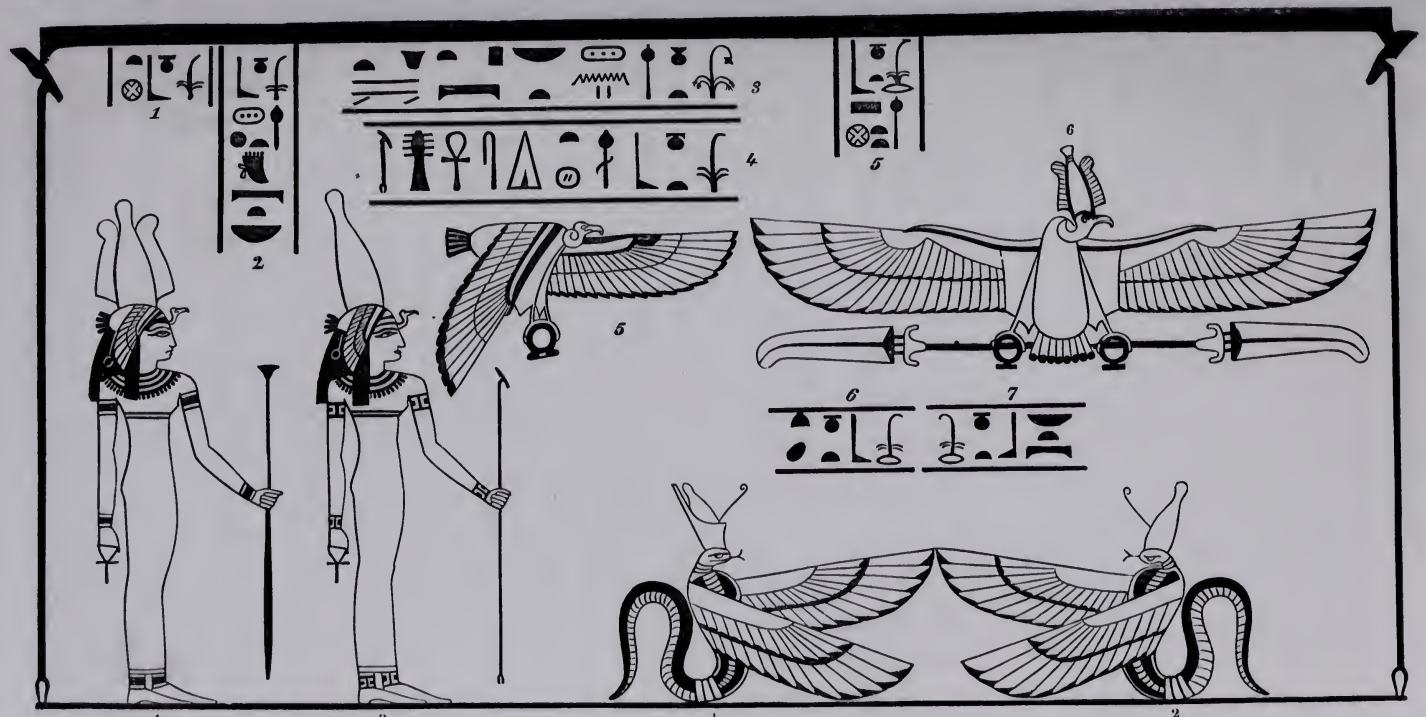
[3] [In an inscription at Eileithyia she appears to be called ΣΜΙΘΙΣ, though the letters may read ΣΝΙΘΙΝ or even ΣΙΝΘΙΝ. Perhaps ΕΙΛΙΘΙΝ?—G. W.]

[4] The name of this goddess is now read Nekheb, although formerly supposed to be Seben, or Sovan; but the correct form is apparently Nishem, as pointed out by M. Le P. Renouf, from a comparison of the early list of articles, in which it appears as part of the body.—S. B.

[5] That is, of Eileithyia the city, understood: it is not called Eileithyiopolis.—S. B.

[6] ϹΗϬΙ or ϹΗϬΙΠΡΑΤϤ (*tibia*, or *tibia cruris*).

[7] Diodor. i. 12.



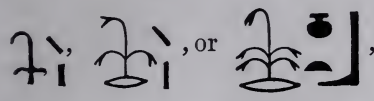
Nekheb, or Nishem, Eileithyia.

1. 'Nishem.' 2. 'Nishem of Hetmen (Eileithyia), regent of heaven, mistress.' 3. Same, 'mistress of heaven, regent of the Two Countries.' 4. 'Nishem of Eileithyia, giver of life and health.' 5. 'Nishem of Eileithyia.' 6, 7. Variety of same titles.

alludes when he says that the goddess Eileithyia, one of the ancient deities of Egypt, founded a city called after her; as did Jove, the Sun, Hermes, Apollo, Pan, and many others; and this assertion of the historian accords well with the antiquity of that city, which contained some of the oldest remains existing in Egypt.[1] The same credit cannot be attached to a statement of Plutarch, that men were formerly sacrificed in this city, as I shall have occasion to observe in speaking of the rites of the Egyptians. Soven[2] may also be the genius of the Upper Country, or the South, opposed to the genius of the Lower Country, though I do not trace that connection of the former with Neith, and the latter with Sati, which Horapollo might lead us to expect.[3] However inconsistent may be the assumption of two characters by the same goddess, we find that the Greek Eileithyia was in like manner confounded with other deities, as Juno and Diana, though said to be daughter of Jupiter and of Juno, or, according to some, of Latona.

She is usually represented as a goddess with the cap and two ostrich-feathers of Osiris, or with the cap of the Upper Country, and occasionally with the globe and horns of Athor; and she frequently appears under the form of a vulture, which, with outspread wings, hovers over the king as if to protect him. This confirms the statement of Eusebius,[4] who observes that the image of the deity worshipped at the Egyptian city of 'Eileithyia had the form of a flying vulture, whose wings were inlaid with precious stones.' She has also the form of an asp, which, like the vulture, wears the head-dress of Osiris—the crown of the Upper Country with two ostrich-feathers. This asp is frequently winged. It wears the *pshent*, or crown of the Two Regions; or the crown of Upper Egypt only, when opposed to the genius of the Lower Country, who, under the same form of an asp, has that of Lower Egypt. The water-plants chosen as the initials of the respective names of these two goddesses agree with the crowns they wear; one signifying 'Upper,' the other 'Lower Egypt,' which are thus written in hieroglyphics , , or , the last two having in addition the bowl or basket,

[1] Destroyed by the Turks. [2] Nishem. [3] Horapollo, i. 11, says Minerva rules the Upper, and Juno the Lower Hemisphere; and the vulture is the emblem of Urania, the goddess of heaven. [4] Euseb. Præpar. Evangel. iii. 12.

signifying 'Lord.' Indeed, it is not altogether improbable that the goddess Eileithyia may have had the name Sares,[1] 'the South,'[2] which her hieroglyphic, sometimes written thus  , appears to justify; but I have found no instance of the goddess to whom she is opposed having the hieroglyphic signifying 'the North,' , or . Soven also appears occasionally with a vulture's head, and I have found instances of this goddess as an *Ophigyps*, with the body of a vulture and the head of a snake, on the coffins of the dead.

1 2

Other forms of the goddess Eileithyia.
No. 552.

[The goddess Uat or Uati is the same as the Greek Buto, and was worshipped at Tep, or the city of Buto, situated at the extremity of the Rosetta branch of the Nile.[3]—S. B.] This goddess has also the character of guardian and protectress of the monarchs, and is placed in opposition to Eileithyia, as the genius of the

3 2 1

No. 553. *Fig.* 1. Uati, or the genius of the Lower Country, opposed to *figs.* 2 and 3, Nishem, or the goddess Eileithyia.

Lower Country. She is represented under the form of an asp, frequently with wings, having the crown of Lower Egypt, which is also worn by her when figured as a goddess. She is treated as one of the contemplar divinities at Thebes and other towns of the Upper Provinces, with the same honours as the last-mentioned deity. She also occurs under the form of a vulture,

[1] Upper Egypt was called Mares, whence the Arabic name Marées or Mareésee applied to the south wind.

[2] The word for south, however, was *qema*, or else *ras*, the Coptic form.—S. B.

[3] Brugsch in the 'Zeitschrift f. ägypt. Sprache,' 1871, p. 12.

alternately with the vulture of Eileithyia, on the ceilings of the temples; being distinguished only by the cap of the Lower Country, and the hieroglyphic legend which accompanies her emblem. She even attends Isis while nursing Horus, together with the goddess Eileithyia.

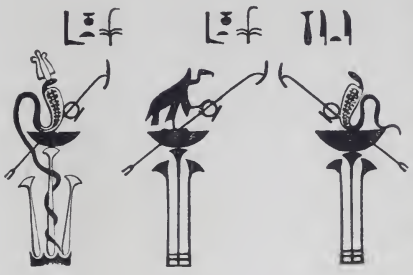
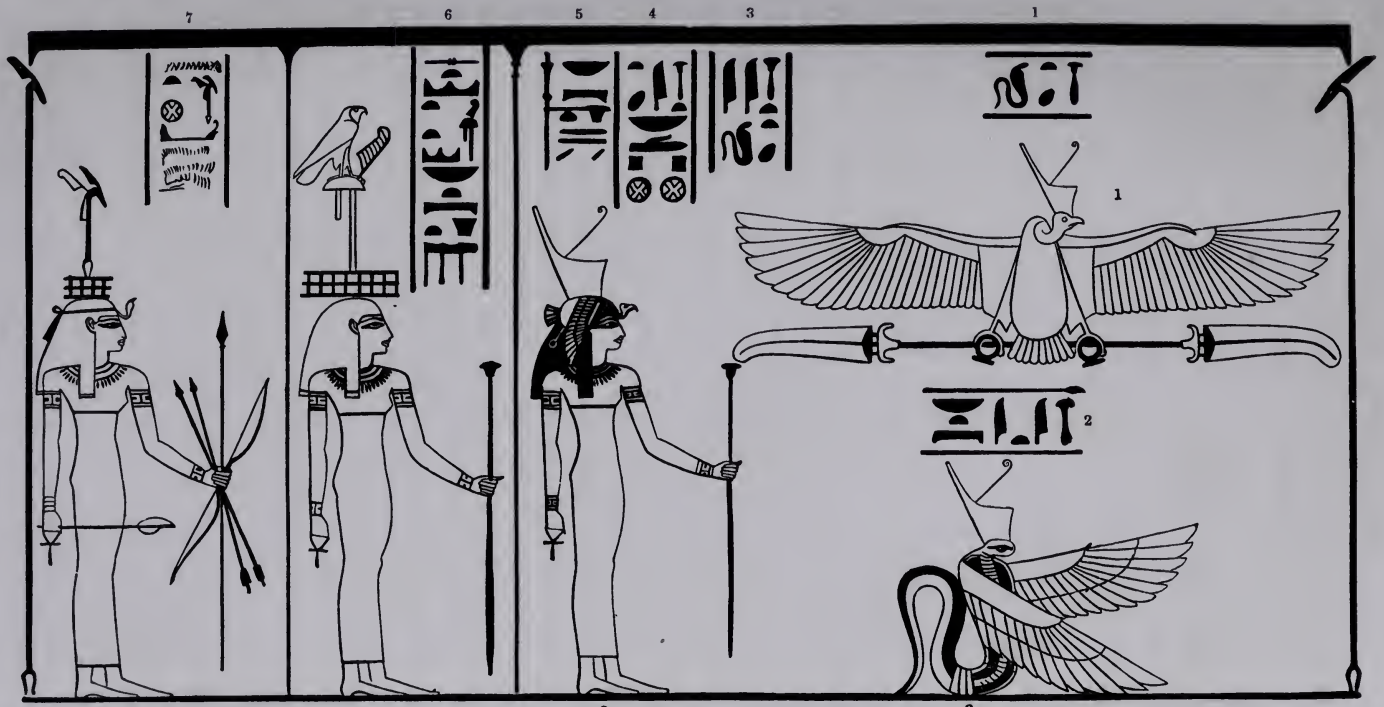


Fig. 1. Uati. 2 and 3. Nishem, the goddess Eileithyia. No. 554.

Egypt, as might reasonably be expected, was among the deities worshipped in the country. She is represented with the emblem of purity on her head, and another apparently signifying 'cultivated land,' which also enters into the names of the goddess Kahi and the deity of Tentyris. In one hand she holds a spear with a bow and arrows, and in the other a battle-axe and the sign of life, illustrative of the military power of the country. In this she resembles one of the forms of Neith or Minerva. I had imagined this goddess to be the genius of the 'Eastern Bank,' opposed to another of similar character, whom I have called the 'Western Bank of the Nile;' but the hieroglyphic legends appear to authorise the conclusion of her representing Egypt. A strong argument in support of this is also derived from her being put in opposition to the foreign nations with whom the Egyptians were at war. The character forming her name is the sceptre seen in the hands of the gods, erroneously said to be surmounted by the head of the Upupa; a misconception into which Horapollo has also been led, as is evident from his considering that 'bird a fit ornament for the sceptres of the gods,' because it is the type of 'gratitude.' But the head is that of a quadruped,[1] not of a bird; though easily mistaken for the Upupa when carelessly sculptured, or of a small size. Its being emblematic of purity makes it an appropriate characteristic of the divine nature, and it is very properly associated with the feather of *Truth*.

The name of Egypt was Khêmi, which, as I have already stated, bore a strong analogy to the word *khami*, 'black;' and both are sometimes written in the same manner by the hieroglyphic

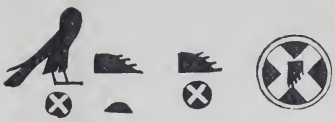
[1] According to Pierret ('Dict.,' p. 496), the head is that of a dog, a harrier. It was called *uas* or *t'am*, and is generally but not exclusively carried by gods.—S. B.



Uati, or Buto.

1, 3. 'Uat.' 2. 'Uati, lady of heaven.' 4, 5. 'Uata, lady of Tepep, or Buto, lady of heaven, regent of the Two Countries.' 6. 'The land of the west, lady of heaven, regent of God.' 7. 'Uas, or Thebes, powerful.'

of a crocodile's tail,[1] which signified 'black,' or at least had the force of *Kh*, the initial of the word. Egypt was also called the 'land of the tree' and 'of the eye' (of Osiris).[2] The last two occur in the inscription of the Rosetta Stone, as on other monuments, but the former are more usual on sculptures of an early period.



3 2 1

No. 555. The crocodile's tail in the name of Egypt, 'Kham.'

2 1

No. 556. Other modes of writing the name of Egypt.

It is singular that no one of these groups is applied to, or enters among, the hieroglyphics of this goddess. There is, however, a god who seems to represent Egypt, or Khêmi, on whose head the crocodile's tail is placed; but he is of late date, and only found in monuments of a Ptolemaic or Roman epoch. He performs the office of steersman of the boat of Atum, in the place of Horus. That Egypt was called Kham in the earliest times is evident from the sculptures: but the name *Egypt* is not found in the hieroglyphics; nor do we find that of Aëria, by which some pretend it was known at a very remote period.[3]

There is a goddess who may either be the west bank of the river, or the West generally, opposed to the goddess who represents the East, whose name is preceded by the same signs,[4] and generally followed by the annexed hieroglyphic signifying 'mountain.' This was evidently borrowed from the circumstance of the valley of the Nile being bordered on one side by the Libyan, on the other by the Arabian hills: as the mode of representing a '*foreign* land' by a mountain originated in the distinction of the level plain of the Egyptian valley, and the hilly country of Syria or other foreign lands.

I have also met with the goddesses of the East and West, each bearing on her head her peculiar emblem raised upon a perch. In these the table of offerings denotes the former; and the hawk on a perch, with the ostrich-feather before it, is indicative of the West.

The goddess at *fig.* 4, Plate XLI., is styled 'the West, Queen

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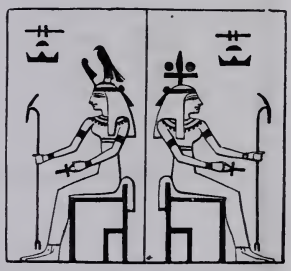
[1] Horapollo (Hierog. i. 70) says, 'A crocodile's tail signifies darkness;' in Coptic ⲕⲁⲕⲉ, ⲕⲉⲗⲗⲉ, ⲕⲏⲗⲗⲉⲧⲉ, ϫⲣⲉⲗⲗⲉ, ϫⲉⲗⲗⲉ, or ϭⲟⲗⲗϭⲗⲗ.

[2] Of the sycamore and the symbolic eye.—S. B.

[3] Aul. Gell. xiv. 6.

[4] *Set abt.* The name of land is *set.*

of Heaven, Directress of the Gods;' and she frequently wears her usual emblems placed on another signifying 'cultivated land.' To Athor is sometimes given the same hawk seated on a perch, in her character of President of the Western Mountain. Her office is evidently connected with the dead, as is that of Athor, when she assumes these attributes; probably in consequence of the western district or mountain, particularly at Thebes and Memphis, being looked upon as the abode of the dead. She may also be a type of Hades or Amenti, the resemblance between which name and the West, *Ement*, is consistent with its supposed connection with the lower regions, as I have already had occasion to observe. The funeral rituals of the papyri frequently represent four rudders, each of which is applied to the four cardinal points, designated as rudders of the S., N., W., and E. This division was of the earliest date in Egypt, being mentioned in the oldest monuments that exist. The expression 'S., N., W., and E.' signified the whole world; as in the Coronation ceremony, where the carrier pigeons are ordered to fly to those four points, to proclaim that the king has assumed the crown. They in like manner divided the world into four quarters: one being Egypt; another the South, or region of the Blacks; a third the East, or the Asiatic country; and the fourth the North, comprising Syria, Asia Minor, and probably Europe.



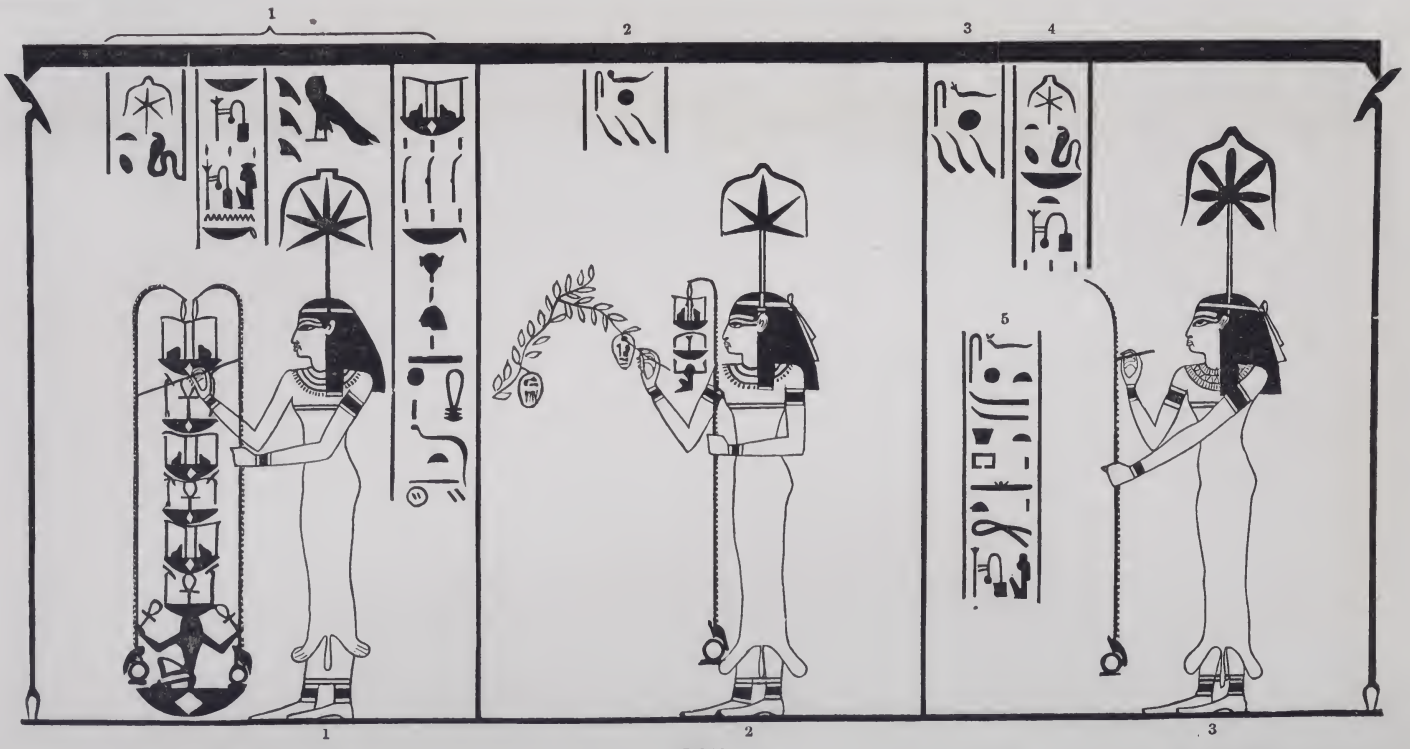
1 2

No. 557. *Fig.* 1. The West. 2. The East.

It appears that the expression 'conqueror of the nine regions' signified 'of the remaining three parts of the world,' Egypt itself completing the whole number twelve, and three being the sign of plurality for each set, in the sense of 'the regions.'

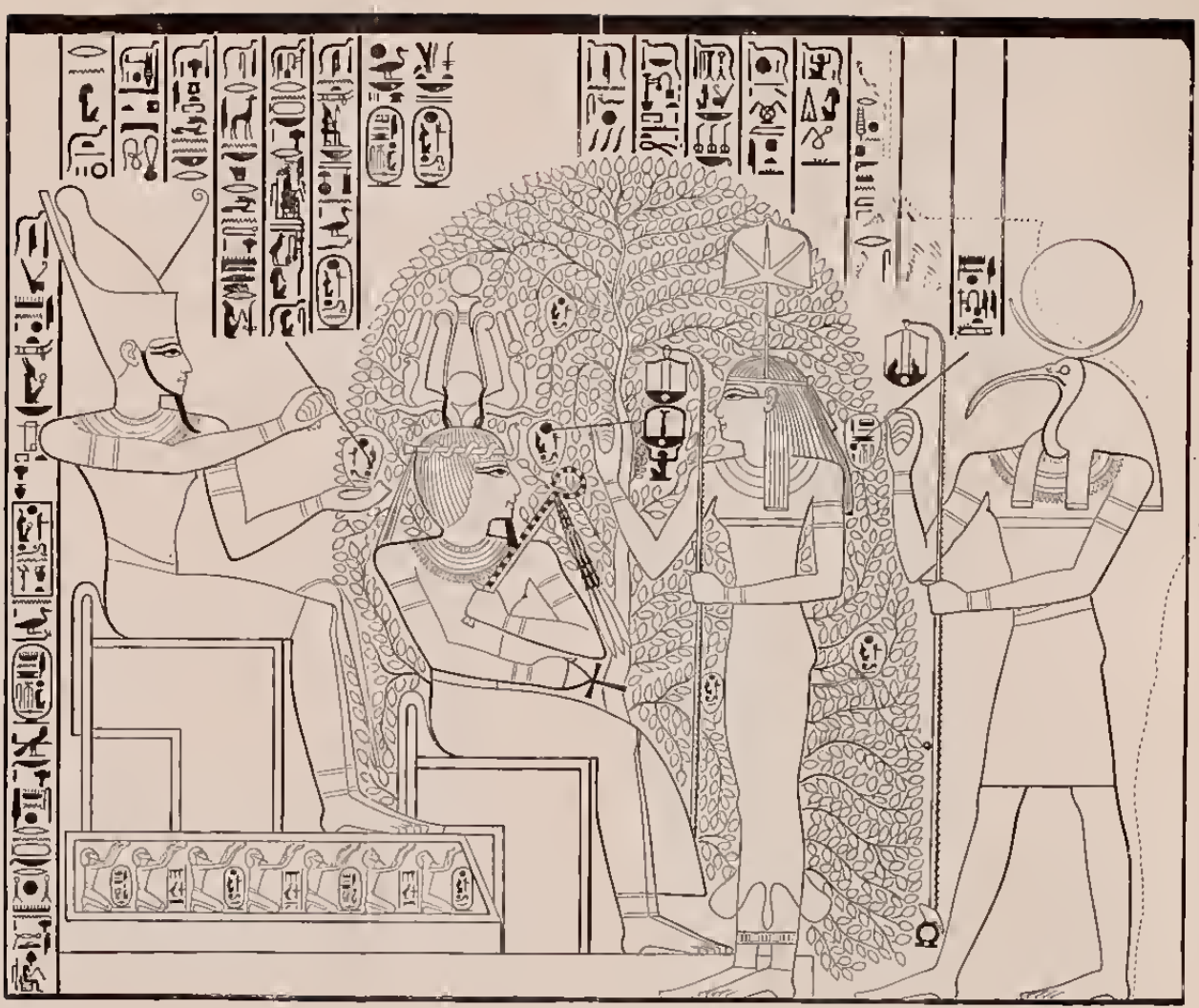
The name of the goddess in Plate XLII. appears to read Sefah[1] or Sefekh; and these letters are followed by demonstrative signs, which are intended to represent horns. From her employment, noting on the palm-branch of Thoth the years of human life, and from her title, 'Lady of Letters,' she appears also to be the goddess of *writing*. She may perhaps be a deification

[1] This may call to mind the Hebrew words *sophar* (*sefer*), 'to count' or 'write,' and *Tzophim*, 'prophets' or 'watchmen;' the Sofis of Persia; or the Greek σοφία, 'wisdom;' though without being related to any one of them.



Sefekh.

1. 'Sefekh, lady of writing. I write to thee 100,000 of triakontaeterides, thy years on earth like the sun for ever and ever.' 2, 3. 'Sefekh.' 4. 'Sefekh, lady of writing.' 5. 'Sefekh, lady of writing, governing the library.'



Atum, Ramesses II., Sekhh, and Thoth

of *speech* or *language*. But her hieroglyphics read *sefh* or *sofkh*, and not *sakh*,[1] 'writing;' nor does the word *sagi*,[2] 'a tongue,' answer to the characters they present. Like Thoth, she registers the events of man's life, and bears a palm-branch with the emblems signifying 'halls of assembly;' marking on it at the same time the years of the king's life, or the number of *panegyries* at which he had been proclaimed.

It is not impossible that these assemblies were the origin of the title 'Lord of Triakontaeterides,' given to Ptolemy on the Rosetta Stone; but from the number which Thoth and this goddess are sometimes marking upon the palm-branches, it is evident they could not refer to games celebrated every thirtieth year. Nor could Ptolemy have been entitled to a jubilee of thirty years, since he only reigned twenty-one. Indeed, we are ignorant of the exact meaning of the title, though it probably refers to the years of the assemblies recorded by these deities, whatever may have been the method by which they were computed. Ptah, the creative power, appears to have been the deity to whom they were particularly consecrated; since in the regal titles the king is styled 'Lord of the Assemblies, like his father Ptah.' This goddess is represented at the Memnonium writing the name of Rameses the Great on the fruit of the Persea-tree, under whose shade the king is seated, in the presence of Thoth and Atum.[3] She is generally clad in a leopard-skin; and on her head she bears a radiating ornament, peculiarly appropriated to her, over which are cow's horns turned downwards.

The goddess Selk is distinguished by the scorpion, her emblem, which is usually bound upon her head. Her office seems to have been principally in the regions of Amenti, where she has sometimes, in lieu of a human head, a symbol very nearly resembling the hieroglyphic character signifying 'wife;' and the scorpion, her emblem, even occurs with the legend 'Isis Selk.' In the hieroglyphics of a Theban mummy-case

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[1] C&D. [2] C&XI.

[3] Plate XLIII. The accompanying inscriptions are the addresses of 'Sefekh, mistress of writing, directress of the library.' She says, 'I augment to thee millions of thy years upon earth all in the account.' Thoth says, 'I grant thy name to be from the time of the heaven placed on the noble Persea.' Tum or Atum, lord of Heliopolis, says, 'I write thy name upon the noble Persea by the writing of my own fingers. I arrange them to thee while thou upon earth art king on my throne. Thou art for the time of the heaven. May thy name endure for ever.' Amen-ra, lord of the particular chapel, says, 'I watch over the placing of thy name for ever firm on the great Persea.'—S. B.

preserved at Bodrhyddan, I have found this goddess called the 'daughter of the sun.'[1]

The name and form of the deity Æsculapius[2] were first ascertained by Mr. Salt, at Philæ, where a small sanctuary with a Greek inscription is dedicated to him.[3] His dress is always very simple, though not one of the great gods of Egypt; agreeing

No. 558. Imouthos. Serqa, or Selk.

1. 'Selk.' 2, 3. 'Selk, the great reptile, directress of books.' 4. 'Aiemhetp, son of Ptah.' 5. 'Aiemhotep.' 6. 'Said by Minister Aiemhetp, son of Ptah.'

with the description given of him by Synesius.[4] He is bald, or wears a small cap fitting closely to his head, without any feathers or other ornament; and in his hand he holds the sceptre and *crux ansata*, or sign of life, common to all the deities. His name reads Aiemhotep; but he cannot bear any relationship to the 'leader of the heavenly deities' mentioned by Iamblichus,

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[1] She is supposed to have been a form of Isis.—S. B.

[2] [Jablonski says Æsculapius was called Imouthês (Ἰμούθης); and thinks him Sarapis.—G. W.]

[3] There was an Asklepeion, or small temple of Sarapis, in the Serapeum at Memphis.—S. B.

[4] Synes. in Encom. Calv.

who was second only to *Eicton*, the great ineffable god and '*primum exemplar*.'

The Egyptian Asclepius was called 'the son of Ptah;' he was therefore greatly revered at Memphis, and, indeed, throughout the whole country. The Egyptians acknowledged two of this name; the first, the grandfather of the other, according to the Greeks, and the reputed inventor of medicine, who received peculiar honours on 'a certain mountain on the Libyan side of the Nile, near the City of Crocodiles,' where he was 'reported to have been buried.' Ammianus Marcellinus[1] says that 'Memphis boasted the presence of the god Æsculapius;' and the sculptures show that he held a post amongst the contemplar gods of Upper and Lower Egypt, from Philæ to the Delta. He occurs more frequently in temples of a Ptolemaic than of a Pharaonic epoch. Damascius, in the Life of Isidorus, says, 'The Asclepius of Berytus of Syria is neither Greek nor Egyptian, but of Phœnician origin; for sons were born to Sadyk, called Dioscuri and Cabiri, and the eighth of these was Esmun,[2] who is interpreted Asclepius.' But it is highly improbable that the Egyptian deity was borrowed from Phœnicia; and the only point of resemblance (if we may believe the authority of Herodotus in so difficult a question) is the fact of Asclepius being the son of Ptah, and the Cabiri being, according to Herodotus, sons of Vulcan.

According to Macrobius,[3] he was 'the beneficent influence of the sun, which was thought to pervade the souls of men;' but as this accords not with his appellation 'son of Ptah,' I am rather inclined to consider him that healing and preserving power of the Creator (Ptah) which averted calamities and illness from mankind. There is no appearance of the serpent having been sacred to him, as to the Greek god of medicine; nor are the cock, the raven, or the dog, found among his emblems on the monuments of Egypt. It is, however, probable that the serpent in aftertimes was admitted as the symbol of the Egyptian as well as the Greek Æsculapius; the record of which appears to show itself in the snake of Sheikh Hereedee, a Moslem saint of Upper Egypt, who is still thought to appear under that form, and to cure the diseases of his votaries.

The deity Pe has sometimes been confounded with Nut, the mother of Osiris, from her having the firmament as her emblem.

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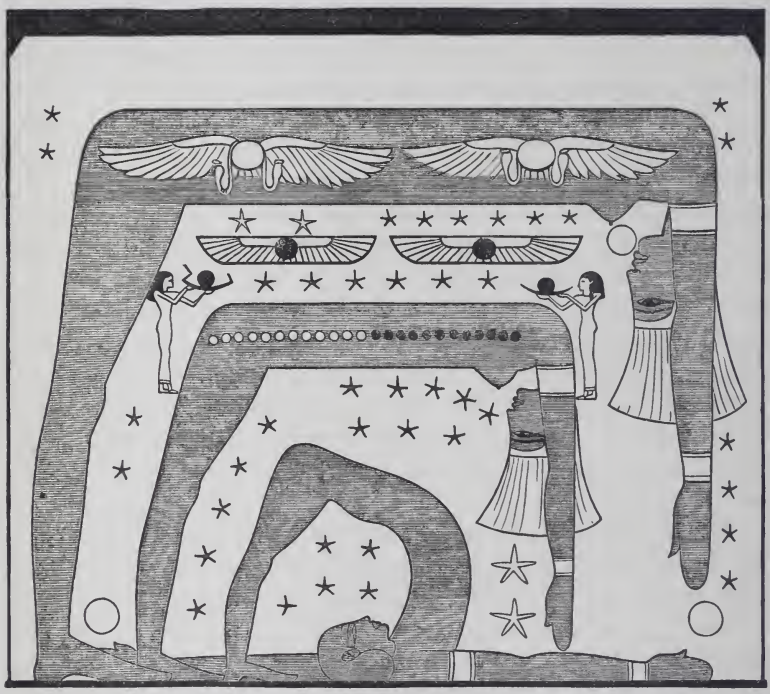
[1] Amm. Marc. xxii. 14. [2] Which signifies *eight*. [3] Macrob. Saturn. i. 23.

She was a deification of heaven itself, or that part of the firmament in which the stars were placed. She is sometimes represented under the form of the hieroglyphic character signifying 'the heavens' studded with stars; and sometimes as a human figure, whose body, as it bends forward with outspread arms, appears to overshadow the earth and encompass it, in imitation of the vault of heaven reaching from one side of the horizon to the



No. 559. Pe, or the heaven, with the sun and stars. The figure beneath is Seb.

other. In this posture she encloses the zodiacs, as at Esneh and Denderah.

Her name Pe, or with the feminine article, Tpe, signifies in Coptic 'the heaven;' which agrees with the statement of Horapollo, before cited, that the Egyptians considered the heaven feminine, contrary to the custom of the Greeks.

The uppermost part of the compartments sculptured on Egyptian monuments is generally crowned by her emblem, representing the heaven, instances of which are given in the plates of this Pantheon.

The hieroglyphic name of the deity Nilus appears to be

Hapi-Mau.[1] The Coptic word *mau* signifies 'water,' but the import of the prefix Hapi is uncertain. To the god Nilus, and to one of the genii of Amenti, the name Hapi, or Apis, is commonly applied, as well as to the sacred bull of Memphis. Plutarch[2] thinks 'the Mendesian goat was also called Apis;' but I cannot suppose that he has confounded the river-god with the Egyptian *Pan;* nor can we readily account for a similar misconception in regard to the cynocephalus-headed genius of Amenti: though the connection between Nilus and Sar*apis*, mentioned by Martianus Capella, may have originated in the Egyptian name of *Hapi*.[3]

Nilus is frequently represented binding the throne of the monarchs with the stalks of two water-plants, one indicating the dominion of the Upper, the other of the Lower Country; and in the compartments which form the basement of the sculptured walls of the temples he brings offerings of various kinds, especially fruits and flowers, the produce of the beneficent influence of the Nile water. Thoth frequently assists him on the former occasion; and this allegorical subject may signify that the throne is indebted for its support to the intellectual and physical gifts of the deity. He is figured as a fat man, of a blue colour, with water-plants growing from his head; and he holds in his hands their stalks and flowers, or water-jars, indicative of the inundation. It is remarkable that the name Nilus accords so aptly with the colour given him by the Egyptian artists. *Nil*, or *neel*, is the word which still signifies 'blue' in many Eastern languages. The *Nil*ghaut, or *blue* mountains; the Nilab, or *blue* river, applied to the Indus; *neeleh*, the name of indigo in Egypt and other Eastern countries—suffice to show the general use of this word; and its application to the river of Egypt was consistent with the custom of calling those large rivers *blue*, which from the depth of their water frequently appear of that colour.

I have elsewhere observed that the term *ázrek*, applied to the eastern branch of the Nile, which comes from the lake Dembea, in Abyssinia, properly signifies *black*, in opposition to the *Abiad*,

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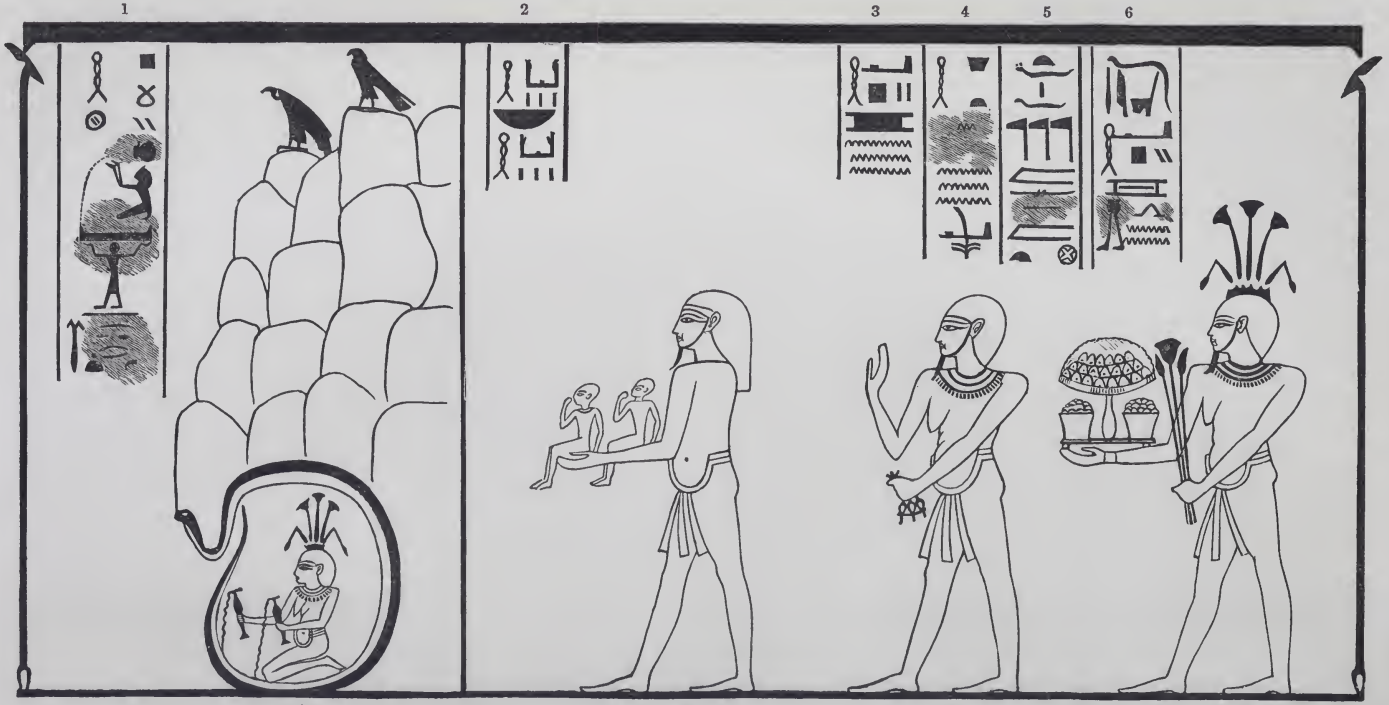
[1] , or *Hapi* only; that of the bull Apis , or , written differently, but reading Hapi. The name Hapi, 'Nilus,' and the bull-god Hapi or Apis, recall the Greek representation of a river under the form of a bull, like the Achelous and others (see Ælian, Var. Hist. ii. 33, &c.).—G. W.]

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 73.

[3] 'Te Serapim Nilus, Memphis veneratur Osirim.' (Quoted by Prichard, Mythol. p. 89.) The zigzag lines which follow recall the word *nun*, which Horapollo says was applied to the *inundation*.



Hapi, or The Nile.

1. 'Hap-hap (hidden) elevated in . . .' 2. 'Heqa, lord of Heqa.' 3, 4, 5. 'Hapi, regent of the waters of the south, father of the gods in Senem.' 6. 'Hapi, coming with . . .'

or *white* river; for though *ázreḳ* also implies *dark blue*, it has not that signification when opposed to *white*. In proof of which it is only necessary to add, that a *black* horse is styled *ázreḳ* as well as *aswed*, and the same term is applied to anything in the sense of our 'jet black.'

At Silsilis this deity was worshipped as the third member of a triad composed of Ra, Ptah, and Nilus—the sun, the creative power, and the river; the last being, as the third person in these triads always was, the result of the other two. It is probable that the marked respect with which he was there invoked arose from the peculiar protection they desired of him, when the blocks hewn in the quarries of Silsilis, for the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt, were committed to the charge of the stream that was to convey them to their different destinations. In the Temple of Luxor at Thebes are two figures of this deity, one of a blue, the other of a red hue, to whom the education of the infant Amenophis III., the son of Queen Mut-em-Sua, and another child, are supposed to have been entrusted. The children are carried in the arms of the red-coloured deity; and the other follows behind, carrying the sacred *taus*, or emblems of life. The former is probably intended to indicate the turbid appearance of the Nile during the inundation (rather than, as I had supposed, the land it irrigates); and the latter, of a blue colour, the limpid stream of the river when confined within its banks. At Philæ a figure of the god Nilus is represented seated beneath the rocks of the cataract, holding *hydriæ*, or jars, in his hands, from which he pours forth water, emblematic of the inundation. A snake surrounds his abode, and on the rocks above are perched a hawk and vulture. That the water-jar was indicative of the inundation we learn from Horapollo; and in consequence of the Nile being considered 'the efflux of Osiris,' Plutarch says, 'a water-pitcher was always carried first in the sacred processions in honour of that god.'[1] The connection between the god Nilus and Osiris probably led to the notion, as the form of the corpulent deity of the Egyptians to the figure, of the Greek Silenus, the nurse of Bacchus. At the city of Nilopolis,[2] situated in the province of Arcadia, a splendid temple was dedicated to the god Nilus. Other towns of Egypt also celebrated his worship with proper honours; and from an observation of Herodotus it is evident that in all those situated

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 63.

[2] Stephan. de Urb. *in voce* Νείλος.

on the banks of the river, certain priests were exclusively appointed to the service of this deity. 'If,' says the historian,[1] 'the body of an Egyptian or even of a foreigner is found at the river-side, whether carried away by a crocodile or drowned in the stream, the neighbouring town is obliged to embalm it in the most splendid manner, and deposit it in the sacred sepulchres. No one, not even a friend or relation of the deceased, is allowed to touch it: the priests of the Nile alone have this privilege; and they bury it with their own hands, as if it were something more than a human corpse.'[2]

The frequent occurrence of the name of Thebes in the hieroglyphic legends of its temples, led to the discovery of the goddess of the city; and during my stay there in 1828, while examining the various contemplar deities in the temple of Amen at Karnak, I observed that Thebes had a guardian genius or goddess of the same name. She was called 'Ap, or Apé, the potent Mother of the Gods.' The name Ap, Aph, or Apé, written phonetically, is followed by a symbolic character, of the same sound, which is no other than the demonstrative sign of the preceding word; and the goddess sometimes wears this last on her head, together with the globe and horns of Athor, her usual head-dress. Sometimes she holds in her hands the staff of purity, sometimes the water-plant sceptre common to all the goddesses.

The symbolic character above mentioned frequently occurs in the names of individuals, as in Petamen*apt*, or Petamen*oph*,

; and is also put alone for Thebes, followed by the sign of 'land.' The formation of the name of the city and its corruption into Thebes are singular. The original word is Ap or Apé, like the Coptic *apé*, 'head' or 'capital.'[3] With the feminine article *t*, by which in the hieroglyphics it is always followed, it becomes Tapé, or 'the Apé;' and this being pronounced by the Egyptians, as by the Copts, Tába,[4] and in

[1] Herodot. ii. 90.

[2] Hymns in honour of the Nile, besides mentioning the special benefits he confers on Egypt, in bringing corn and other things, also state that no temple is dedicated to him, and identify him with Amen. Ptah and Kabes are identified with him. Sacrifices were offered to him. (Canon Cooke, in 'Records of the Past,' iv. p. 14.) But the house of the Nile is mentioned in the great papyrus of Rameses III. ('Records of the Past,' vi. p. 66, viii. p. 39); as also the 'statues of Repa, the wife of the Nile' (vi. p. 69).—S. B.

[3] It means 'crib' or 'manger.'—S. B.

[4] It is possible that the name of Taphis in Nubia was taken from the capital of Upper Egypt.

Lower Egypt Thaba, the Memphitic dialect substituting *th* for *t*, was readily converted into Thebes. For this dialect being prevalent in the part of the country mostly frequented by the Greeks, Thaba was the name by which the city was usually known to them; and Thaba was too near the Greek not to be converted into their *Thebai*.

The idea that Thebes was derived from Theba or Thebh,[1] the 'ark,' is evidently erroneous, and on a par with those etymological fancies which trace from Noah the word *naus*, *nauta*, and *navy;* or with that of the learned in Soodan, who find in their Bernoo the *Bur-nooh*, or 'the land of Noah.'

Pliny[2] and Juvenal[3] have both given Thebe as a singular word, adhering more closely to the Egyptian original. Amunei, 'the abode of Amen,' has been translated Diospolis; and the Scriptural name No, or No Amun, appears to have the same import, unless No was applied to the whole of the Thebaïd. I had formerly imagined that Papa was corrupted from Tapé, especially as the Itinerary places it only on the western bank, and that it was confined to the Necropolis; but the frequent occurrence of the name on either side of the river leaves no doubt of the city of Thebes being all called Tapé. The title which follows the name, 'land of thrones,' probably refers to its being the royal seat from olden times, as well as the capital of Upper Egypt. Of Pathyris, the western portion of Thebes, I have already spoken.

Other cities as well as Thebes had their peculiar genius; and so subtle, as I have already shown, were the divisions of the Divine Spirit which was thought to pervade the universe, that every month and day, as Herodotus observes, were consecrated to a particular deity; or, more properly speaking, every month, day, and hour had its own genius or spirit, which was looked upon as a divine emanation. It was according to the favourable or unfavourable influence of these, that they predicted concerning the future events of the life of an individual from the day of his birth: 'his good or bad fortune were thence foretold, as well as the part he was about to perform in after-life, and the sort of death which would terminate his career.'[4] We are therefore not surprised to find every city of Egypt with its peculiar

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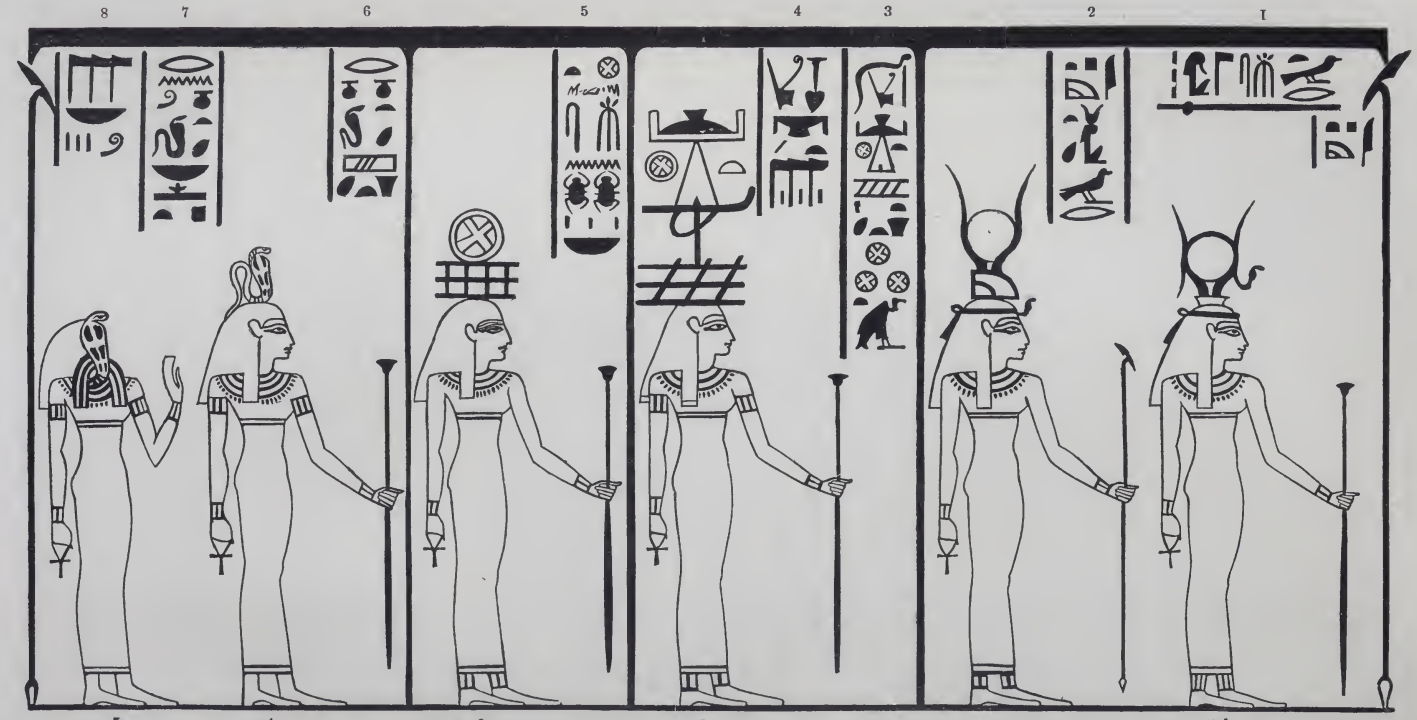
[1] תֵּבָה. The word is the same as the Egyptian, which meant a box, basket, or cage, and is the same as *teb*, a seal or closed object. It is radically different from Thebai.—S. B.

[2] Plin. v. 9.

[3] Juv. Sat. xv. 6.

[4] Herodot. ii. 82.



1. 'Ap.t, great producer of the gods.' 2. 'Ap.t, the great . . .' 3, 4. 'Said by Tentyris, ruler of cities, the mother . . . gold of the gods.' 5. 'Bak, producer of all types.' 6. 'Rannu, the first . . .' 7, 8. 'Rannu, mistress of the supplies of all gods.'

genius, as well as a presiding deity; though the respect paid to it did not extend beyond the precincts of the town, or the nome to which it belonged.

The name of Tentyris, where Athor was particularly worshipped, was probably a modification of Thy-n-athor (shortened into Tynator and Tentore), signifying the abode of Athor. The Coptic name is Tentore. The hieroglyphic legend of the goddess, the genius of the place, presents the name of the town; and this group is generally added to her head-dress, followed even by the sign 'land.'

The genius of the 'land'[1] was represented as a goddess, bearing on her head the symbolic hieroglyphics signifying 'land' and 'cultivated country.' She was styled 'Mother of all the Regions,' and may therefore be considered an abstract notion applying to the earth generally, or to Egypt as the mother and chief of all.

It must be confessed that Earth, the great mother, ought to hold a more important post in the mythology of Egypt than the deity before us, however low might be the rank of physical objects compared to that of the great gods of their Pantheon. The Greeks considered the earth as the mother, as the heaven was the father of all;[2] and Varro[3] supposes them to have been the chief deities. But when he tells us they were the same as Sarapis and Isis in Egypt, he betrays great ignorance of the religion of that country. It is probable that the Greeks paid them much greater honours than they received in Egypt, where there is reason to believe the earth was only revered as the abstract idea of a combination with the divine power for the exercise of the creative agency.

The goddess Rannu, represented with the head of an asp, is common in the oldest temples. She is frequently employed as the nurse of the young princes, whose early education was supposed to be entrusted to her care, and she presided over gardens as well as the god Khem. Athor and Mut are also represented suckling the young princes in temples of the oldest times; and instances occur of the former under the form of a cow, her emblem, performing the same office for the young Rameses. But this was more particularly the part of the asp-

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[1] The hieroglyphic supposed to be a kind of cake or biscuit is found in the texts as determinative of the name of all Egyptian cities and nomes. It is also determinative of the word *tema*, 'town' or 'village.' The word *bak* is rarely found.—S. B.

[2] Plut. de Plac. Philosoph. i. 6.

[3] Varro, de Ling. Lat. lib. iv. &c.

headed Rannu. This goddess was also represented under the form of an asp, crowned with long feathers and a disk and horns, or as a female figure bearing an asp upon her head, which, as I have already observed, was sacred to her, as to the god Chnoumis, and which was probably the Agathodæmon of Eusebius.

There is another asp-headed goddess, whose name is written Hoph, or T-hoph, which calls to mind the snake *Hefi*. The Coptic word *hof* signifies the viper, analogous to the *hye* of the Arabs. She has some office in Amenti, but does not appear to be related to the deity before us.

The snake Bai also appears to have been figured as a goddess, and sometimes under its own form, as guardian of the doorways of those chambers of the tombs which represent the mansions of heaven.

Another snake-headed goddess has the name Heh, or Hih.[1] She occurs at Denderah and Philæ. I am not aware of her office. Other goddesses with the head of a snake occur in the chamber of Osiris at Philæ; but as their office relates to the dead, they may only be connected with the genii of Amenti.

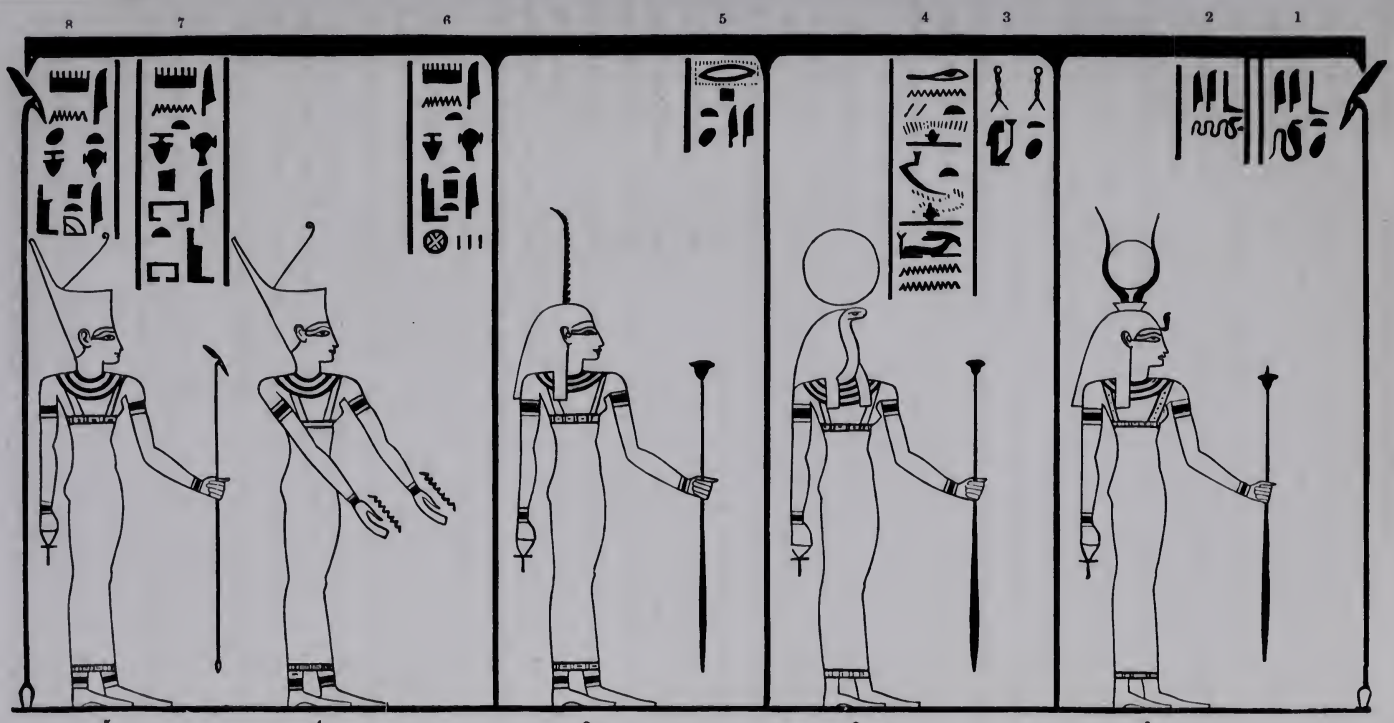
From the palm-branch which the goddess Renpi bears on her head, I have supposed her to denote the year, which in Egyptian is called Renpa, and in Coptic *rompi*, though from the comparison of different legends it appears that her name in the hieroglyphics does not read Renpa, but Rpe, which resembles the word *erpe*, 'a temple.' The palm-branch, however, favours the conjecture that she represented the deified notion of the year.

In her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the goddesses, and sometimes a palm-branch, with the emblems of a hundred thousand years, as well as the figurative sign of the assemblies, which marked fixed periods of time.

The deity of a month may very properly be considered Thoth, or the moon; but the figures representing some other divisions of time, as well as the three seasons, are still unknown.

The goddess Ament, who frequently occurs at Thebes, has been considered a female Amen; the only difference between her name and that of the Egyptian Jupiter being the addition of the female sign, or article, *t*. She is also styled 'the President

[1] The name of this goddess means a long period of time, more than a cycle and less than eternity, such as an *aion* or 'age.' She is called 'maker of invisible, creator of visible beings.'—S. B.



1, 2. 'Bai.' 3, 4. 'Heh, maker of invisible, creator of visible beings.' 5. 'Re[n]pi, the year.' 6, 7, 8. 'Ament, dwelling in the midst of Thebes.'

of Thebes.' She wears the crown of the Lower Country, like the goddess Neith, and she sometimes bears in either hand the sign of 'water.' From her name she might be mistaken for the West, *Ement*, or the lower regions, *Amenti*. But the absence of the demonstrative signs indicating either of them sufficiently contradicts this opinion: and from her rank as second member of the second Theban triad, composed of Amen Generator, Tamen, and Harka, it is evident that her character and office were very different from either of those two. She may be one of the forms of the Egyptian Minerva.[1]

From the hieroglyphics of the goddess Nebhotep we may suppose her to represent the abstract idea of dominion; and the presence of the vulture and asp together on her head-dress may perhaps tend to confirm this opinion, though they were not exclusively appropriated to her. She also wears the globe and horns of Athor in common with many other goddesses. Her name occurs in the temple of Rameses III. at Medeenet Haboo: she is therefore of an early Pharaonic age.[2]

Besides the sacred cow of Athor, was another, supposed by the learned Kircher to be dedicated to the moon, whom he considers the same as Isis; but from the hieroglyphic legend given by Champollion, in which she is styled 'Genetrix of the Sun,' she seems rather to be the darkness of Chaos, 'which was upon the face of the deep,' and from which sprang the light of the sun. He therefore supposes her to be one of the characters of Buto, though, from a legend accompanying another figure he gives of the same cow, it appears that she was sometimes identified with Neith, whose name precedes that of Aha. She is sometimes represented as a female figure with a cow's head, and the globe and horns of Athor surmounted by two ostrich-plumes; and her name Aha, 'the Cow,' is followed by its figurative hieroglyphic, or demonstrative sign. The name Aha was evidently the origin of the Greek Io, though I am inclined to think that persecuted wanderer to be derived from the history and emblem of Athor, or from Isis, rather than from the goddess before us.[3]

The consecration of every month and day to a particular deity, mentioned by Herodotus, is more than confirmed by the

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[1] Her type is that of Neith.—S. B.

[2] This goddess is one of the parhedral deities of Heliopolis associated with Ra and Tum. Her name means 'lady of peace, or of offering.'—S. B.

[3] Eustathius says, 'Io, in the language of the Argives, is the moon.' (Jablonski, ii. c. 1, p. 7; and *suprà*, p. 166, on Thoth.)

fact of our finding the hours themselves treated as divinities. But it is possible that the statement of the historian may only refer to the almanacs, where, according to Chæremon, the names of the gods appeared affixed to each day, in the same manner as those of saints in modern calendars. According to the Egyptian system, the hours were not merely dedicated to particular deities: each was considered a peculiar genius in itself, a minute fraction of the divine essence which pervaded it; and, if not worshipped with the same honours as the superior gods, prayers were addressed to them with the hope of rendering them favourable to the individual who invoked their aid. The hours are frequently found in tombs and on sarcophagi, where the deceased is represented either praying or making an offering to each in succession, beginning with the first and terminating with the twelfth hour, both of day and night. From not finding them in any temple, I suppose that their introduction implies a review of the hourly occupations of the individual during his life, and that these deities or genii were principally connected with the final ordeal of the dead.

[The hours, Plate XLVII., were called in Egyptian Unnu, a word meaning 'apparent, visible, or actual,' and the word is written in various manners. Each hour of the day and night had a name, as will be seen in the accompanying plate of those there represented. They bore on their heads stars, showing that the division of time was sidereal, and they held the *uas*, or sceptre, and emblem of life.—S. B.]

The first of those here introduced, No. 7, is the eighth hour of *day*, No. 6 the twelfth hour, No. 5 the tenth hour, and No. 8 the tenth hour of *night;* which last is written phonetically *karh*, the Coptic *edjorh*,[1] 'night.' Macrobius[2] supposes that Apollo, being called *Horus* by the Egyptians, 'gave his name to the twenty-four *hours* of day and night, as to the four *seasons*, during which he completes his annual course;' and the same is stated by Diodorus[3] to be the opinion of some of the Greeks.

The three figures of hawk and jackal-headed deities on Plate XLVII., No. 4, are common in the tombs of Thebes, but I do not

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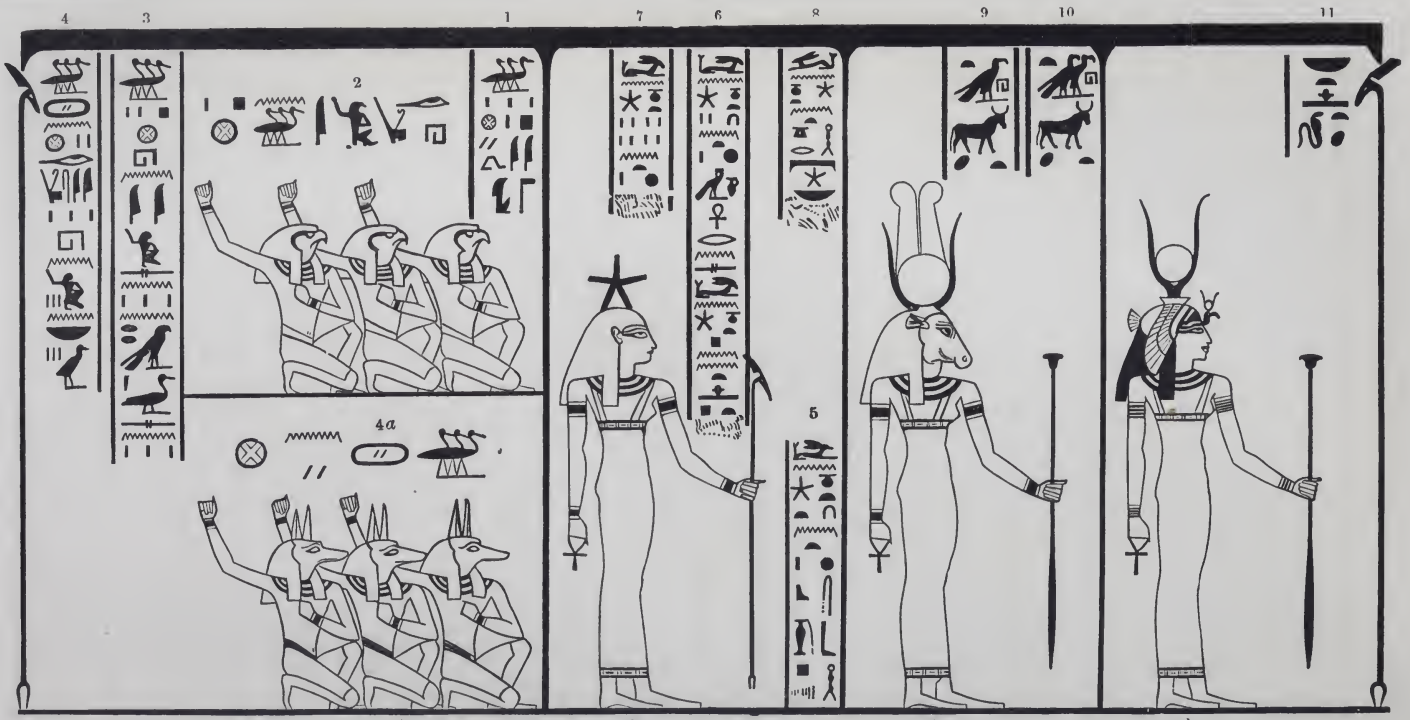
[1] ϵϫωρϩ. The Coptic letter ϫ, *genga*, is a hard *g*, and not *dj;* and from this the Cairenes have probably derived their hard pronunciation of the Arabic ج *gim*, or *g*, which in Arabia and other places is always soft. It is, however, supposed that it was originally hard in Arabic, like the Hebrew *gimel*.

[2] Macrob. Saturn. lib. i. c. 26.

[3] Diodor. i. 26.



1, 3. 'The spirits of Pe, or Buto.' 2. 'Ra makes a salutation to the spirits of But. The spirits of Pe address Harmachis their son.' 4, 4*a*. 'The spirits of Nexeni address the lord.' 5. 'The tenth hour of the day, Sqab-hepi.' 6. 'The twelfth hour of the day, Numankh is her name. It is the hour of sunset.' 7. 'The eighth hour of the day.' 8. 'The hour of night.' 9, 10. 'The Cow.' 11. 'Nebhotep.'

know their office. Two large figures of the hawk-headed deity, with similar hieroglyphic legends, are conducting, together with the jackal-headed and other deities, Rameses III. into the presence of the god of the temple at Medeenet Haboo. These kneeling figures seem to be beating themselves in the manner the Egyptians are said by Herodotus to have done (in honour of Osiris), and as Athenagoras tells us was the custom at all the great festivals celebrated in the temples. They are sometimes represented in the same attitude before the god Atum; and from their hieroglyphic legend we may suppose them to be the spirits who pervaded the earth.[1]

The four genii of the lower regions on Plate XLVIII. perform a conspicuous part in the ceremonies of the dead. They are present before Osiris while presiding in judgment, and every individual who passed into a future state was protected by their influence. When a body was embalmed, the intestines were taken out and divided into several portions, each being dedicated to one of these deities; and they were either deposited in vases,[2] which bore their respective heads, or were returned into the body accompanied by these four figures. Amset, Hapi, Tuautmutf, and Qabhsenuf, were their names. The first had the head of a man,[3] and was sometimes represented holding the staff, and having the form of the other deities, but only in the tombs; the second had the head of a cynocephalus ape, the third of a jackal, and the fourth of a hawk; and, though differing from them in form, they cannot fail to call to mind the four beasts of the Revelation.[4] They were generally in the form of mummies; but they sometimes occur as human figures walking, and even carrying the body of the dead, as in the chamber of Osiris at Philæ, where they bear the deity to his tomb under the form of Socharis. To Amset were dedicated the stomach and large intestines; to Hapi the small intestines; to Tuautmutf the lungs and heart; and to Qabhsenuf the liver and gall-bladder. This point was long a desideratum; and though it was known that the four vases, placed in the Egyptian tombs with the sarcophagi, each

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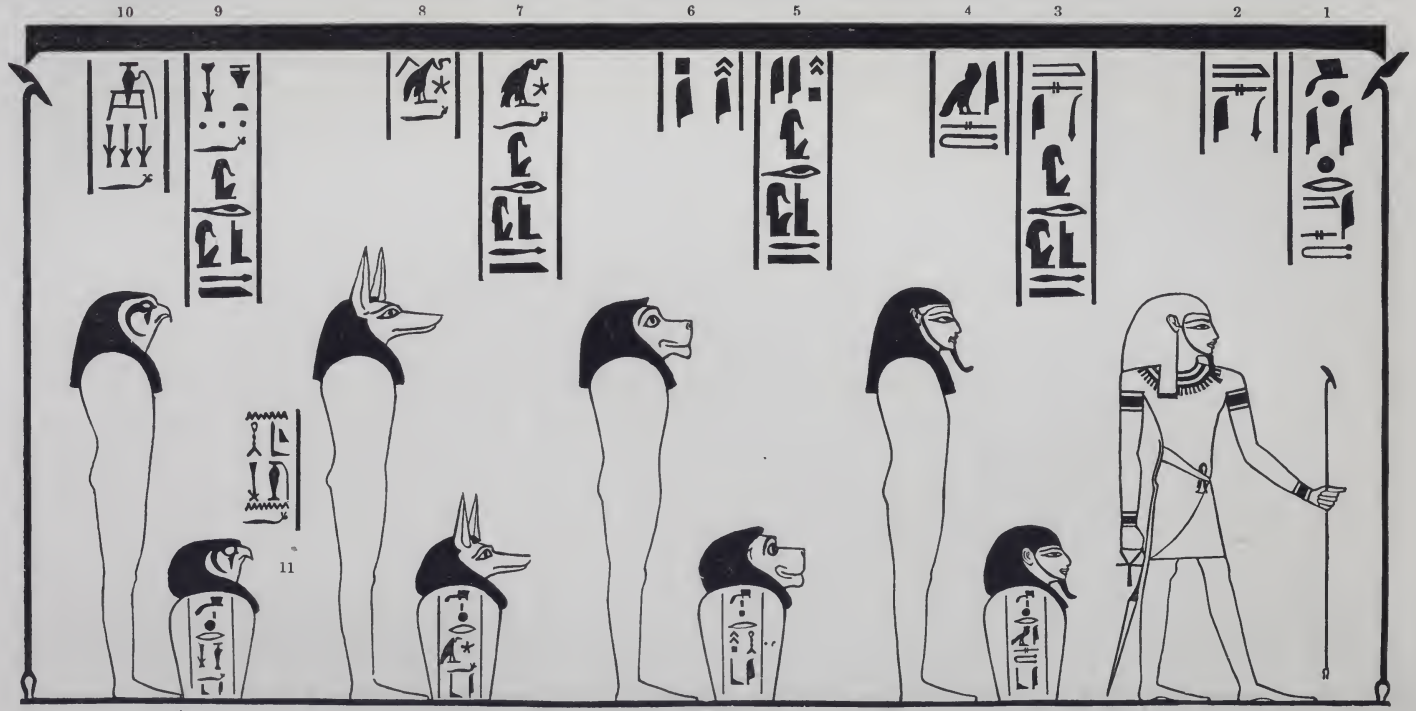
[1] These spirits are addressed in the 111th and 112th chapters of the Ritual. (Lepsius, 'Todt.,' xlii.–xliii., c. 111–113.) The spirits of Pe or Buto are Horus, Amset, and Hapi; those of Meni, Horus, Tuautmutf, and Qabhsenuf. According to M. de Rougé, the hawk-headed represented the spirits of earth adoring in presence of the sun. Their name was Ammu.—S. B.

[2] These vases have been improperly styled canopi.

[3] I have found one instance of Amset in the form of a woman, on a mummy-case in the British Museum.

[4] Rev. iv. 7.



The Four Genii of Hades.

1. 'Devoted to Amset.' 2, 4. 'Amset.' 3. 'Amset, Osiris justified.' 5. 'Hapi, Osiris justified.' 6. 'Hapi.' 7. 'Tuautmutf, Osiris justified.' 8. 'Tuautmutf.' 9. 'Qabhsenuf, Osiris justified.' 10, 11. 'Qabhsenuf.'

of which bore the head of one of these genii, contained the intestines of the dead, no one had examined them with sufficient care to ascertain the exact portion in each. To Pettigrew we are indebted for this interesting fact; and in introducing it I have much pleasure in paying a just tribute to the patience and zeal with which he conducted the examination, and in returning him my thanks for his communication upon the subject. I have already noticed the assertion of Plutarch, that the Mendesian goat had the same name as the sacred bull Apis; and have shown that the only deities so called were the Memphite bull, the god Nilus, and one of the genii of Amenti. Though we may find a difficulty in accounting for such a misconception, it is more probable that this last, which was represented with the head of a cynocephalus, should have been mistaken for the animal he mentions than the god Nilus. And as he doubtless speaks from a vague report, originating in the ignorance of the Greeks, it is possible that the form of the ape-headed figure, added to the similarity of name, led to his error; which, indeed, is not more inconsistent with truth than the belief of Herodotus that the god Pan was represented with the head and legs of a goat.[1] One inference may perhaps be drawn from these erroneous statements—that the name Apis, Hapi, signifies a 'genius' or 'emblem;' Apis being the 'genius,' or, as Plutarch calls it, 'the image of the soul' of Osiris. Hapimau may therefore be the genius of the water, or the Nile; and the cynocephalus-headed Hapi, the emblem of the terrestrial nature of man. This conjecture, however, I offer, with great diffidence, to the opinion of the learned reader.

When the body of a person of quality was embalmed, the intestines were deposited in four vases of alabaster, or other costly materials, according to the expense which the friends of the deceased chose to incur. Some were contented with those of cheaper materials, as limestone, painted wood, or pottery; but in all cases the cover of each vase was surmounted by the head of its own peculiar deity, according to its contents. In embalming the bodies of poorer people, who could not afford this expense, the intestines, when properly cleansed, were returned into the body by the usual incision in the left side, through which they had been extracted; and the figures of the four genii, generally of wax, or aromatic composition, enveloped in cloth,

[1] Herodot. ii. 46.

were introduced into the cavity. This was done with the same view of protecting the parts under their peculiar influence as when they were deposited in the vases. The aperture was afterwards closed, and covered with a leaden plate, on which they represented the symbolic eye, or sometimes the same four genii who were thought to preside within. But I shall have occasion to mention this hereafter in describing the funeral rites of the Egyptians, where I shall also notice the error of Porphyry respecting their throwing the intestines into the Nile. The hieroglyphic legends painted on the exterior of the vases alluded to the deity whose head they bore, and it is principally from these that their names have been ascertained.[1] The goddess Selk is sometimes found accompanying the four genii, in the paintings of the tombs, and I have once found an instance of Tuautmutf with a human head. The name of Amenti, 'that subterraneous region whither they imagined the souls of the dead to go after their decease,'[2] signified, according to Plutarch, 'the receiver and giver;' in which we may perhaps trace a proof of its being considered a temporary abode. The burial of arms and different objects of use or value with the body may also indicate their belief of a future return to earth, after a certain time, which is said by Herodotus to have been fixed at 3000 years; though Plato gives this period to a philosopher, and 10,000 to an ordinary individual. The resemblance of the names Amenti, 'Hades,' and Ement, 'the West,' is remarkable. This last was looked upon as the end, as the east was the beginning, of the world. There the sun was buried in the darkness of night, and there he was supposed allegorically to die and pass through another state, previous to his regeneration and reappearance upon earth, after each diurnal revolution. This analogy between them cannot fail to call to mind the similarity of the Hebrew word *Ereb*, or *Gharb*,[3] signifying 'sunset,' or 'the West,' and the Erebus of Greece.

Clemens[4] says that ancient temples were turned towards the West; but this was not the case in Egypt, where the points of the compass do not appear at any time to have been points of religion, at least as regards the position of their sacred buildings, no two of which are made to face exactly in the same direction.

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[1] In these sepulchral vases having the shape of the deities the deceased was supposed to be in the shape of each deity. —S. B.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 29.

[3] The *Gharb*, 'West,' of the Arabs; and Europe is *Arb* or *Gharb*, 'the West.'

[4] Clem. Strom. vii.

THE FORTY-TWO DEMONS OF THE DEAD

Nor does his assertion,[1] that temples were formerly styled tombs, apply to those of the Egyptians.[2]

The number of the assessors who attended at the final judgment was forty-two. They frequently occur in funeral rituals, on sarcophagi, tombs, and papyri. I have also found them complete in the side adytum of a temple at Thebes, which, from the subjects there represented, appears to have been appropriated to funeral purposes. Diodorus[3] speaks of 'Osiris and the assessors seated below him,' whose approbation King Osymandyas hoped to obtain after death by his piety, in presenting to the gods of Egypt such offerings as were peculiarly acceptable to them; and the forty-two judges he mentions,[4] at the sacred lake of the dead, were a type of those who, in the region of Amenti, pronounced their acquittal or condemnation of the soul, when it sought admittance to the Regions of the Blessed.

These assessors were similar to the bench of judges who attended at the ordinary tribunals of the Egyptians, and whose president, or archjudge, corresponded to Osiris. They may perhaps call to mind the four-and-twenty elders mentioned in Revelation,[5] as the four genii of Amenti appear to bear some analogy to the four beasts who were present with them before the judgment-seat. The assessors were represented in a human form with different heads. The first had the head of a hawk, the second of a man, the third of a hare, the fourth of a hippopotamus, the fifth of a man, the sixth of a hawk, the seventh of a fox, the eighth of a man, the ninth of a ram, the tenth of a snake, and the others according to their peculiar character. But to avoid a tedious detail, I refer the reader to the plate, from which it will be seen that they varied in different rituals, though the number, when complete, was always the same.

They are supposed to represent the forty-two crimes from which a virtuous man was expected to be free when judged in a future state, or rather the accusing spirits, each of whom examined if the deceased was guilty of the peculiar one which it was his province to avenge. They were distinct from the thirty-six dæmons mentioned by Origen. These presided over the human body, which was divided into the same number of parts, each appropriated to one of them; and they were often

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[1] Clem. Orat. Adhort. p. 19.

[2] These were the children of Osiris.—S. B.

[3] Diod. i. 49, 92.

[4] One (the *Codex Coislinianus*) reading gives δύσι πλείω τῶν τεσσαράκοντα (i. 29).

[5] Rev. iv. 4, xix. 4, &c.

invoked to cure the infirmities of the peculiar member immediately under their protection.[1]

There is a monster supposed to be the guardian of the Lower Regions, or the accusing spirit. It is more probably the former, being seated near the entrance to the abode of Osiris, and called Am-t-en-Amenti, 'the Devourer of Amenti,' and 'of the wicked.'[2] It has the form of a hippopotamus, a peculiarly Typhonian animal; sometimes with the head of a fanciful creature, partaking of the hippopotamus and the crocodile; and it is frequently represented as a female. Seated at the entrance of Amenti, it watches the arrival of those who present themselves for judgment, and, turning its hideous head with angry looks, appears to menace the wicked who dare to approach the holy mansion of Osiris. This monster was the prototype of the Greek Cerberus; but the lively imagination of the Greeks improved upon or exaggerated the deformity: its neck was said to bristle with snakes; it was represented with three, or with fifty heads; and Virgil[3] and others describe its rapacity, and the terror it was supposed to cause.

I now proceed to examine the form or attributes of those deities whose names are unknown.

The first of these is a goddess (Plate LI. *fig.* 1), whose hieroglyphics appear to read Tanen. She wears the globe and horns of Athor, and is styled the Daughter of the Sun; but her office is not defined. She is found in the old temples of a Pharaonic age. Her function is obscure. Her name was the same as one of the god Ptah.

The next two figures of this plate (2 and 3) contain those of Tusaas, daughter of the sun, regent of Heliopolis, and allied with the worship of Ra and Tum.

The name of the deity at *fig.* 4 reads Hu. His form and office are unknown. He occurs in temples of a Pharaonic age, the annexed figure being from Medeenet Haboo at Thebes. [He personifies food or taste, and is often seen in the boat of the sun, allied with the god Sa.—S. B.]

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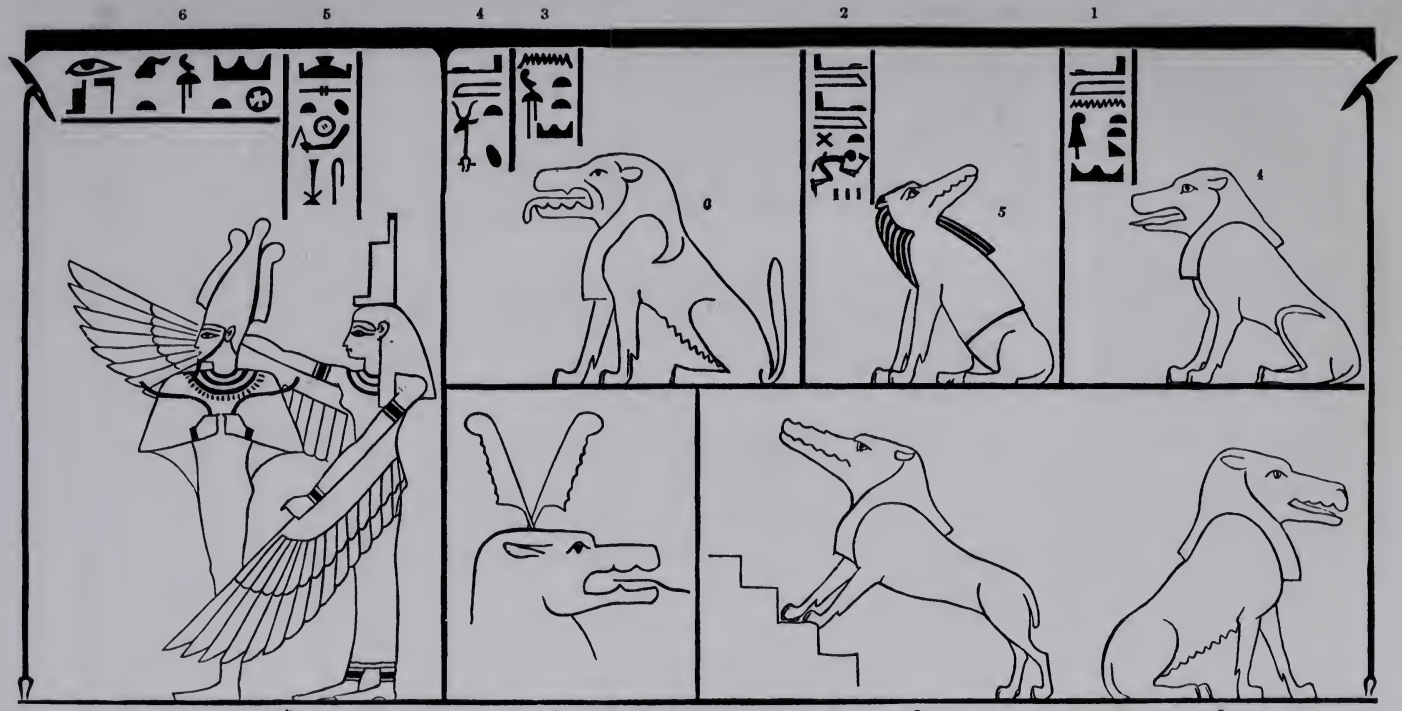
[1] These forty-two dæmons formed part of the vignette of the 128th chapter of the Ritual, and were present at the great judgment in the Hall of the Two Truths. Each of the forty-two had an appropriate name—as, 1. 'Uammt, or devourer, proceeding from Panopolis;' 18. 'Nahabnefer, goodneck, proceeding from Heliopolis;' 16. 'Hi, assistant, proceeding from the Nu, or Han, celestial ether;' 21. 'Anref, bringing the month, proceeding from Karneter or Hell.' To each the deceased announced he had not committed some sin.—S. B.

[2] The sign 'wicked' is a man killing himself by beating his own head with a hatchet or club, according to Champollion's ingenious interpretation.

[3] Virg. Æn. vi. 421.

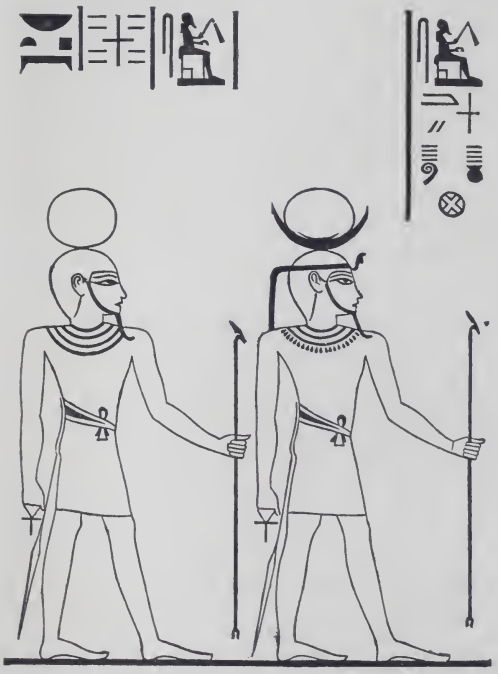


Amt or Cerberus.

1, 3, 4. 'Amt, devourer of the west.' 2. 'Am-χetf, devourer of the wicked.' 5. 'Isis protecting her brother.' 6. 'Osiris.'

The name of the god at Plate LI., *fig.* 5, is [Kabak, or Sebak, of whom he appears to be a form as a representative of Seb, whose title he bears as 'Kabak, heir of the gods.'—S. B.] I have only met with him in temples of a late date, as at Denderah.

[The following deity is a form of Tahuti-Aah, or Thoth Lunus, Thoth the Moon.—S. B.] He has the title 'Ruler of the Eighth great Region,' or Hermopolis, which seems to imply some connection with Thoth; and he bears on his head the disk and crescent given to the moon.



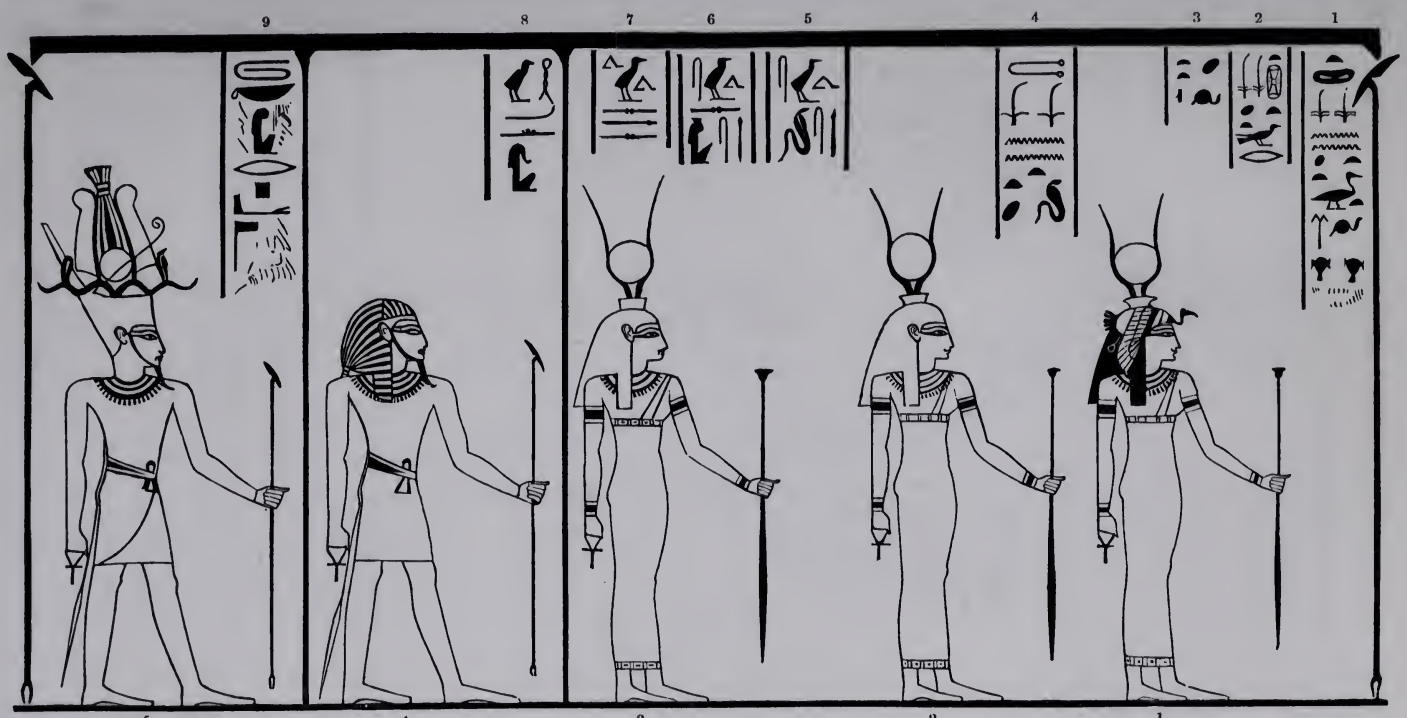
No. 560. Form of Thoth.
'Sheps' in Hermopolis, lord of Heaven.'

No. 561. Satem.
'Satem in the abode of Shu the bull, powerful lord.'

The bull-headed deity (No. 561) appears to have the name Satem or Au; which last signifies 'a bull,' since it frequently occurs over oxen, as the word Aha over cows. I do not, however, suppose him to be connected with the god Au, previously mentioned.[1]

Sept, or Soptet, appears to be the name of the deity in woodcut

[1] He represents *Satem*, or 'Hearing' personified, the one resident in the house of Shu, and has the title 'Lord of Victory.'—S. B.



1. 'Tanen, daughter of the sun, in . . .' 2, 3. 'Tanen, great daughter of the sun.' 4. 'Tanen.' 5–7. 'Tusaas.' 8. 'Hu.' 9. 'Sebak, heir of the gods.'

No. 562. His office is uncertain. This figure is from one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes. His hieroglyphics call to mind those which follow the name of the god Khefra, the *soul* and the *spirits* or *rulers* of the land. [This deity, Sapti or Sapt-har, is a form of Osiris or Horus, principally adored in the Egyptian possessions in Arabia, where he is called Lord of the East. He is supposed to be the entire Osiris, before his destruction by Typhon, and is called in the texts of the tablets 'the greatest of the spirits of Heliopolis.'—S. B.]

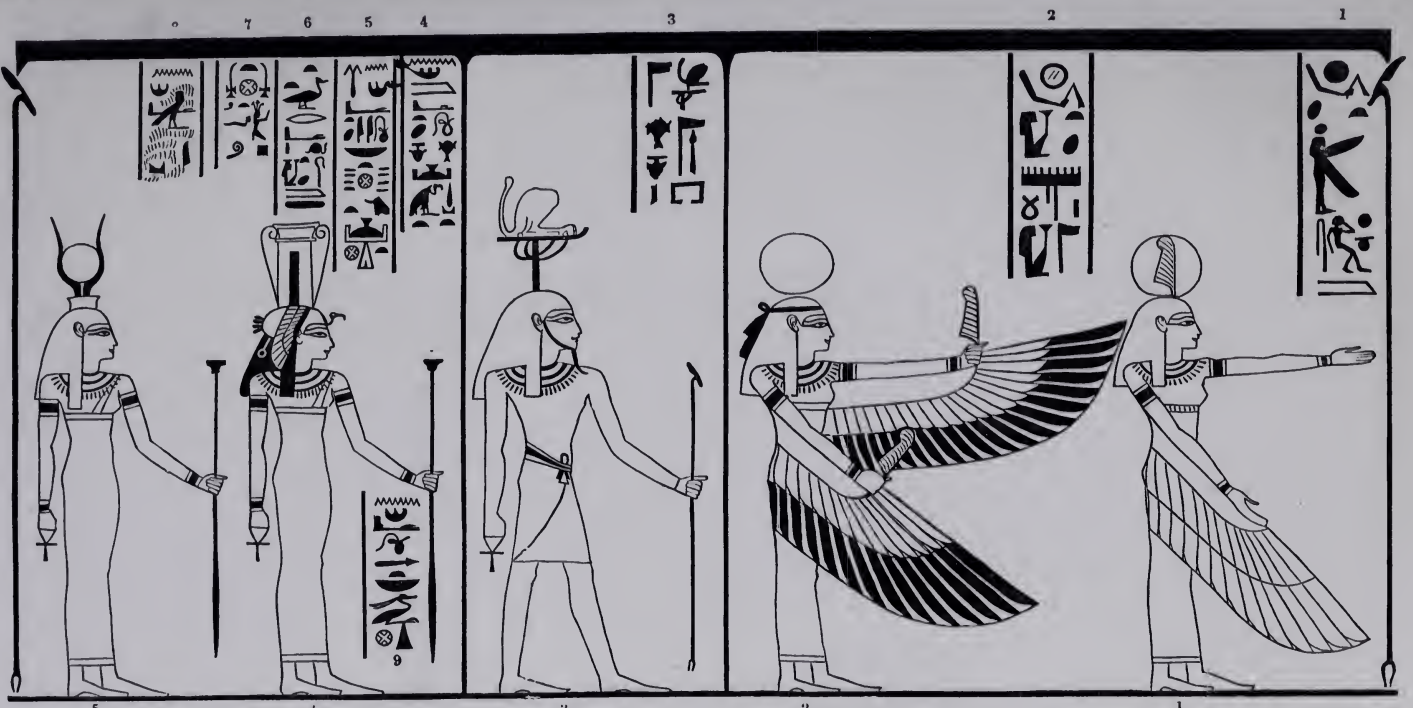
No. 562. Sapti.
'Sapti, noblest of spirits of Heliopolis.'

No. 563. Neith, or Sa, Sais.
'Sa gives life to her son.' 'Daughter of the Sun-supplier.'

The goddess in woodcut No. 563 is represented nursing a child; not as Isis and Athor, but merely holding it on her hand, as though it were entrusted to her charge. Her hieroglyphic consists of a shield crossed by two arrows, which she also bears on her head; but I am ignorant of her name and office.[1]

The goddess represented in Plate LII., *fig.* 1, has the attributes of the goddess Ma, or Truth; *fig.* 2 is one of the characters

[1] She is a form of the goddess Nat or Neith, the living, giving life, the daughter of the sun, and supporter.—S. B.



1. 'Khu protecting her son.' 2. 'Khu-hebs.' 3. 'Heka, great god, in the place of . . . ' 4. 'Naham-ua in T'amut.' 5–7. 'Naham-ua, lady of Hermopolis, resident in Denderah, daughter of the sun, ruling in the district of . . . . She has been . . . ' 8. 'Naham-ua.' 9. 'Naham-ua, mistress of Bah.'

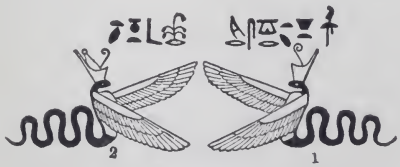
of Isis, as the protecting deity who averts misfortunes from mankind. Her hieroglyphic legend signifies 'defender,' and in the first line is the phonetic name of 'Isis.' She holds the ostrich-feathers, the emblem of truth and justice, and her position with outspread wings is similar to that of Isis when protecting her husband Osiris.[1]

Of the deity at Plate LII. *fig.* 3, I have been unable to ascertain the name and office; but from his having an emblem of strength as his hieroglyphic, which he also bears upon his head, he may be one of the forms of Gom, the Egyptian Hercules.[2]

The name of the goddess at *figs.* 4 and 5 appears to read Naham-ua. She is styled 'Mistress of the Eighth Region [or Hermopolis], Dominatrix of Tentyris,' from which place her figure and hieroglyphics are copied. She is called 'daughter of the sun.' Her head-dress consists of a shrine, from which water-plants are sometimes represented to rise, her head being covered by the body and wings of a vulture. In her hand she holds the usual sceptre of the goddesses. At the quarries of the Troici Lapidis Mons she occurs as the second member of a triad composed of Thoth, this goddess, and Horus or Aroeris. Mention is also made of the goddess Merti or Milt.

No. 564. Naham-ua.

The goddess at Plate LIII. *fig.* 1, is from one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes. Her name appears to read Mersekar, and she is styled 'Ruler of the West,' or of Amenti, the lower regions. She wears the globe and horns of Athor, in common with many other goddesses; and I have found an instance of her under the form of a winged asp, with the cap of the Lower Country, having the same appearance as the genius of Lower Egypt,[3] and opposed in like manner to Eileithyia.



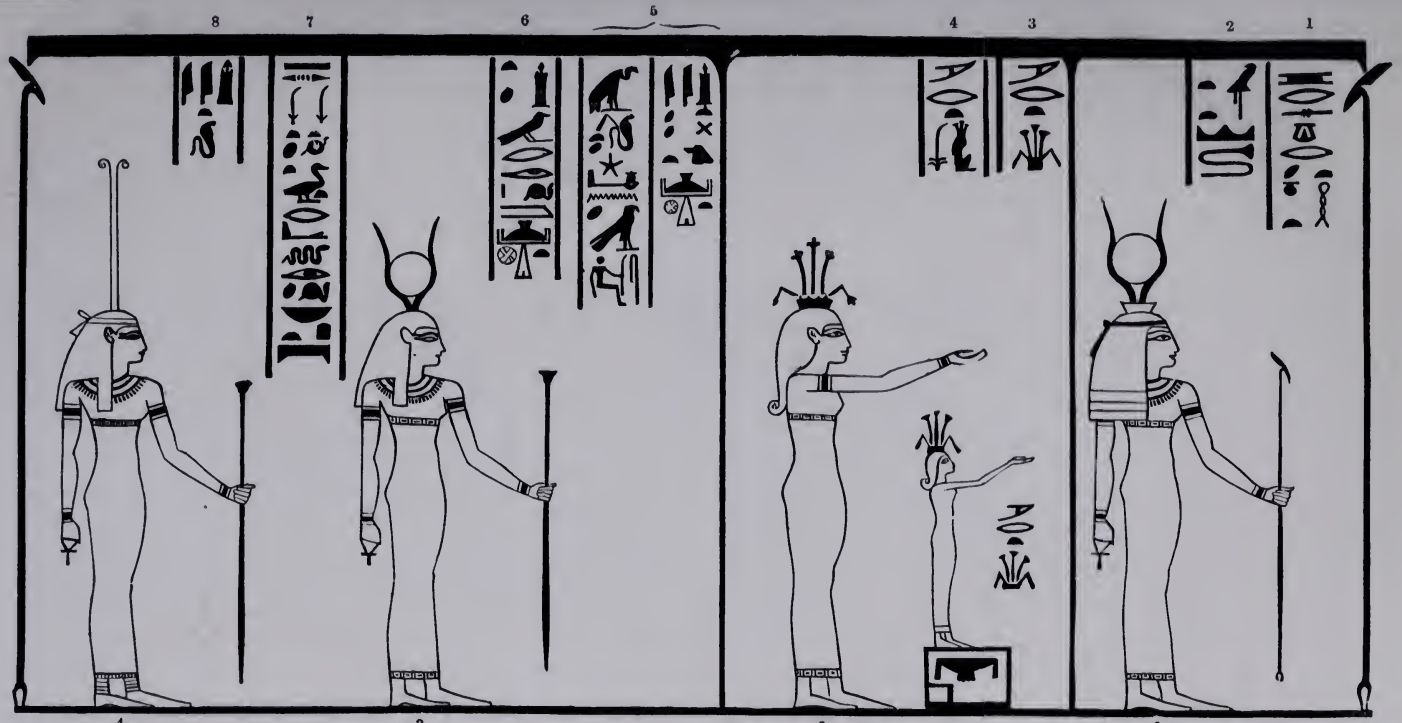
No. 565. *Fig.* 1. Mersekar opposed to Eileithyia, *fig.* 2.

The goddess Mert (*fig.* 2) is frequently met with in the oldest temples, where she always accompanies the king when represented running with a vase and the flagellum of Osiris in his

[1] The legend reads, 'protectress of her son.'

[2] He is called Heka, the great god resident in some place.—S. B.

[3] Her name means 'loving to silence,' and she is often represented as a snake with a human head, wearing a disk and plumes, and is called Regent of the West, and 'the forehead of the western heaven, the place of silence.' (Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 346.)—S. B.



1, 2. 'Mer-sekar, regent of the west . . . ' 3, 4. 'Mert, of the north and south.' 5, 6. 'Ani or Peti, resident in Tentyris, mother-goddess, divine mother of her son Horus.' 7. 'Ani, great pupil of the sun in Tentyris. Tanen, the great daughter of the sun, pupil of the sun, mistress of the heaven.' 8. 'Ani or Peti.'

hands, amidst various emblems. Her name appears to be Milt, or Mert. In the lower regions she has sometimes the united heads of a lion and crocodile, with the globe of Ra and the two long feathers of Amen; but this figure is of rare occurrence, and I believe only in funeral subjects, among the genii or minor deities connected with the dead.

She usually bears on her head a cluster of the northern or southern water-plants, upon a cap terminating in a peculiar form at the back; from which it might seem that she was more particularly connected with the Lower Country, those water-plants being emblematic of that part of Egypt. Sometimes, however, she has those of Upper Egypt; but the more frequent assumption of the former sufficiently proves that her name was not Marés,[1] one of the appellations of the Thebaïd.

The name of the deity at Plate LIII. *fig.* 3, is uncertain. I had supposed her to represent Phut, or Libya; but this opinion does not seem to be supported by subsequent observations. She was one of the contemplar deities of Tentyris, and occurs also at Thebes; but at Esneh her hieroglyphics are totally different, or may, indeed, be of another goddess who has assumed her form and attributes.[2]

The snake-headed god at Pl. LIV. *fig.* 1, seems to be related to Horus. His figure seldom occurs. This is from Denderah.[3] I have seen some bronzes of the same god.

The deity named Ras or Sas was probably one of the characters of Osiris. His name is sometimes followed by the emblem of stability, sometimes by that of goodness—both belonging to Osiris, whose head-dress he wears. I have only met with him at Philæ and Dendoor, in sculptures of a Ptolemaic or Roman period.

The name of the goddess Ra-ta is composed of Ra, 'the sun,' and Ta, 'the world.' She is called 'Regent of the Gods,' and occurs in the oldest temples, wearing the globe and horns of Athor. At Tuot or Tuphium and Hermonthis she is the second member of the triad, of which Mentu is the principal divinity.

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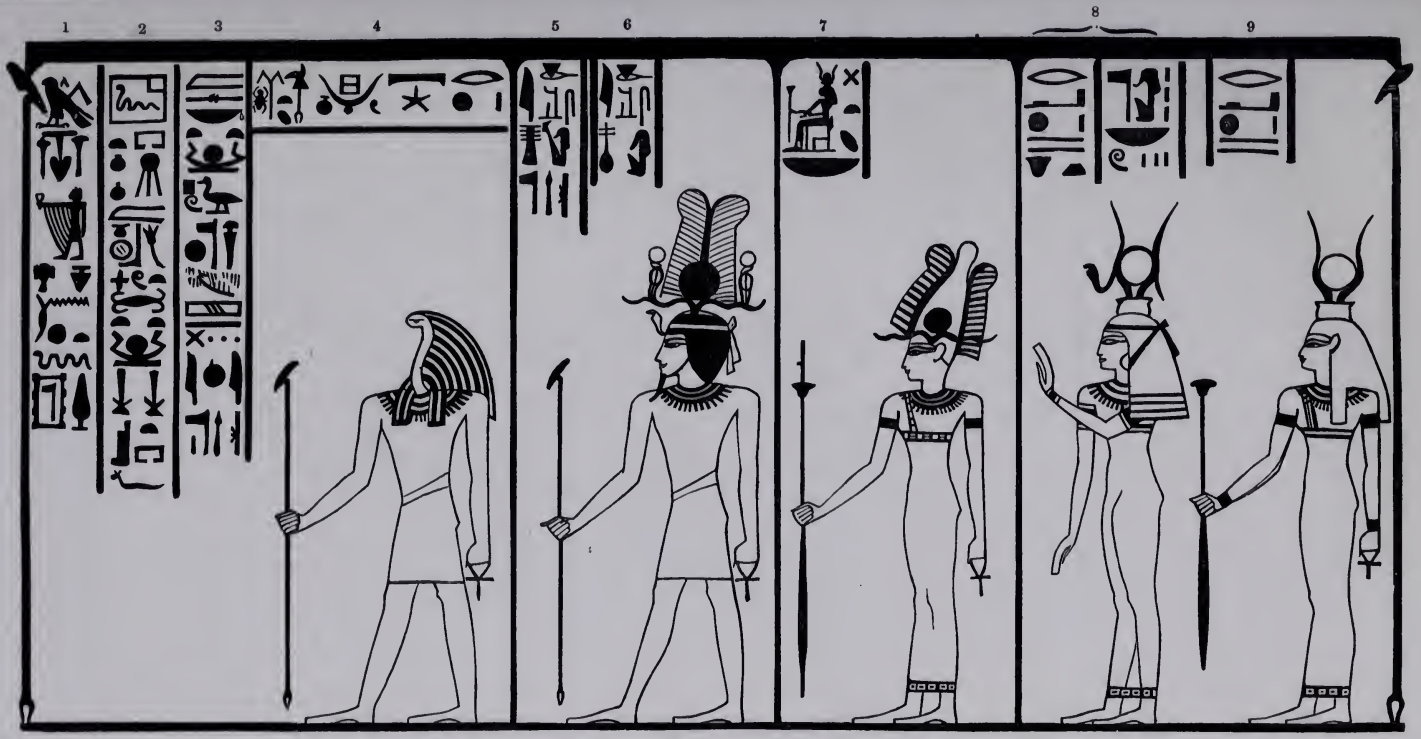
[1] Whence the modern Egyptian name *Merées*, or Mereesee, given to the south wind.

[2] Her name, as also that of *fig.* 4, Plate LIII., is Ani or Peti. She is called 'resident in Tentyris, mother-goddess, divine mother of Horus her son,' and 'Ani the great pupil or eye of the sun in Tentyris.' She was a form of Hathor. The other goddess with spiral is the distinct Ta-nen, 'daughter of the sun, pupil of the sun, lady of heaven.'—S. B.

[3] His titles describe him as 'Horus united of the North and South Countries, resident in Aahen[ru], the lord dwelling in the . . . , shining in the hills, placed in the boat Mat, taking his place in the boat Seket.' He is 'son of Ra, the first resident in the region of the tomb, great god in . . . , ordering night and day.'—S. B.



1 Horus. 2 Ras. 3 Isis. 4 Ra-ta.

1–4. 'Horus united of the South and North Countries, dwelling in Aahen, the god dwelling in the divine abode, shining in the lily in the boat of the sun, going in the boat of the sun. He is the son of Ra, the first dwelling in the tombs, great god in power, regulating night and day.' 5. 'Ras Tatt.' 6. 'Ras-nefer, As, or Athor, the lady.' 7. 'Isis.' 8. 'Ra-ta, regent of gods.' 9. 'Ra-ta.'

The name of the god in Plate LV., *figs.* 1, 4, 5, is Reshpu: his form is very peculiar, and from his attributes he claims the title of God of War. He is sometimes represented with a spear in his hand; sometimes bearing in his left hand a spear and shield, while with the other he wields a battle-axe, as if in the act of striking; a quiver full of arrows being suspended at his back. He wears the helmet or crown of the Upper Country, in front of which projects, in lieu of the usual asp, the head of an oryx, a gazelle, or a goat. He sometimes occurs with a goddess, who, standing on a lion or on two crocodiles, holds out towards him two emblems resembling snakes with one hand, and with the other a bundle of lotus-flowers, apparently as an offering to the god Khem. Connected with this group are figures in the act of fighting, which would imply that the subject was emblematic of war.

It may reasonably be supposed that the Egyptian Mars did not hold a very high rank in their Pantheon. His character was not connected with the operations of the deity; nor did a god of war present any abstract notion of a divine attribute, unless it were as the avenging power. This, indeed, appears, as already stated, to have been represented by Mentu—in which character he probably answered to the Mars Ultor of Rome, and to the Ares mentioned by Hermapion in his inscription translated from the obelisk of Rameses. Reshpu occurs on tablets, but not in any of the temples of Egypt.[1]

[The Asiatic goddess of war, Anta, Anath, and perhaps Anoutis (Plate LVI., *fig.* 1), was introduced at the time of the 18th Dynasty, for none occur older than Amenophis I., and her worship chiefly flourished at that period. She formed part of a group of foreign deities introduced at the period. Amongst them was Baal, probably a form of Besa, as the Egyptian Besa is of common occurrence on the Phœnician scarabæi, and appears on the coins of the Island of Gaulos. Another deity mentioned in the papyri and texts is Astaruta or Ashtaroth, but her form has not been found represented on the monuments.

Amongst the other varieties of inferior types is that of Sapt, lord of the land of Sat or Eastern foreigners, the desert, and lord

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[1] The god Reshpu was an Asiatic god, and represented the Reseph of the Phœnicians, and as Reseph Michal the Apollo Amyclæus of the Greeks. He is represented in the company of the goddess Ken or Ket, and Anta, the goddess of war. His titles are 'great god, lord of heaven,' and in this capacity he wears the Upper crown, *hut.*—S. B.

1. 'Ket, mistress of heaven.' 2–4. 'Reshpu, the great god, lord of heaven, ruler of gods.' 5–7. 'Khem, or Amsi, great, with tall plumes, lifting the arm at peace, through his whip.' 8. 'Reshpu, great god.' 9–11. [To] 'Reshpu, great god, lord of heaven, [from] Hesunebef justified, a judge.'

of the East (Plate LVI., *fig.* 2). The figure is from a stone tablet of the time of Usertesen II., found at the temple of Wády Gasoos, in the desert near Kossayr.

The deity who is next represented is probably Anhar, or, as his name is given in the Greek papyri, Onouris. His name means 'conductor of the heaven,' and he generally wears a plume of four hawk's feathers on his head. He often has a cord in his hand. He is called by the Greeks Mars, and as a form of Shu is seen in conflict with the Aphôphis, the daily enemy of the sun, finally divided into birds, beasts, and fishes. —S. B.]

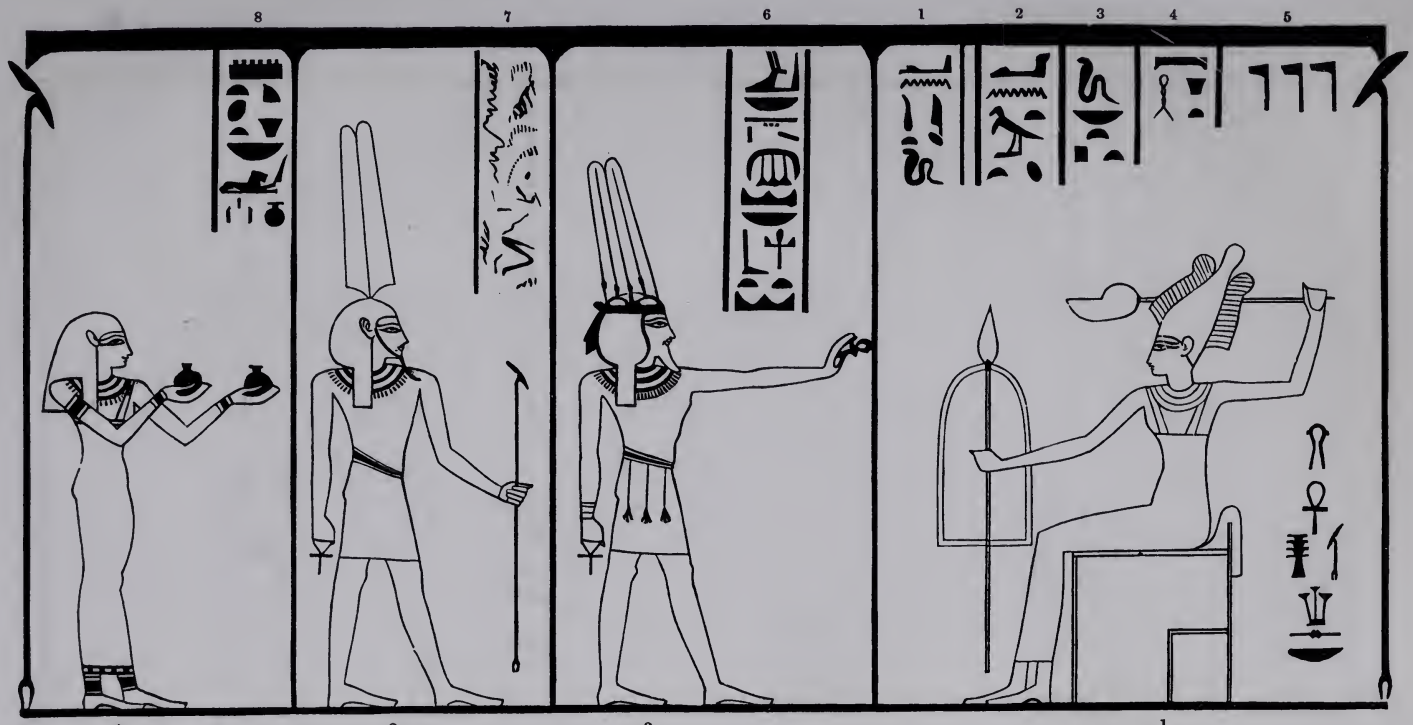
The fourth figure has the name Menq, or Menqt, in her peaceable occupation of presenting two vases. She is probably a form of Sekhet or Bast.

The lion-headed god in Plate LVII. is seldom met with in the Egyptian sculptures, and never, I believe, in temples of a very early epoch. The first figure is from the temple of Denderah, which is of Ptolemaic and Roman date; the second is from Dabód, where he accompanies the god Amen, to whom a Cæsar is making offerings.[1] He has a lion as his hieroglyphic. The second figure is called 'the great lion-god, very valiant.' The third [of Shuu] has not a lion's head, but that animal is introduced as a demonstrative sign after his hieroglyphic name, which reads Shuu or Mui, signifying 'Lion.' The fourth has also a lion as the demonstrative sign, and may be the same as the last deity [and is called 'Uu, perhaps for Shuu, great son of Neith']. They are of late time; and being copied from monuments imperfectly preserved, the legends are uncertain.

The name of the goddess with a lion's head, *fig.* 5, appears to read Ra.t; but I am ignorant of her character and office. [She is called the 'very great, the female Horus.']

The name of the goddess in Plate LVIII. *fig.* 1, is uncertain. She has an eye upon her head; and she sometimes stands in an

[1] The name of this god is Mat'et, and he was one of the dæmons of the Egyptian Karneter or Hades. In chapter xvii. of the Ritual (Lepsius, 'Todtenbuch,' ix. c. 17, l. 58), there is the following description of *Mat'et* on the night of the great punishment of the wicked, when they are dragged to the block and decapitated. Mat'et is stated to have one head with [the feather of] Truth, and another with a hawk or three heads. His name is said to be Mat'et, and that he is in the house of Osiris, shooting with his hand, and invisible. He goes round the world invisible, but with fire, as Hapi or the Nile has ordered him. His face is said to be that of a dog, with human eyebrows; also that he lives off the condemned, that at the pool of fire he poured forth the hearts and thrust out the corpses of the dead, and that his name was Eater of Millions in the waters of Pount or Somali.—S. B.



1. 'Anta.' 2–5. 'Anta, mistress of heaven, regent of gods, protectress, life established behind her.' 6. 'Sapt, lord of the land of Sat, lord of the east.' 7. [Anhar].
8. 'Menq, lady of . . . vases.'

1. 'Mat'et in the pylon.' 2. 'The fierce lion (*Mau hes*), very valiant, great god.' 3. 'Shu or Mau.' 4, 5. '[Sh]Uu, great god, son of Neith, over . . .'
6. 'Rta, or Ra.t, the very great female Horus.'

attitude of prayer, before other deities. She occurs in temples of a Roman and Ptolemaic date, as at Edfoo. Though her office is unknown, she may have been a deity of some importance. [Her name is Sat, the same as that of the Eastern foreigners, and she is perhaps a form of Sati. She wears the right symbolic eye of the sun, Horus, or Shu.—S. B.] The eye she bears on her head is the same which enters into the name of Egypt, and holds a distinguished post in the ceremonies of the dead. It is frequently found in the tombs, made of stone or blue pottery; and is painted on sarcophagi, boats, and fancy ornaments.

[The deity Tat-un (Plate LVIII. *fig.* 2) is from the temple of Samneh, at the third cataract of the Nile, of the early time of Usertesen II. He is called 'Tat-un, who dwells in Kens or Kenous.'—S. B.]

The name of the following goddess (*fig.* 3) is Nebuu. She is one of the contemplar deities of Esneh or Latopolis, and the second member of the triad worshipped there, which consisted of Chnoumis, this goddess, and their son Hake. She is a form of Neith, the Egyptian Minerva, like the lion-headed goddess Menhi, already mentioned. [She is styled in the inscriptions 'Nebuu, pupil of the sun, over the great place and mistress of Torerah.'—S. B.]

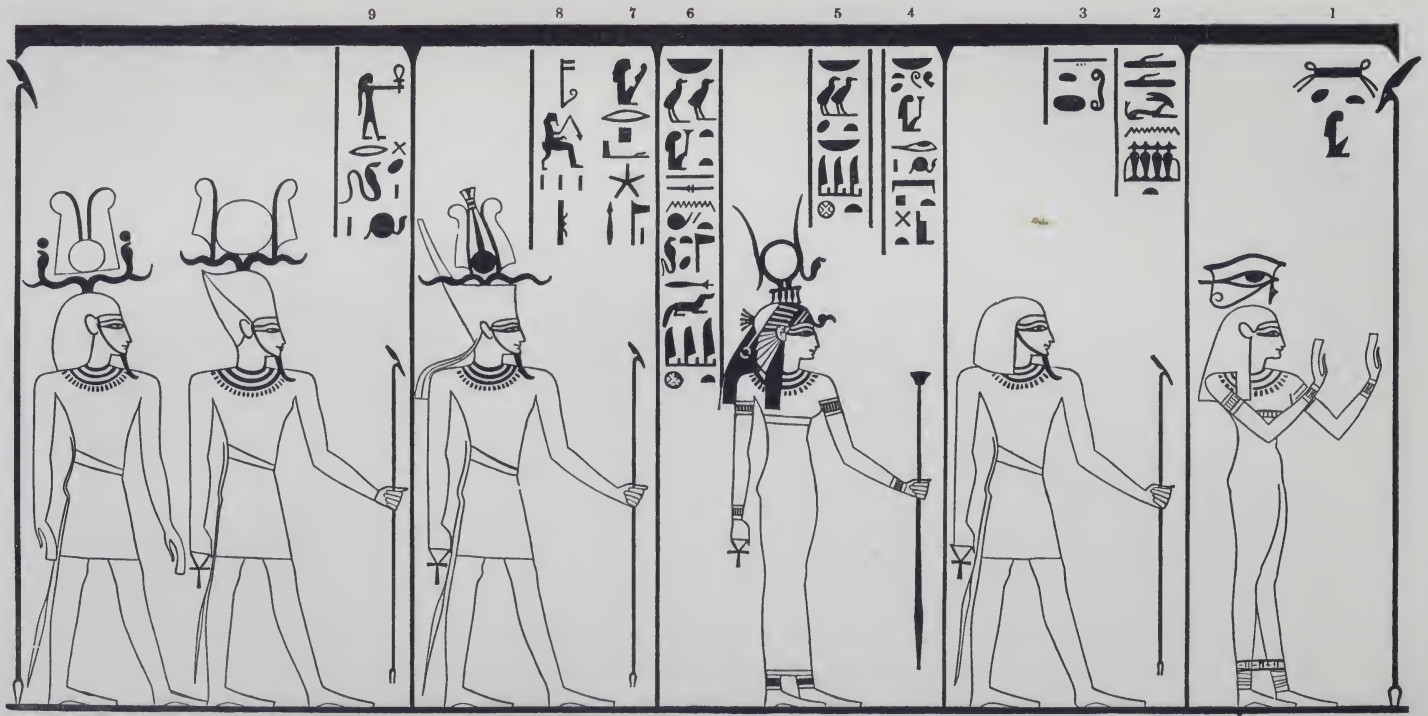
The name and character of the next god (*fig.* 4) are of late date; [and from the titles following, his name appears to be a form of the god 'Seb,' as he bears the same titles, 'heir of the gods, great god, maker of men.'—S. B.]

The two gods at *figs.* 5 and 6 are forms of the youthful deity Ahi or Ahi-ur, the son of Athor, and the third member of the triad of Denderah, who has been already described.

There is a god with the head of a hippopotamus, who may be one of the characters of the Egyptian Mars, the animal itself being worshipped at Papremis, the city of that deity.[1] I have only found him so represented in small pottery figures, but never in the sculptures; though the hippopotamus-headed goddess occurs on monuments of early date. The connection, indeed, of the god Mars and this Typhonian animal is remarkable.

Heron I have supposed to correspond to Atum, and Antæus to be Nubti, but of Perseus I have not yet been able to form any conjecture. Nor do I know if Busiris is a character of

[1] Herodot. ii. 59, 63, and 71.



1. 'Sat.' 2, 3. 'Tat-un, resident in Kenus.' 4. 'Nebuu, pupil of the sun, over the great place.' 5. 'Nebuu, mistress of Sem or Seχet.' 6. 'Nebuu, lady of Senet, great goddess, mistress of Sem or Seχet.' 7, 8. 'Seb, heir of the gods, maker of men.' 9. 'Ahi-ur, son of the sun.'

Osiris, or a separate deity. Of the form of Thoueris, the concubine of Typho, of Canopus, and of his supposed wife Menuthis, worshipped in a town of the same name,[1] I am also ignorant;[2] as well as of the two deities of winter and summer, whose statues are said by Herodotus to have been erected by Rhampsinitus.

I have not introduced the minor divinities who held various offices in the regions of the dead, their attributes and functions being as yet imperfectly ascertained, or altogether unknown; and many were only inferior emanations of some of those already described. Others were genii or dæmons; and some were of that class of beings who were thought to people every part of the universe, and to be present unseen amongst mankind, sometimes influencing their actions, and sometimes themselves acting in obedience to their commands. They were mostly represented under a human form, with the heads of different quadrupeds, birds, reptiles, or fishes; among which may be mentioned the cat, lion, ape, fox, cow, ram, hare, hawk, duck, crane, crocodile, tortoise (generally the entire animal in the place of a head), and the *garmóot*[3] fish. Some were figured as mere emblems; and one even assumed the form of the usual sceptre of the gods.

In concluding this notice of the Egyptian deities, whatever opinion I have ventured to express is offered with great diffidence, owing to the intricacy of the question, and the doubtful authority of Greek writers. I have therefore given little more than the forms of the gods, and their principal characters whenever they could be ascertained; and I conclude in the words of Seneca,[4] applied to an observation of Aristotle,—'Egregie Aristoteles ait, nunquam nos verecundiores esse debere, quam cum de diis agitur.'

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[1] Jablonski, vol. iv. p. 153.
[2] See Taur, pp. 145–147.
[3] *Silurus Carmuth*, or *Heterobranchus bidorsalis*.
[4] Seneca, Nat. Quæst. vii. 30.

Pectoral plate. Obelisk between Ra and Ma.

VIGNETTE N.—View of the modern town of Manfalóot, showing the height of the banks of the Nile in summer. In the mountain range, opposite Manfalóot, are the large crocodile-mummy caves of Maábdeh.

CHAPTER XIV.

The Sacred Animals—Care—Expense—Animals in the Adytum—Embalming of them —Burial—Origin and Reason of Worship—Rank—List—Apes and Monkeys—Bat — Hedgehog — Shrew-mouse — Bear — Weasel — Otter—Dog — Wolf — Fox — Jackal—Ichneumon—Hyæna —Cat —Dog — Lion— Panther— Leopard— Chaus —Mouse—Rat—Jerboa—Porcupine—Hare— Elephant – Hippopotamus—Hyrax —Horse—Ass—Camel—Giraffe—Oryx— Ibex — Sheep — Kebsh — Oxen—Apis —Mnevis— Bacis—Buffalo—Zebu—Dolphin—Sphinx—Vulture—Eagle —Hawk —Raven—Swallow—Hoopoe—Fowl —Pigeon—Dove — Quail — Ostrich—Ibis— Heron—Plover—Goose—Duck—Phœnix—Tortoise—Crocodile—Lizard —Asp— House-snake—Horned Snake — Frog — Oxyrhynchus — Phagrus — Lepidotus — Latus —Mœotis — Scorpion—Spider—Scarabæus —Persea —Acanthus—Lotus — Garlic—Onions—Palm—Ivy—Emblems.

I NEXT proceed to mention the sacred[1] animals, of which many different grades existed. Some were looked upon as deities, others were merely emblems of the gods. The worship of some was general throughout Egypt, that of others was confined to particular districts; and the same animal which received divine honours in one part of the country was often execrated and held in abhorrence in another. In one city a sacred fish was venerated, in another it was served up among the delicacies of the table; and many serious quarrels ensued between whole towns and provinces, owing to the circumstance of a sacred animal having been killed, either from accident or design, by the inhabitants of a neighbouring district where its worship was not acknowledged.[2]

It is, however, very improbable that such lawless disputes took place in the early periods of Egyptian history during the reigns of the Pharaohs, when a vigorous government had the power of maintaining order, and when a wise priesthood watched

[1] [Ælian, Hist. An. lib. x.—G. W.]

[2] Juv. Sat. xv. 36.

equally over the interests of all. No opinion, indeed, is more liable to error than one which judges the customs and character of the Egyptians from the degraded state of the country under the rule of the Ptolemies and Cæsars: for, as De Pauw[1] justly observes, there is no more reason to believe such excesses were perpetrated at that period, than to expect the modern towns of Europe to make war on each other in order to maintain the pre-eminence of their saints and patrons.

Herodotus[2] says, 'They are obliged by law to feed the sacred animals, and certain persons of both sexes are appointed to take care of each kind. The employment is an honourable one, and descends from father to son.' And 'so far,' observes Diodorus,[3] 'are they from declining, or feeling ashamed, openly to fulfil this office, that they pride themselves upon it; going in procession through the towns and country, with the distinguishing mark of their occupation, as if they were partakers of the highest honours of the gods. And being known by a peculiar emblem belonging to each, the people perceive, on their approach, of what animal they have the care, and show them respect by bowing to the ground, and by other marks of honour.'

'When parents, living in towns, perform vows for the recovery of their children's health,[4] they offer prayers to the deity to whom the animal is sacred, and then shaving a portion, or half, or the whole of the child's head, they put the hair into one scale of the balance and money into the other, until the latter outweighs the former; they then give it to the person who takes care of the animal, to buy fish (or other food).'

It was not, however, on accidental bounty that the nourishment of these creatures depended. The value of a whole head of child's hair, even when they paid its weight in gold, or any other gift depending upon accidental vows (frequently performed after a long interval), would have been a precarious means of support for the unremitting appetite of the divine beasts; it was, therefore, wisely managed, that a fixed revenue should be provided for the purpose; and each had a piece of land belonging to it, the produce of which was sold for its maintenance, and sufficed for the payment of the curators.[5]

The custom of bearing the emblems of the different sacred creatures to whose service they were devoted, may still be

[1] De Pauw, 'Rech. sur les Ég. et Chin.,' i. 145.
[2] Herodot. ii. 65.
[3] Diodor. i. 83.
[4] Herodotus and Diodorus, *loc. cit.*
[5] Diodor. i. 83.

traced in the banners borne by the guardians of the Sheikhs' tombs, who travel throughout Egypt in quest of charitable donations; and though seldom differing from, or inferior to each other in the discordant and deafening noise of drums and clamorous instruments, they are as readily distinguished by the peculiar emblems of the saint to whose service they belong. But the duty is not wholly gratuitous; being performed partly from a prospect of rewards in paradise, and partly from the love of the tangible benefits they obtain on earth, by means of his useful name. Vows are also made, as in former times, by the credulous and the devout, for the recovery of health or the accomplishment of a wish; but the accuracy of the balance is no longer required to regulate the extent of the donor's piety, or to adjust the quantity of his gratitude to the nice precision of a hair.

The expense incurred by the curators for the maintenance of the sacred animals was immense. Not only were necessary provisions procured for them, but imaginary luxuries which they could neither understand nor enjoy. They were treated with the same respect as human beings: warm baths were prepared for them, they were anointed with the choicest unguents, and perfumed with the most fragrant odours. Rich carpets[1] and ornamental furniture were provided for them, and every care was taken to consult their natural habits. Females of their own species were kept for them, and fed with the utmost delicacy and expense; those only being selected which were remarkable for their beauty. When any died, the grief of the people could only be equalled by that felt at the loss of a child; and in so sumptuous a manner were their funeral rites performed, that they frequently cost more than the curators had the means of paying.[2] The same respect was extended to those which died in foreign countries; and when engaged in distant wars, they did not neglect 'the cats and hawks, or leave them behind, but even when it was difficult to obtain the means of transport, they were brought to Egypt,' that they might be deposited in holy ground.

Geese were kept for some of the sacred animals. Meat was cut into pieces and thrown to the hawks,[3] who were invited by

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[1] Carpets are frequently mentioned by ancient writers, as I have already had occasion to observe. *Vide* also Theocrit. Id. xv. 125.

[2] Diodor. i. 84.

[3] Cf. the inscription given by Lepsius, 'Abh. Kön. Akad. Berlin,' 1871, of the fields assigned for the support of the sacred hawks.—S. B.

well-known cries to their repast; cats and ichneumons were fed on bread soaked in milk, and with certain kinds of fish caught on purpose for them; and every animal was provided with food suited to its habits.[1] Whenever any one of them died, it was wrapped up in linen, and carried to the embalmers, attended by a procession of persons of both sexes, beating their breasts in token of grief. The body was then prepared with oil of cedar and such aromatic substances as tended to preserve it, and was deposited in a sacred tomb.

The respect paid to the sacred animals was not confined to the outward ceremony of their funeral, or to the external marks of grief the mourners voluntarily imposed upon themselves, by shaving their eyebrows on the death of a cat, and their whole body for the loss of a dog: all the provisions which happened to be in the house at the time were looked upon as unlawful food, and were forbidden to be applied to any use.[2] And so remarkable was the feeling of veneration in which they were held by the Egyptians, that, in time of severe famine, when hunger compelled them to eat human flesh, no one was ever known to touch the meat of any of them, even on the plea of preserving life. To destroy one voluntarily subjected the offender to the penalty of death: but if any person even unintentionally killed an ibis or a cat,[3] it infallibly cost him his life; the multitude immediately collecting, and tearing him in pieces, often without any form of trial. For fear of such a calamity, if any person found one of those animals dead, he stood at a distance, and, calling out with a loud voice, made every demonstration of grief, and protested that it was found lifeless.

'This superstitious regard for the sacred animals,' observes Diodorus, 'is thoroughly rooted in their minds, and every Egyptian has his passions strongly bent upon their honour. For at the time when Ptolemy had not yet been called a king by the Romans, and the people were using every possible effort to flatter the Italians who visited the country as strangers, and studious to avoid everything that could excite disputes or lead to war, a Roman having killed a cat, and a crowd being collected about his residence, neither the magistrates who were sent by the king to appease their rage, nor the general terror of the Roman name, were able to save the offender from ven-

[1] Diodor. i. 84. [2] Ibid. [3] Ibid. i. 83.

geance, although he had done it unintentionally. And this we relate not from the testimony of others, but from what we ourselves had an opportunity of seeing during our journey in Egypt.' 'Never,' says Cicero,[1] 'did any one hear of a crocodile,[2] an ibis, or a cat having been killed by an Egyptian.' 'Rather would they submit to suffer death than destroy an ibis, an asp, a cat, or a crocodile; and if anyone accidentally injured one of those animals, he would object to no kind of punishment.'[3]

I have stated the reasons assigned by Diodorus for the worship of sacred animals, and have noticed the ridicule with which the Greeks delighted to treat this strange custom of the Egyptians. We are not, indeed, surprised that it should have struck any people as absurd and inconsistent; and the Hebrew legislator felt the necessity of preventing the Jews from falling into this, the most gross practice of which idolatry was guilty. The worship of the golden calf, a representation of the Mnevis of Heliopolis, was a proof how their minds had become imbued with the superstitions they had beheld in Egypt, which the 'mixed multitude had practised there:' and it frequently happened that the Egyptians were more attached to such emblems than to the gods themselves. This was the natural result of idolatrous feelings, which have in all times forgotten the deity in a blind respect paid to the type that chanced to represent him.

'In Egyptian temples,' says Clemens,[4] 'the porticoes, vestibules, and groves are constructed with great splendour; the halls are adorned with numerous columns; the walls are perfectly splendid with rare stones and brilliancy of colour; the sanctuary[5] shines with gold, silver, and amber, and with a variety of glittering stones from India, or Ethiopia, and the adytum is hung with curtains of gold tissue. If you enter the circuit of the holy place, and hastening to behold what is most worthy of your search you seek the statue of the deity, one of the priests who perform the rites there steps forward to introduce you to the object of his worship, looking upwards with a grave and reverent face, as he chants the Pæan hymn in his native tongue. But no

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[1] Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 29.

[2] Cicero would have been more correct in substituting a *hawk*, or a *cynocephalus*, for a *crocodile*, which last was not sacred throughout Egypt.

[3] Cic. Tusc. Disput. v. 27.

[4] Clem. Alex. Pædagog. iii. c. 2.

[5] The body of the temple, or ædes, whither the profane did not penetrate, the adytum being the most holy part of the ædes.

sooner does he draw aside a portion of the veil, as if to show a god, than you find ample reason for smiling at the mysterious deity. For the god you sought is not there; but a cat, or a crocodile, or a native serpent, or some such animal, which is more suited to a cave than a temple; and you behold an Egyptian god in a beast[1] lying before you on a purple carpet.' The same idea is conveyed in the two lines of Juvenal.[2]

It sometimes happened that, like the gods of Rome or the saints of modern Italy, the sacred animals fell into disgrace, in consequence of the wishes of their votaries not having been complied with; and this supposed neglect was resented with the same feelings which subject the image of a saint to the bastinado, or to the ignominy of having a string tied round its neck, and being lowered for a time into a well. Plutarch[3] tells us, that whenever any great drought, or pestilential disease, or other extraordinary calamity, happened, it was customary for the Egyptian priests to select some of the sacred animals, and having conducted them with all silence and secrecy to a dark place, to terrify them with threats, and afterwards, if the disorder still continued, to devote them to death.' And Porphyry relates that they were in the habit of using threats, not only to the sacred animals, but even to the gods themselves—'declaring that, unless they did what they desired, or if they acted contrary to their wishes, they would "disclose the mysteries of Isis, divulge the secrets hidden in the abyss, stop the Baris (the sacred boat)," or "scatter before Typho the members of Osiris."'

The above-mentioned ceremony, adds Plutarch, of putting those animals to death, 'being performed in secret, and at no fixed season of the year, but as occasion requires, is wholly unknown to the generality of the people, except at the time they celebrate the funeral of some particular species; when openly, and in sight of all, they throw them into the grave, to be buried alive with those whose obsequies they are performing. They imagine that by this means they shall vex Typho, and cut off the pleasure they suppose he enjoys from the sad event before them.' 'But the animals at whose funeral the above-mentioned rite is practised, are such as are honoured and worshipped by the

[1] In the inner or minor sanctuary of the great temple of Karnak is the statue of a colossal hawk on a pedestal, though the temple was dedicated to Amen and not to Ra.

[2] Juv. Sat. xv. 7:—

'Illic cæruleos, hic piscem fluminis, illic
Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam.'

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 73.

whole nation, as the ibis, the hawk, the cynocephalus, and the Apis;' and the selection of the others depended, of course, upon the character of the gods and of the peculiar emblems worshipped in the place where those ceremonies took place.

Peculiar sepulchres were frequently set apart for certain species, and animals of different kinds were not generally buried in the same place. But in large populous places, the mummies of oxen, sheep, dogs, cats, serpents, and fishes were deposited in the same common repository; though the more usual custom was to bury one or more of each species in a tomb exclusively appropriated to them; which was usually a small square cavity hewn in the rock, and sometimes of considerable dimensions.

The promiscuous admission of different animals into one sepulchre may have been from their enjoying less consideration there than in other towns where their worship prevailed. For even those which were held sacred throughout the country were not equally esteemed in every place; and the exclusive privileges they enjoyed in one town might have been denied in another, without depriving them of the title they claimed to the name of sacred animals. At Thebes, however, Signor Passalacqua discovered birds, rats, shrewmice, toads, snakes, scarabæi, and flies, embalmed and deposited in the same tomb; and I have seen one there, in which were found the mummies of cats, snakes, and cows. But in the same cemetery I observed a sepulchre appropriated solely to cats, another to hawks, and another to fish.

Some were buried in the district where they died; others were transported to the nome or city where they were particularly sacred—except, perhaps, when the place in which they had been kept paid them similar honours. For it is not to be supposed that the city of Thebes would willingly suffer the embalmed bodies of the ibis it had fed, and highly venerated, to be transported to Hermopolis; though this last was the place more peculiarly appointed to the worship of that bird, and of Thoth, the deity to whom it was sacred. Indeed, the fact of our finding the embalmed bodies of the ibis both at Thebes, Memphis, and other places, sufficiently establishes this conjecture, and shows that the animals removed to the patron city were only taken from places where their worship was not particularly regarded, and probably only from towns or villages in the vicinity. And when Herodotus[1] says, 'They carry the cats which die to certain holy

[1] Herodot. ii. 67.

places, where they are embalmed, and thence removed to Bubastis,' we may infer that the historian only alludes to those that died in places where the cat and the goddess Bubastis did not enjoy any conspicuous share of the honours of the sanctuary. The same applies to his observations respecting other sacred animals of Egypt, as 'the shrew-mouse, the hawk, and the ibis,' though he says 'the two former[1] were transported to the city of Buto, and the latter to Hermopolis.'

The fact of the sacred animals having been embalmed and buried in the tombs at Thebes, shows that Plutarch[2] is wrong in stating that the inhabitants of the Thebaïd were exempt from the taxes levied throughout the country for the maintenance of the sacred animals; and we can only explain this by supposing the Thebans to have had the privilege of providing *separately* for the animals they kept, without contributing to the *common fund* levied for that purpose on the rest of the Egyptians.

'Dogs were buried in their own town, being deposited in sacred coffins;' and 'bears (which Herodotus states to have been *rare* in Egypt) and wolves were interred in the place where they were found dead.'

The same author[3] says, 'When a bull or a heifer dies, the latter is thrown into the river, and the former buried in the suburbs, with one or both of its horns above the ground to mark the spot. Here the body remains till it is decomposed, and a boat despatched from the Isle of Prosopitis comes round to each town at a particular period. This Prosopitis is an island in the Delta, nine *schœnoi* in circumference, containing several towns—one of which, called Atarbechis, sends the boats destined to collect the bones, and employs several persons to go from town to town to exhumate them, and take them to the particular spot where they are buried. They inter in like manner all other cattle that die;' but it may be doubted if the Egyptians defiled their sacred stream by throwing into it the body of any animal that had been found dead, unless it were in those places where the crocodiles were fed. The discovery of the bodies of cows or heifers embalmed and buried in the tombs disproves this statement; and the remark above made, respecting the interment of animals in the place where they died, applies equally to bulls, whose embalmed bodies are discovered in the sepulchres of Thebes and other places.

[1] This must be an error; the hawk being sacred to Ra, not to Buto.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 21.
[3] Herodot. ii. 41.

The law which obliged them to bury the bodies of animals when found dead in the field, or elsewhere, owed its origin to a wise sanitary precaution; and the respect paid to certain birds arose from their great utility in removing those impurities which, in a climate like Egypt, necessarily arose from the decomposition of animal substances exposed to a burning sun. The same consideration induces the modern Egyptians to abstain from molesting the *Vultur percnopterus*,[1] the kite, and others of the falcon tribe.

The mode of preserving and interring different animals depended on circumstances. Those which were sacred were embalmed with great care, and at a considerable expense: particular tombs were set apart for them; and funeral ceremonies were performed, according to the consideration they enjoyed in the temples of the town where they died. Some idea may be formed of the enormous sums occasionally expended on those occasions from the statements of Diodorus,[2] who affirms that the guardians of the sacred animals, in his time, laid out no less than 100 talents at a single funeral; and when Apis died, in the reign of Ptolemy Lagus, the curator spent the whole of the money collected for the purpose, and borrowed from the king 50 talents in addition to defray the expenses of its burial.

Many and various theories have been suggested to account for the origin of animal-worship in Egypt;[3] which, according to Manetho, was introduced in the reign of the second king of the 2nd Dynasty. 'It is difficult,' says Diodorus,[4] 'to ascertain their motive for so singular a custom. The priests, indeed, assign a peculiar and hidden reason for it; but three others are commonly reported amongst the people. The first of these, altogether fabulous, and in character with the simplicity of primitive notions, is, that the gods, in the early ages of the world, being in fear of the numbers and wickedness of mankind, assumed the form of animals, in order to avoid their cruelty and oppression. And having at length obtained the dominion of the world, they decreed, as a reward to those animals by whom they had been

[1] The Rokham, or Rakham; called also 'Pharaoh's hen,' or 'the scavenger of the Nile.'

[2] Diod. i. 84.

[3] [It seems really to have been an African custom, vestiges of which still remain in the interior of Soodân: it was probably adopted by the Egyptians also. This seems to be proved by Manetho, who says that the Apis, &c., were ordered to be treated as gods in the reign of ΧΩΟΣ, the second king of the 2nd Dynasty, according to Eusebius, the ΚΑΙΕΧΩΣ of Africanus' version.—G. W.]

[4] Diodor. i. 86.

saved, that mankind should ever after respect and nourish them while alive, and perform funeral honours to them at their decease.

'The second is, that the ancient inhabitants of Egypt, having suffered several signal defeats from their neighbours, in consequence of the confusion and want of discipline in their army, devised the plan of carrying standards, and for this purpose selected the figures of animals. These, being placed upon a spear and raised to a sufficient height, served as a rallying-point for the soldiers, and enabled them to keep their ranks in the confusion of battle. And by this means having obtained the victory over their enemies, they attributed their success to the animals whose figures they bore, and out of gratitude abstained from killing any of the same species, treating them afterwards with religious veneration.

'The third reason is, gratitude for the benefits conferred by them on mankind. For the cow not only ploughs the land itself, but produces those which perform the same useful office; sheep bring forth lambs twice (in the year[1]), and from their wool are made clothes and ornamental furniture, while their milk is an article of food, both itself and the cheese made from it. The dog is required both for the chase and as a guard;[2]. . . . the cat is a protection against the approach of the venomous asp and other reptiles; and the ichneumon is useful in destroying the eggs of the crocodile, which would otherwise multiply so much as to render the river unapproachable. The ichneumon even wars with that animal itself, and overcomes it by a wonderful stratagem. Having enveloped itself in mud, it watches its opportunity, while the crocodile sleeps with its mouth open on the shore, and then adroitly glides through its mouth into its stomach, and, eating its way out, escapes unhurt, at the same time that it kills its enemy. The hawk is worshipped because it destroys scorpions, horned snakes, and noxious creatures which endanger human life; though some suppose the reason to be from its being the bird selected by augurs for predicting future events.'

These remarks agree with an observation of Cicero, 'that the Egyptians only hold those animals sacred which are of use to man, as the ibis, from its being the destroyer of serpents; and

[1] Conf. also Diodor. i. 36. This is the case at the present day.

[2] 'Therefore,' he adds, 'they represent Anubis with a dog's head.' I have elsewhere noticed this error, in speaking ot the dog.

much might be added respecting the utility of the ichneumon, the crocodile, and the cat.'

'Goats, bulls, wolves, and others,' continues Diodorus, 'are reported to have been venerated for similar motives.' The historian then proceeds to give other reasons, one of which, though highly improbable, deserves to be mentioned—'that in the early period of the Egyptian monarchy, the people being prone to rebellion against the government, one of the kings devised this method of sowing the seeds of discord among them and preventing their union. He divided the country into several parts, to each of which he assigned a peculiar animal, establishing its worship there, and forbidding it to be eaten. By which means, the same animal that was adored in one place being regarded with no respect, and even despised, in another, all community of feeling was destroyed, and the animosity arising between neighbouring provinces prevented their uniting against their rulers.'

The historian also refers, in another place,[1] to the supposed sojourn of the gods on earth; when, in their visits to different places, they assumed the form of various animals—'a notion which,' he adds, 'the poet[2] introduced into his verses, having learnt it during his stay in Egypt.'

Plutarch, in mentioning the same subject, says,[3] 'That the gods, through a dread of Typho, metamorphosed themselves into animals, lying concealed in the bodies of ibises, dogs, and hawks, is more extravagant than the most fanciful tales of fable. It is equally incredible, that the souls of those who survive their bodies should return to life again only through such animals. Of those, therefore, who wish to assign a political reason for their worship, some assert that Osiris, having divided his army into several divisions, assigned to each a separate standard, distinguished by a particular animal, which afterwards became sacred, and was worshipped by the troops to whom it had been given. Others maintain that it was in consequence of some of the later kings, who wished to strike terror into their enemies, having decked themselves with gold and silver figures of those animals. Others, again, attribute it to the artifice of a crafty prince, who, perceiving the Egyptians to be of a volatile disposition, always inclined to change and novelty, and, from their numbers, invincible as long as they were guided by wise counsels and acted

[1] Diodor. i. 12. [2] Homer. [3] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.

in concert, devised this sort of superstition, whilst they were yet dispersed up and down in their several habitations, as a means of propagating discord amongst them. For, amongst the different species of animals he enjoined them to worship, many bore a natural antipathy to each other, and some were eaten in one part of the country and some in another. He therefore foresaw that, as each party would defend its own favourite animals, and resent whatever injuries they suffered, this must imperceptibly engender a hostile feeling amongst them, and prevent their plotting against the government.' These were, of course, merely the fanciful notions of the uninstructed, as Diodorus justly observes.

Many of the animals were worshipped, not from a particular respect paid to them, or on account of any qualities they possessed, but solely because they had been chosen as emblems of certain deities; and their selection for this purpose is a separate and independent question. That the reasons for it were often as capricious and ridiculous as those stated by the historian is very probable; and what could be more arbitrary than the adoption of the ibis to represent the god Thoth, or the spotted cow to be the emblem of Athor? For, if they looked upon the ibis with a feeling of gratitude on account of its utility in destroying serpents, the reason for its being chosen as the peculiar type of the Egyptian Hermes could not originate there; nor does a cow, however useful to mankind, appear to be a suitable representative of the goddess Venus.

It is therefore evident that neither the benefits derived by man from the habits of certain animals, nor the reputed reasons for their peculiar choice as emblems of the gods, were sufficient to account for the reverence paid to many of those they held sacred. Some, no doubt, may have been indebted to the first-mentioned cause; and, however little connection appears to subsist between those animals and the gods of whom they were the types, we may believe that the ox, cow, sheep, dog, cat, vulture, hawk, ibis, and some others, were chosen from their utility to man. We may also see sufficient reasons for making some others sacred, in order to prevent their being killed for food, because their flesh was unwholesome, as was the case with certain fish of the Nile—a precaution which extended to some of the vegetables of the country. But this will not account for the choice they made in many instances; for why should not the camel and horse have been selected for the first, and many other common animals and reptiles for the last-mentioned reason?

There was, as Porphyry observes, some other hidden motive, independent of these; and whether it was, as Plutarch supposes, founded on rational grounds, 'with a view to promote the welfare of the community,' on accidental or imaginary analogy, or on mere caprice, it is equally difficult to discover it, or satisfactorily to account for the selection of certain animals as the exclusive types of particular deities. Porphyry gives another reason for the worship of animals, which is consistent with the speculative notions of the Egyptians; but still it offers no elucidation of the question respecting the preference shown to some before others, nor does it account for one or other being chosen to represent a particular attribute of the deity. 'The Egyptian priests,' says that writer,[1] 'profiting by their diligent study of philosophy, and their intimate acquaintance with the nature of the gods, have learnt that the Divinity permeates other beings as well as man; that he is not the only creature on earth possessed of soul; and that nearly the same spiritual essence pervades all the tribes of living creatures. On this account, in fashioning images of the gods, they have adopted the forms of *all* animals, sometimes joining the human figure with those of beasts; at others, combining the shapes of men and of birds. Wherefore some of their images have the form of a man up to the neck, with the face of a bird, or a lion, or any other creature: others, again, have the head of a man, with the remainder of the body, either the upper or lower parts, shaped like some other animal. Thus we find the lion adored as a god; and there is a part of Egypt called the *Leonto*polite nome, from the lion, another called the *Bus*irite,[2] from the bull, and a third the *Lyco*politan, from the wolf. Under these semblances they adore the universal power which the gods have severally displayed in the various forms of living nature.' If, as he supposes, *all* animals had been admitted by them,[3] this notion of the universal participation of the divine essence would account for the adoption of each member of the animated creation as the representative of its own particular portion of the divinity from whom it emanated. But the difficulty is not solved by this statement, or by that of Plutarch,[4] who says, 'Many suppose the soul of Typho to have been divided amongst those animals[5]—

[1] Porphyr. de Abstin. iv. c. 9.

[2] Βουσιρίτης. This is a Greek fancy.

[3] Cicero is also wrong in saying, 'Omne fere genus bestiarum Ægyptii consecraverunt.' (De Nat. Deor. iii.)

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 73.

[5] As in the account of the Aphôphis, a form of Typhon, being cut up into animals. —S. B

signifying that the irrational and brutal nature proceeds from the Evil Principle; and, consequently, all the reverence paid to these creatures is with a design to pacify him.' Plutarch[1] and Porphyry attach great importance to the doctrine of emanation, as the source of animal-worship; and the statements of those two writers tend to show the principle which guided the Egyptians in their speculations respecting the connection between the Creator and His creatures. The doctrine of emanations from one great soul, to which all returned again, after having been sufficiently purified from the contaminations to which each soul was subject during its earthly career, formed a principal feature of their religion; and not only was man, or the human soul, considered an emanation from the same great and universal Source, but every animated creature was supposed to partake of its divine essence. This idea extended even to 'herbs and stones,' which were thought to 'have within them the natural property of the Divinity.'[2]

I have already had occasion to observe,[3] that the idea of the human soul, which was an emanation from the great soul that governed and pervaded the universe, returning to its divine origin after certain purifications, led to the doctrine of the transmigration. The evil propensities of man, and the sinful actions of which he was frequently guilty, were thought so to taint the original purity of the divine nature of the soul, that, on leaving the body, it was no longer in a fit state to reunite itself with the immaculate Source from which it proceeded: they therefore supposed that it underwent a proportionate degree of purification, according to the nature of the impieties each individual had committed. For this purpose it was condemned to a state of purgatory, by passing through the bodies of various animals.[4] The most wicked were confined in those of the most odious description, as the pig and others, which for this reason they believed to be fit emblems of the Evil Being;[5] and 'those,' as Plato[6] makes Socrates say, 'who were guilty of injustice, tyranny, and rapine, entered into the tribes of wolves, hawks,[7] and kites.'

Hence it appears that the animals they held sacred, which partook more immediately of the divine nature, were distinct from those into which the 'souls of wicked persons passed during

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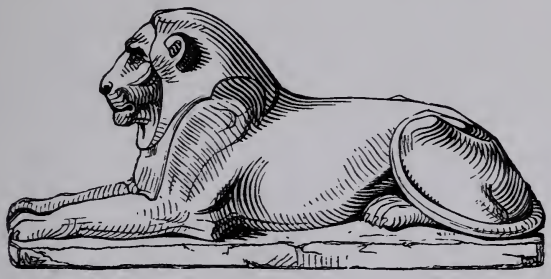
[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 77.
[2] Mercur. Trismeg., Dialogue with Asclepius.
[3] *Suprà*, loc. cit.
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.
[5] Ibid. s. 31.
[6] Plato, Phædo, p. 224; trans. Taylor.
[7] This was according to the ideas of the Greeks.

the period of their transmigration;' and that it was imparted to some in a direct manner, while others only received it through the medium of other influences.

It also appears that intermediary agents and dæmons were supposed to inhabit the bodies of certain animals, in which they visited the earth; and conformably to this notion, the numerous genii of the Egyptian Pantheon were figured with the heads of different animals distinct from the deities to whom those animals were peculiarly sacred. The custom of representing the gods under a human form was owing to their considering man the intellectual representative of the Deity, who bore the stamp of the mind of the Creator, and the only created being who was worthy of being considered a likeness of the Divine Original; and in adding the heads of particular animals they probably alluded to certain properties, of which they were deemed suitable emblems. From what has been stated it is reasonable to suppose that the sacred animals enjoyed different gradations of rank; and the same respect was not paid to the crocodile, whose worship was confined to particular parts of the country, as to the universally adored ibis, or the cow of Athor. Some were in themselves sacred —being looked upon, as Strabo and Porphyry say, 'really to be gods'—as the bull Apis and others; some were adored as representatives of the deities to whom they were sacred; and others were only emblems. It is not, however, always easy to ascertain to what degree the animals were held sacred by the Egyptians, since ancient authors disagree on this point. Thus we find that, though Strabo supposes the Oxyrhynchus to have been worshipped throughout the country, Plutarch says the Cynopolites eat this fish; and the dog, which the geographer considers universally sacred, was in like manner, out of revenge, killed and eaten by the people of Oxyrhynchus. Strabo's words[1] are, 'All the Egyptians venerate the Oxyrhynchus fish. For there are some animals which every Egyptian worships: as for instance, of quadrupeds, three—the ox, the dog, and the cat; of birds, the hawk and ibis; of fish, two—the Lepidotus and Oxyrhynchus. Some are adored in particular places: as the sheep, by the Saïtes and Thebans; the Latus, a fish of the Nile, by the people of Latopolis; the wolf, by the Lycopolites; the Cynocephalus, at Hermopolis; the Cepus, by the Babylonians who live near Memphis; . . . . the eagle, by the Thebans; the lion, at Leontopolis; the goat,

[1] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.

by the Mendesians; the Mygale, at Athribis; and others in different places.' The bodies, however, of all animals which were found dead were removed and buried, as might be reasonably expected, since this regulation arose from a sanitary



No. 566. Stone lion. *British Museum.*

precaution; and it therefore appears, from the most common kinds, as horses, asses, and others, not being discovered, that the *embalming* process was confined to certain animals, and rarely extended to those which were not sacred to some deity.

No. 567. Ostrich, with the feathers and eggs. *Thebes.*

In order to enable the reader to distinguish the sacred animals of Egypt, I shall introduce a list of those known there in former times, and point out such as appear, from the authority of competent writers, or from being found embalmed in the tombs, to have a claim to that title; arranging them under their respective heads of mammalia, birds, reptiles, fishes, and insects, to which I shall add some of the holy members of the vegetable kingdom.

Div. I.—VERTEBRATA.

Class I.—MAMMALIA.

Name.	If sacred.	To what Deity.	In what Place (particularly).	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
Orders 1 and 2.					
BIMANA and QUADRUMANA.					
Cynocephalus Ape . . .	Sacred . .	Thoth. . .	Hermopolis . .	The sculptures. Strabo, xvii. Horapollo, i. 15, 16	Thebes and Hermopolis.
Green Monkey of Ethiopia, or *Cercopithecus*? . . .	Sacred . .	Thoth? . .	At Thebes? . .	Juvenal, Sat. xv. 4. Sculptures .	Thebes.
Order 3.					
CARNARIA.					
Bat	Not sacred .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Hedgehog	Not sacred .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Represented in ornaments.	
Shrew-mouse, or *Myyale* .	Sacred . .	Buto or Horus	Athribis, Butos .	Strabo, xv. Herodot. ii. 59 . .	Thebes.
Bear	Sacred . .	. . . . .	Not found in Egypt. . .	Herodot. ii. 67; and sculptures.	
Weasel	Sacred . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Plutarch, de Isid. s. 74.	
Otter	Not sacred .	. . . . .	Not found in Egypt. . .	Herodotus, ii. 72.	
Dog	Sacred . .	Anubis . .	Cynopolis . .	Plutarch, Plato, &c.	Thebes, El Hareíb, &c.
Wolf	Sacred . .	Anubis . .	Lycopolis . .	Strabo, xvii. Plut. de Isid. s. 72; and sculptures	Lycopolis.
Fox	Sacred . .	Anubis . .	Lycopolis?		
Jackal	Sacred . .	Anubis . .	Lycopolis? . .	Sculptures	Lycopolis.
Ichneumon	Sacred . .	. . . . .	Heracleopolis .	Clem. Alex. Orat. Adhort., p. 17. Strabo, xvii.; and sculptures.	
Hyæna vulgaris	Not sacred .	. . . . .	. . . . .	In sculptures.	
Spotted Hyæna, or *Crocuta* .	Not sacred.				
Cat	Sacred . .	Bast or Bubastis . .	Bubastis. . .	Cicero, Diodor., &c.; and sculptures.	Thebes, &c.
Lion	Sacred . .	Ra and Horus	Leontopolis . .	Strabo, xvii. Diodor. i. 84. Porphyr. de Abst. iv. 9.	

Panther	Not sacred.				
Leopard	Not sacred.				
Felis Chaus	Not sacred.				
Order 5.					
RODENTIA.					
Mouse	Not sacred			Sculptures. Plin. x. 65	Thebes.
Rat	Not sacred				Thebes.
Dipus, or Jerboa	Not sacred.				
Porcupine	Not sacred			Sculptures.	
Hare	Not sacred An emblem			Sculptures. Horapollo.	
Order 7.					
PACHYDERMATA.					
Elephant	Not sacred			Sculptures.	
Hippopotamus	Sacred Emblem	Mars of Typho	Papremis	Herodot. ii. 71. Diodor., &c.	Thebes?
Pig	Emblem	of Typho		Plutarch, Ælian, Herodot., &c.	
Wild boar	Not sacred			Plut. de Isid., s. 8.	
Hyrax[1]	Not sacred.				
Horse	Not sacred			Sculptures, &c.	
Ass	Sacred to, or emblem of	Typho		Plutarch.	
Order 8.					
RUMINANTIA.					
Camel	Not sacred			Papyri.	
Stag, or *Cervus Elaphus*	Not sacred			Sculptures.	
Camelopardalis, or Giraffe	Not sacred? perhaps an emblem			Sculptures at Hermonthis, &c.	

[1] Formerly placed among the Rodentia.

Egypt has only the *Camelus dromedarius* of Linnæus, or one-humped camel; the dromedary being a variety of it. The two-humped (of which species all are camels and none dromedaries) is the *Camelus Bactrianus*, and is unknown in Egypt.

Class I.—MAMMALIA (*continued*).

	Name.	If sacred.	To what Deity.	In what Place (particularly).	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
	Gazelle	Not sacred?				At Thebes?
	Antilope Addax?					
	——— *Defassa.*[1]					
	Oryx Beisa.					
	Oryx and *Leucoryx*	An emblem	of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris	Thebes, &c.	Plin. ii. 40. Sculptures.	
	Goat	Sacred	Mendes	Mendesian nome	Clem. Orat. Adhort., p. 17; and Strabo, xvii. Diodor. i. 84.	
	Ibex	Not sacred			Sculptures.	
	Sheep, Ram	Sacred		Thebes and Saïs	Clem. Alex. Oratio Adhort. p. 17. Strabo, xvii. pp. 552 and 559	Thebes, &c.
	Kebsch, or *Ovis Tragelaphus*	Not sacred			Sculptures.	
	Cow	Sacred	Athor		Sculptures	Thebes, &c.
The Sacred Bulls.	*Apis*	Sacred	A god, and the type of Osiris	Memphis	Plut. Herodot. Diodor. i. 21 and 84.	
The Sacred Bulls.	*Mnevis*	Sacred	The sun, or Apollo	Heliopolis	Diod. i. 21, 84. Plut. de Isid. s. 33.	
The Sacred Bulls.	*Basis, Bacchis*	Sacred		Hermonthis[2]	Macrob. Sat. i. 26. Strabo, xvii.	
The Sacred Bulls.	*Onuphis*[3]	Sacred			Ælian, xii. 11.	
	Buffalo	Not sacred.				
	Indian or humped Ethiopian Ox	Not sacred?			Sculptures.	
CETACEA.	Order 9.					
	Dolphin	Not sacred			Strabo, xvii. note. Pliny and Seneca.	
			FABULOUS.			
	Sphinx[4] with man's head, hawk's head, ram's head	Sacred	Harmachis, Ra, Chnoumis		Sculptures. Clemens, &c.	
	Other monsters				Sculptures.	

[1] Perhaps the same as the *Antilope Bubalis?*
[2] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 423.
[3] Champollion thinks it the same as Basis.
[4] Clemens, Strom. v. p. 156.

I have already noticed the birds occurring in the sculptures of Ancient Egypt, and shall now confine myself to such as were sacred, or in some way connected with the religion, and those represented in the sculptures of the temples.

Class II.—AVES.

Name.	Sacred to what Deity.	In what Place.	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
Order 1.				
ACCIPITRES, or RAPTORES.				
Vultur Nubicus, or *Barbarus* (the *Nisser*)	Sacred to Eileithyia . .	At Eileithyia . .	Sculptures.	Thebes.
V. percnopterus, Pharaoh's Hen (*Rakham*).	?	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Eagle	Sacred	In Thebes . . .	Strabo, xvii. Diodor. i. 87.	
Falco Aroeris? the sacred Hawk of Ra [*Falco Subbuteo*, the Hobby.—G.W.]	Sacred to Ra and other deities	In Heliopolis, and other towns. .	Diodor., Strabo, and others; and the sculptures	Thebes, &c.
F. tenunculoïdes, or small brown Hawk	. . . . .	. . . . .	Sculptures	Thebes.
Falco milvus, the Kite	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Horned Owl, or *Bubo maximus* . .	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures	Thebes.
White Owl, or *Strix flammea* . . .	?	. . . . .	Sculptures	Thebes.
Small Owl, or *Strix passerina*. . .	?	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Order 2.				
INSESSORES, or PASSERINÆ.				
Motacilla, Wagtail	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Swallow	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures.	Thebes.
Sparrow	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Horapollo, ii. 115.	
Raven, or *Corvus corax*	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
C. cornix, the Royston Crow . . .	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures. Horapollo.	
Upupa epops	Not sacred.	. . . . .	Sculptures. Horapollo.	
Order 3.				
RASORES, or GALLINACEÆ.				
Fowls, Cocks	White and saffron-coloured cocks sacrificed to Anubis	. . . . .	Plut. de Isid. s. 61.	

Class II.—AVES (*continued*).

Name.	Sacred to what Deity.	In what Place.	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
Dove	Not sacred.		Sculptures.	
Pigeons[1]	Not sacred		Sculptures.	
Quail, *Perdrix Coturnix*	Not sacred.		Sculptures.	
Ostrich, or *Struthio Camelus*	Not sacred.		Sculptures.	
Order 4.				
GRALLATORIÆ.				
Charadrius Œdicnemus	Not sacred?		Herodot. ii. 68.	
——— (*Trochilus?*)[2] or *Melanocephalus*				
——— *armatus*				
——— *cristatus*				
Heron? or *Ardea cinerea*, and other wading birds	Not sacred?		Sculptures.	
Numenius Ibis, or *Ibis religiosa*, Cuv.	Sacred to Thoth	Hermopolis	Herodot.; Plato, &c.; and sculptures	Thebes, Memphis, Hermopolis, Abydus, &c.
Bennu, perhaps an *Ardea*	Sacred to Osiris	Thebaïd	Sculptures.	
Order 5.				
NATATORES, or PALMIPEDES.				
Goose or *Anser Ægyptius*, the *Chenalopex* or *Vulpanser*	Emblem of Seb		Herodot. ii. 72. Sculptures	Thebes.
Pelicanus Onocratulus	Not sacred?		Horapollo. Sculptures.	
FABULOUS AND UNKNOWN BIRDS.				
Phœnix			Sculptures.	
Emblem of the Soul			Sculptures.	
Vulture with a Snake's head			Sculptures.	
Hawk with Man's and Ram's head			Sculptures.	

Class III.—REPTILES.				
Order 1.				
CHELONIA.				
Tortoise	Ras-her	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Order 2.				
SAURIA.				
Crocodile	Sacred to Sebak . . .	The Arsinoïte nome and its capital, Crocodilopolis. Lake Mœris, Thebes, &c.	Herodot. Strabo, xvii. Diodor. i. 48. Sculptures, &c. . .	Thebes, Maâbdeh, &c.
Waran el bahr, Monitor of the Nile, *Lacerta Nilotica*	Not sacred.			
Waran el ard, Land Monitor, *Lac. Scincus*	Not sacred.			
The *Dthobb*, or *Lac. caudiverbera* . .	Not sacred.			
Lac. Gecko, or *Boorse*, and many others of the Lizard tribe	Not sacred	. . . . .	. . . . .	Thebes.
Order 3.				
OPHIDIA.				
Asp, *Coluber Haje*,[3] or *Naja Haje* . .	Sacred to Chnoumis and Rannu	. . . . .	Sculptures. Plut. de Isid. s. 74, &c.	Thebes.
The common Snake of Egypt . . .	Sacred?			
The *Coluber*, or *Vipera Cerastes*, the Horned Snake	Sacred to Amen . . .	Thebes	Herodot. Sculptures, &c. . .	Thebes.
Order 4.				
BATRACHIANS.				
Frog.	Emblem of Hek, goddess .	. . . . .	Sculptures. Horapollo . . .	Thebes.
Toad.	Not sacred?			

[1] Carrier pigeons used by the Egyptians at a very early period.

[2] This small species of *Charadrius* is common on the sandbanks of the Nile, and, as I believe it to be the *Trochilus* of Herodotus, I have ventured to give it this specific name. It is the *Ch. melanocephalus* of Linnæus. ('Description de l'Égypte,' Oiseaux, pl. 6.)

[3] The specific name of this snake has been adopted by a mistake, as I have already observed; the *Haja*, *Hje*, or *Hjeh*, being the Arabic name of the *Cerastes*, and indeed for snakes in general, the asp being called *Nashir*.

FABULOUS REPTILES.

Name.	Sacred to what Deity.	In what Place.	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
Snakes { with Human head, Hawk's head, Lion's head } . .	. . . . .	. . . . .	Sculptures.	

The fish I have also noticed; I shall, therefore, content myself with the names of those which were held sacred.

CLASS IV.—FISHES.

Name.	Sacred to what Deity.	In what Place.	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
Oxyrhynchus	Sacred	At Oxyrhynchus, &c.	Plutarch, Strabo, &c.	Several fish found embalmed at Thebes.
Phagrus, the Eel	Sacred	Among the Euenitæ,[1] and at Phagroriopolis . . .	Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 17. Athenæus, Deipn. vii.	
Lepidotus	Sacred	In most parts of Egypt . . .	Plutarch, &c.	
Latus	Sacred	At Latopolis . .	Strabo, xvii.	
Mœotes	Sacred	At Elephantine .	Clemens Alex. Orat. Adhort. p. 17.	
Labeo	Sacred	. . . . .	[In a dish, British Museum] . .	Thebes, in a tomb.

Of the second division of the animal kingdom, the Mollusca, containing shellfish, nothing is known which connects any of them with the religion of Egypt: and of the third, or Articulata, the only one which appears to have been sacred to, or emblematic of, any deity, is the scorpion, in the third class, or ARACHNIDES.

[1] An error for Suenitæ, the people of Syene. (Plut. de Isid. s. 7.)

Div. III.—ARTICULATA.

Class III.—ARACHNIDES.

Name.	Sacred to what Deity.	In what Place.	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
Scorpion	Emblem of the Goddess Selk	. . . . .	Sculptures.	

Class IV.—INSECTS.

COLEOPTERA.				
Scarabæus, and probably different genera and species of Beetles . .	Sacred to the sun and to Ptah, and adopted as an emblem of the world, and sometimes also of Har-Hat.	. . . . .	Horapollo. Sculptures, &c. . .	Thebes.
HYMENOPTERA.				
Bees	Not sacred ?	. . . . .	Sculptures.	
Wasps				
Ichneumons				
DIPTERA.				
Flies	Not sacred	. . . . .	Sculptures, and in pottery . .	Thebes.

Locusts, butterflies, moths, and other insects, are represented in the sculptures, but none appear to claim the honour of being sacred. Some of them will be found in woodcuts Nos. 365, 369, 370.

Among the vegetable productions of Egypt, a full description of which has been given in a tabulated form in vol. ii., the following were sacred, or connected with religion :—

Name.	Sacred to what Deity.	In what Place.	Where mentioned.	Where found embalmed.
The Persea	Sacred to Hathor		Sculptures.	
Peach	Supposed to be sacred to Harpocrates		Plut. de Isid. s. 68.	
Pomegranate, Vine, and Acanthus	Used for sacred purposes		Athen. xv. 680.	
Sycamore Fig	Sacred to Nut.			
Tamarisk	Sacred to Osiris		Plut. de Isid. ss. 15, 21.	
Lotus	Emblem of Nefer Atum, and connected with Harpocrates.			
Garlic				Onions have been found placed in the orbits of the eyes of mummies.
Onion			Plin. xix. 6. Juvenal, Sat. xv.	
Leek				
Palm-branch	Symbol of astrology, and type of a year		Clem. Strom. vi. Horapollo, &c.	
Melilotus?			Plut. de Isid. s. 38.	
Papyrus.				
Ivy	Sacred to Osiris		Plut. de Isid. s. 37. Diodor. i. 17.	
Periploca Secamone?				

Though Pliny and Juvenal are positive about onions being sacred, and even 'gods,' it may be doubted; as the monuments do not confirm the statement, and they are commonly offered on all altars, as I have already observed. The priests alone abstained from them.

Some fabulous insects may also be cited, as well as fabulous quadrupeds, which were chiefly emblems appropriated to particular gods, or representative of certain ideas connected with religion, the most remarkable of which were scarabæi with the heads of hawks, rams, and cows. Of these many are found made of pottery, stone, and other materials, and the sculptures represent the beetle with a human head. This change did not render them less fit emblems of the gods: the scarabæus of the sun appears with the head of a ram as well as a hawk; and the god Ptah was sometimes figured with the body of a scarabæus and the head and legs of his usual human form.

Having now stated the name of the deity to whom they were consecrated, and the town where divine honours were particularly paid to them, it remains to add a few remarks on the comparative claims of each, in order to distinguish the animals worshipped as deities, those held sacred throughout Egypt, those whose worship was confined to particular districts, and those which were revered merely out of respect to the gods of whom they were emblems.

The Cynocephalus ape,[1] which was particularly sacred to Thoth, held a conspicuous place among the sacred animals of Egypt, being worshipped as the type of the god of letters, and of the moon, which was one of the characters of Thoth. It was even introduced in the sculptures as the god himself, with 'Thoth, Lord of Letters,' and other legends inscribed over it; and in astronomical subjects two Cynocephali are frequently represented standing in a boat before the sun in an attitude of prayer, as emblems of the moon.[2] Their presence in a similar boat with a pig probably refers to them as types of the divinity in whose honour that animal was sacrificed; 'the *moon* and Bacchus,' according to Herodotus,[3] being the sole 'deities to whom it was lawful to immolate swine, and that only at the full moon.'[4] But their presence was not confined to Thoth or the moon. On two sides of the pedestals of the obelisks of Luxor, four Cynocephali stand in the same attitude, as if in adoration of the deity to whom those monuments were dedicated; a balustrade over the centre doorway of the temple of Amen at Medeenet Haboo is ornamented with figures of these animals; and a row of them forms the cornice of the exterior of the great temple dedi-

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[1] It was called *aani*, and came from Kush or Ethiopia, Punt or Somali.

[2] Horapollo, i. 14, 15.

[3] Herod. ii. 47.

[4] Plutarch (de Isid. s. 8) says, 'A sow was sacrificed to Typho once a year, at the full moon.'

cated to Ra at Aboosimbel. Sometimes a Cynocephalus, placed upon a throne as a god, holds a small ibis in his hand; and in the judgment scenes of the dead it frequently occurs seated on the summit of the balance, as the emblem of Thoth, who had an important office on that occasion, and registered the account of the actions of the deceased.

Horapollo[1] states some curious reasons for Cynocephali being chosen as emblems of the moon. Iamblichus also speaks of certain physical analogies common to them and to that luminary; and the former supposes that they were brought up in the temples in order to enable the priests to ascertain from their habits the exact instant of the conjunction of the sun and moon. Several equally ridiculous reasons are given for their relation to Thoth, and to other hieroglyphic symbols. The place where this animal was particularly sacred was Hermopolis, the city of Thoth. Thebes and other towns also treated it with the respect due to the representative of the Egyptian Hermes; and in the Necropolis of the capital of Upper Egypt a particular spot was set apart as the cemetery of the sacred apes. There were living Cynocephali attached to the temple of the god Khons at Karnak. Mummies of the Cynocephalus are put up in a sitting posture, which is that usually given to the animal in the sculptures when representing the god Thoth; and its head forms one of the covers of the four sepulchral vases deposited in the tombs of the dead. It was then the type of the god Hapi, one of the four genii of Amenti, who was always figured with the head of a Cynocephalus. Many of this species of ape were tamed and kept by the Egyptians, and the paintings show that they were even trained for useful purposes, as I have already had occasion to observe.

It was a native of Ethiopia, as Pliny[2] and other authors state, where it is still common; and many are brought down to Cairo at the present day to amuse the crowds in the streets, by exhibiting the antics they are taught, to the sound of drums and other noisy instruments; but the constant application of the stick shows the little respect now paid in Egypt to the once revered emblem of Hermes.

Strabo agrees with other writers[3] in stating that the Hermopolitans worshipped the Cynocephalus. He afterwards mentions

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[1] Horapollo, i. 14; and Plin. viii. 54. [2] Plin. vii. 2, and viii. 54.
[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.

the Cebus,[1] which was sacred in Babylon,[2] near Memphis; but from his description of that animal, 'with a face like a satyr, and the rest between a dog and a bear,' we may suppose he had in view the sacred ape of Thoth, as no animal worshipped in Egypt answers his description so well as the Cynocephalus.[3] Indeed, it is possible that he mistook the Cynocephalus of Hermopolis for one of the smaller kind of monkeys, and applied the name Cebus to the sacred type of the Egyptian Hermes. This is further confirmed by the account given by Pliny[4] of 'the Cebus, whose hind-feet resembled human feet and thighs, and the fore-feet were like human hands,' and by its being 'a native of Ethiopia.' Some might suppose that he had in view the Typhonian figure which occurs so often in the astronomical subjects; but this is generally represented with the head of a hippopotamus and the body of a bear, or of some fanciful monster.[5]

The green monkey of Ethiopia was frequently brought to Egypt with the Cynocephalus by those who paid tribute to the kings of Egypt: there is, however, no evidence of its having been sacred to any deity.

Some writers mention the Cercopithecus, which seems to have been remarkable for the length of its tail.[6] This might even apply to the green monkey of Ethiopia. Indeed, Pliny's description of the Cercopithecus with a black head accords with one species still found there.[7] They seem to have been embalmed at Thebes and other places, and may therefore have some claim to a rank among the animals revered by the Egyptians; and if we may believe Juvenal,[8] the Cercopithecus was worshipped in the capital of the Thebaïd. It was frequently represented as an ornament in necklaces, in common with other animals, flowers, and fanciful devices; and the neck of a bottle was sometimes decorated with two sitting monkeys.

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[1] This is evidently the Egyptian *ḳaf* , though applied to the monkey, not to the baboon or Cynocephalus. Strabo evidently supposes the Cynocephalus to be different from the Cebus, but he is in error. The word 'ape,' in 2 Chron. ix. 21, is *kof* (*kofim*), and the same as the Egyptian *kaf*. But the word is Tamul, as also is *tok* (*tokiim*), 'peacocks.'

[2] The modern town of Old Cairo stands on the site of Babylon, of which the principal remains are the Roman station mentioned by Strabo (xvii. p. 555).

[3] Passalacqua mentions a monster resembling a Cynocephalus found at Hermopolis. (Pettigrew on Mummies, p. 184; and Passalacqua's Catalogue, p. 149.)

[4] Plin. viii. 19. Ælian, Nat. An. xvii. 8.

[5] The monkey with the name *kaf*, 'monkey,' appears under the chair of a person who lived in the reign of Cheops (Lepsius, 'Denkm.,' Abth. II. Bl. 36), proving that the word is much older than the Sanscrit form, and apparently Egyptian.—S. B.

[6] 'Si mihi cauda foret cercopithecus eram.'

[7] Plin. (viii. 21) does not place the Cercopithecus among the monkey tribe.

[8] Juv. Sat. xv. 4.

The bat is represented in the paintings of Beni-Hassan. It does not appear to have been sacred, nor do I know any instance of its being found embalmed. Egypt produces several species, some of which are of great size. The ancient Egyptians classed it among birds; but this was probably in reference to the element in which it moved, in the same manner as they introduced the crocodile and hippopotamus with the fish of the Nile.

Small figures of the hedgehog were sometimes made of earthenware and other materials to serve as ornaments. Lamps of terra-cotta are also met with in the tombs having the form of this animal. They do not, however, appear to have been connected with a religious feeling; but, like the small porcelain figures of the ibex, hippopotamus, fly, frog, and others, frequently found in Egypt, were probably intended for ornamental purposes, and frequently used as toys or trinkets.[1]

The *Mygale*[2] or shrewmouse held a conspicuous place amongst the sacred animals of Egypt; but I never observed any representation of it in sculptures relating to the religion or the natural history of the country. It has been found embalmed in the tombs of Thebes, and Passalacqua has thence brought specimens of two species. It is remarkable that one of these is larger than any with which we are acquainted. Herodotus[3] tells us that they removed the shrews which died to Butos, where they were buried, in consequence of their being sacred to Buto or Latona, the goddess of that city; and Plutarch[4] asserts that it received divine honours from being blind, and was therefore looked upon as a proper emblem of darkness, which was more ancient than light. The notion of its blindness they doubtless derived from its habit of coming forth only at night, when all was darkness, and from their impression that no animal who had the power of sight could neglect to take advantage of so valuable a gift; but however we may ridicule the Egyptians for believing the blindness of the Mygale, we find a parallel in the proverbial stigma we have attached to the mole and the bat.

I have already noticed the character of the goddess Buto or Latona, of whom it was the emblem. According to the metaphysical notions of the priesthood, she was that primordial 'darkness which covered the deep,' represented, according to their custom, by the name and under the form of a deity. The

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[1] It is seen as an animal of the fields or chase.—S. B. [2] *Sorex myosurus*, Pall.
[3] Herodot. ii. 67. [4] Plut. Symp. iv. quæst. 5.

gods of Egypt consisted, as I have frequently shown, of abstract ideas, as well as those things on which the divine intellect operated. Of this system an idea may be obtained from many parts of the Mosaic account of the Creation; and the second verse of Genesis might present to an Egyptian at least six members of his Pantheon, in the Earth, Chaos, Darkness, the Deep, the Spirit of God, and the Waters. But a similar abstruse notion was beyond the reach of the uninstructed. They were contented to see in Latona the nurse of Horus;[1] and the Mygale was said to be the animal whose form she assumed to elude the pursuit of Typhon, when he sought to destroy the son of Osiris, who had been committed to her charge. I have already shown that the Mygale is found embalmed at Thebes, and that the burying-place of this animal was not confined to Butos.[2] Strabo, indeed, would lead us to infer that Athribis vied with that city in the honours it bestowed upon the emblem of Latona;[3] and if he is correct in this assertion, the relationship, or perhaps the identity, of Buto and the lion-headed goddess Thriphis may be established. The Athribis mentioned by the geographer was the capital of a nome of the same name, lying between Bubastis and the Nile. Another Athribis stood in Upper Egypt, in the nome of Aphroditopolis, close to the Libyan range of hills, where extensive mounds and ruins of a temple still mark its site. It was also called Crocodilopolis; but tradition has retained the name of Athribis in the Coptic Athrebi. The inmates of the White Monastery, which stands in the vicinity, designate it by that of Atrib, or Medeenet Ashaysh; and the inscription on one of the fallen architraves of the temple distinctly shows that the goddess, as well as the city, bore the name of Thriphis.

Herodotus[4] says 'bears are rare in Egypt,' but there is little doubt that this animal was always unknown there; and the only instance of it in the paintings or sculptures is when brought by foreigners to Egypt among the gifts annually presented to the Pharaohs. It is therefore singular that Prosper Alpini[5] of Padua should assert it to be a native of that country, and describe it 'as not larger than our sheep, of a whitish colour, more easily tamed and less fierce than our own.'

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[1] Herodot. ii. 156.

[2] The inscriptions placed by the dedicators on the pedestals of the small bronze figures of the Mygale call it *Horus χent χem*, 'Horus, who dwells in the region Khem,' or Sekhem, and do not mention Uat or Buto.—S. B.

[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.

[4] Herodot. ii. 67.

[5] Prosper Alpinus, Hist. Nat. Æg., iv. 9.

According to Plutarch,[1] the soul of Typho was fabled by the Egyptians to have been translated into the constellation of the Bear.[2] This notion is probably derived from the frequent representations of a Typhonian monster in astronomical subjects; which are the more remarkable, since they date from the early period of the 18th Dynasty. That writer also asserts[3] that 'the weasel was worshipped by the Egyptians, as well as the asp and beetle, on account of certain resemblances (obscure as they are) which those creatures are thought to present to the operations of the divine power, like the image of the sun seen in drops of rain. For there are many who think, and are ready to assert, that the weasel engenders at the ear, and brings forth her young at the mouth, and they consequently look upon it as a just symbol of the divine reason.' From his having already mentioned the Ichneumon, it is evident he does not allude to that animal; and we are therefore bound, on his authority, to give the weasel a place among the sacred animals of Egypt. Porphyry says, that 'the weasel, the beetle, and the crocodile were emblems of the sun;' and Iamblichus[4] considers 'the dog, Cynocephalus, and *weasel* common to the moon.'

It is on the authority of Herodotus[5] that the otter is mentioned amongst the animals of Egypt; but I have already observed that it is unknown in Egypt, and that he probably had in view the large *Lacerta Nilotica* or monitor of the Nile, —the name *enhydris*, or 'water animal,' being too vague to be exclusively applied to the otter. Whatever this was, he asserts it to have been sacred; and had he not mentioned the Ichneumon,[6] we might feel certain that he had taken it for the otter (if by *enhydris* he meant to designate that particular inhabitant of the water), and I have known the same mistake to have been made by modern travellers. Indeed, though Herodotus was aware of the existence of the Ichneumon in Egypt, he may have been led into this error on seeing it in the river; and it is more likely that the Ichneumon should be mistaken for an otter than the monitor of the Nile.

Since writing the above, I find my last opinion fully confirmed by Ammianus Marcellinus,[7] who says it is 'the *Hydrus, a kind of Ichneumon*,' which attacks the crocodile; and the name

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 21.

[2] The only bear seen in the sculptures is the cinnamon-coloured bear, *Ursus Syriacus*, brought as tribute by the Rutennu or Syrians.—S. B.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 74.

[4] Iamblichus, de Myster., sect. v. c. 8.

[5] Herodot. ii. 72.

[6] Ibid. ii. 67.

[7] Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 14, p. 336.

of Enhydrus, given it by Solinus and Isidorus, added to the observation of Hesychius, who describes 'the Enhydrus as an amphibious animal, like the beaver,' may suffice to show that the Enhydris of Herodotus is no other than the ichneumon.

The dog was held in great veneration in many parts of Egypt, particularly at the city of Cynopolis, where it was treated with divine honours. Strabo tells us a stated quantity of provisions was always supplied by the inhabitants of that city for the maintenance of their favourite animals; and so tenacious were they of the respect due to them, that a civil war raged for some time between them and the people of Oxyrhynchus, in consequence of the latter having killed and eaten them. This had been done in revenge for an insult they had received from the Cynopolites, who had brought to table their sacred fish.[1] 'In ancient times,' says Plutarch,[2] 'the Egyptians paid the greatest reverence and honour to the dog; but by reason of his eating of the flesh of Apis, after Cambyses had slain it and thrown it out, when no other animal would taste or even come near it, he lost the first rank he had hitherto held amongst the sacred animals.'

Such is the opinion of Plutarch; but it may be doubted if the dog ever enjoyed the same exalted rank among the sacred animals as the cat and many others, however much it was esteemed by the Egyptians for its fidelity. It was sacred,[3] but not universally worshipped. It was not held in the same repute in every part of Egypt, as we have already seen from the disputes between the Cynopolites and Oxyrhynchites; nor was it looked upon as one of those 'which were worshipped by the whole nation, as were the ibis, the hawk, the Cynocephalus, and the Apis.'[4] The assertion of Plutarch respecting the disgrace into which the dog fell may be justly doubted; and Herodotus, whose authority is to be preferred, in his account of Apis's death, and the care taken by the priests to bury its body, disproves his statement, and stamps it with the fabulous character which belongs to so many of the stories contained in the treatise of 'Isis and Osiris.' Indeed, the idea seems so nearly connected with the group of the god Mithras, where the dog is represented feeding on the blood of the slaughtered ox, that there is reason to believe the story derived its origin from the Persian idol.

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 72. Strabo (xvii. p. 559) says the Oxyrhynchus fish was sacred in all Egypt. [2] Plut. de Isid. s. 44. [3] Plato (Gorgias, p. 398, transl.) calls it 'one of the deities of Egypt.' Plut. de Isid. ss. 72, 75. [4] Ibid. s. 73.

Among those who acknowledged the sacred character of the dog, the respect it received was very remarkable; for whenever one of those animals died a natural death, all the inmates of the house shaved their heads and their whole body;[1] and if any food, whether wine, corn, or anything else, happened to be in the house at the time, it was forbidden to be applied to any use.

According to some ancient authors, the dog was fabled to have been the guard of Isis and Osiris, and to have been revered on account of its assisting Isis in her search after the dead body of her husband; 'for which reason,' they add,[2] 'dogs are made to head the procession in the ceremonies of Isis, as if to record their utility on that occasion.'

Herodotus does not confine the burying-place of the dog to any particular district. 'Every one,' he says, 'inters them in their own town, where they are deposited in sacred chests;'[3] and if their funeral rites were performed with greater honour in the Cynopolite nome, it is evident, from the mummies found in different parts of the country, that great care was taken in the mode of embalming them in other places. We are told[4] that, having been properly prepared by the embalmers of animals, and wrapped in linen, they were deposited in the tombs allotted to them, the bystanders beating themselves in token of grief, and uttering lamentations in their honour.

According to Clemens of Alexandria,[5] two dogs were the emblems of the two hemispheres. Horapollo[6] pretends that the dog represents 'a scribe,[7] a prophet, laughter, the spleen,' and other things equally improbable; and Iamblichus[8] supposes a certain physical analogy in the dog, as well as the Cynocephalus and the weasel, with the moon. But the latter evidently confounds the moon or Thoth with the other Mercury, Anubis, to whom the dog was thought to be sacred. The greatest number of dog-mummies that I met with in Egypt were at the small town of El Hareíb, a little below the modern Manfalóot, at Thebes, and in the vicinity of Sharóna. But it is probable that every town had a place of interment set apart for them, as for other animals that died and were buried at the public expense,

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[1] Herodot. ii. 66. Diod. i. 84.
[2] Diod. i. 87.
[3] Herodot. ii. 77.
[4] Diod. i. 84.
[5] Clemens, Strom. lib. v.
[6] Horapollo, i. 39, 40, and ii. 22. [By the dog he means the so-called jackal, and is right.—S. B.]
[7] Perhaps a mistake arising from the Cynocephalus being the symbol of Thoth and of letters.
[8] Iambl. de Myst. sect. v. c. 8.

which, having accidentally escaped the researches of modern excavators, remain unknown.

The different breeds of dogs in Egypt I have already mentioned, which were kept by chasseurs and others for the same purposes as at the present day. According to Ælian, they were the most fleet in pursuit of game; and the same quickness seems to have taught them a mode of avoiding the crocodile while drinking at the Nile. 'For, fearing to stop in one spot, lest they should be carried off by one of those animals, they run by the edge of the stream, and, licking the water as they pass, they may be said to snatch, or even to steal, a draught, before their enemy lurking beneath the surface can rise to the attack.'[1] But this is not the only remarkable peculiarity mentioned by Ælian,[2] who had heard (for the naturalist always defends himself with the words 'I hear') that socialism already existed among the dogs of Memphis, who, depositing all they stole in one place, met together to enjoy a common repast.

I now proceed to notice an error which has been repeated by ancient Greek and Roman writers, respecting the god Anubis, who is universally represented by them with the head of a dog. It would be tedious to enumerate the names of those who have repeated this fable. The dog was universally believed by all but the Egyptians themselves to be the peculiar type of Anubis. Roman sculptors went so far as to represent him with the dog's head they thought he bore in the temples of the Nile; and the ignorance of poets and others who persisted in describing Anubis as a dog-headed god, is only equalled by that which led them to give a female character to the sphinx. It was the jackal, and not the dog, which was the emblem of Anubis; and if this god was really worshipped as the presiding deity of Cynopolis, as some have maintained,[3] it was probably in consequence of the jackal and the dog having been included under the same generic denomination. But no representation occurs of Anubis with the head of that animal. The dog is rarely, if ever, found except as a domestic animal in Egyptian sculpture: the only one I remember to have seen, which had any reference to a sacred subject, was in a mutilated statue representing a man seated beneath the animal's head, in the attitude common to figures found in the tombs; and the hieroglyphics accompanying it plainly show it to have been a funeral group. But it is possible

[1] Ælian, Nat. An. vi. 53. [2] Ibid. vii. 19. [3] Strabo, xvii. p. 558.

that even this was intended to represent a jackal; for unless the exact character of the latter has been carefully maintained, it is difficult, in a mutilated statue, to distinguish between it and the Egyptian fox-dog; and from its forming part of a funeral group, and therefore connected with Anubis, it is more likely to have been intended for the jackal than the dog. I have restored the lost portions of it in the drawing given in woodcut No. 540. The hieroglyphics are evidently of early time; and if it was really intended to represent a dog, it only goes to prove that this animal was also dedicated to Anubis.

The fidelity of the dog and its utility to man were no doubt the original causes of its being admitted amongst the sacred animals of Egypt; and it is evident from the paintings that it enjoyed great privileges as a domestic animal, being the constant companion of persons of all classes, as in European countries at the present day. It accompanied them in their walks, assisted them in the chase, and was kept as a favourite in the house.

A similar regard is not extended to it by the modern Egyptians, whose Moslem prejudices consider it an unclean animal. Even a *Máleki*, the most liberal of the four sects in favour of the dog, would not touch the nose or the wet hairs of this animal without thinking himself defiled and bound to submit to purification from the contact. The dog is therefore seldom admitted into the houses of the Moslems, who even believe that, independently of its being unclean, its presence within doors keeps away the good spirits from their abode. But it is not ill-treated, and those which are wild in the streets are fed by morsels occasionally thrown to them during a repast; and small tanks of water placed at the corners of the streets are regularly filled for their use. The name of dog applied to any man is, as might be supposed, a great term of reproach among the Moslems, 'a Jew's dog,' the lowest caste of dog, being the unapproachable climax; but it appears somewhat inconsistent in us to choose the dog as the most uncomplimentary designation, when we are disposed to speak so favourably of that faithful animal. This, however, may be accounted for by early impressions received from the Bible,[1] and some other causes.

The name of the wolf, in Coptic *ouônsh*, is satisfactorily

[1] With the Jews a 'dead dog' was the greatest term of reproach. Cf. 2 Sam. xvi. 9, 2 Kings viii. 13, for the term 'dog.'

shown from the hieroglyphics to have been the same in olden times; the figure of the wolf, like the other wild beasts, being accompanied by its phonetic name[1] in the paintings of Beni-Hassan. It was peculiarly sacred at Lycopolis,[2] in Upper Egypt, where wolf-mummies are found in small excavated chambers in the rock, behind the modern town of E'Sioot; and the coins of the Lycopolite nome, in the time of the Empire, bear on their reverse a wolf, with the word *Lyco*. 'In that nome alone of all Egypt,' says Plutarch,[3] 'the people eat sheep, because the wolf does, whom they revere as a god;' and Diodorus[4] includes the wolf among the animals which after death were treated with the same respect as during their lifetime, like the cat, ichneumon, dog, hawk, ibis, crocodile, and others.

Herodotus[5] observes that the wolves of Egypt were scarcely larger than foxes; Aristotle[6] considers them inferior in size to those of Greece; and Pliny[7] says they were small and inactive, which is fully proved by modern experience. In their habits they are also unlike the wolves of Europe, as they never range in packs, but generally prowl about singly; nor do I ever remember having seen more than two together, either in the desert or in the valley of the Nile. Sonnini's erroneous assertion, that the wolf and fox are not found in Egypt, I have already noticed; and, as the learned Larcher justly observes, the historian of Halicarnassus, 'an Asiatic by birth, must have known the jackal, which was common to all Asia Minor, as well as the wolf; and if he knew them both, it was impossible for him to have mistaken a jackal for a wolf.'

Herodotus mentions[8] a festival which still continued to be celebrated during his visit to Egypt, and which was reported to have been instituted to commemorate the descent of King Rhampsinitus to the lower regions, where he played at dice with Ceres. 'On this occasion,' says the historian, 'one of the priests being clad in a cloak of tissued stuff, made on the very day of the ceremony, and having his eyes covered, is conducted to the road leading to the temple of Ceres, and there left. Two wolves then take him to the temple of the goddess, distant about 20 stades (2½ miles) from the city, and afterwards bring him back to the

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[1] *Ansh:* it was also applied to a kind of hound.—S. B.
[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.
[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.
[4] Diodor. i. 83.
[5] Herodot. ii. 67.
[6] Aristotle, Hist. Anim. lib. viii. 28.
[7] Pliny, viii. 22.
[8] Herodot. ii. 122.

same spot.' Herodotus very naturally treats this idle story as it deserves. But we may infer, from the wolf being mentioned with the goddess Ceres, that the animal was connected with some of the rites of Isis; and Eusebius[1] states that the wolf was honoured in Egypt because Isis with her son Horus, being on the point of encountering Typho, was assisted by Osiris under the form of a wolf.

Diodorus,[2] after saying 'that some suppose the wolf to have been honoured on account of the affinity observed between it and the dog,' states that 'they give another but more fabulous reason,' which is similar to that mentioned by Eusebius. 'They pretend,' says the historian, 'that Osiris came from Hades in the shape of a wolf, to assist Isis and her son Horus, when preparing to give battle to Typho; and the latter being defeated, the conquerors paid religious respect to the animal to whose appearance they attributed the victory. Others affirm that during an invasion of the Ethiopians, a large body of wolves having routed the enemy and driven them out of Egypt, beyond the city of Elephantine, their worship became established in that part of the country, which received the name of the Lycopolite Nome.' With this fable may be connected the statement of Macrobius,[3] that 'the Thebaïc city Lycopolis venerates Apollo (Horus) and the wolf with similar honours;' though his etymological suggestions abound with the combined fancies of the Romans and the Greeks.

Fabulous as are these tales, they tend to show that the worship of this animal had reference to some of the festivals of Isis; and future researches at Lycopolis may enable us to discover the relation between the goddess and the sacred animal of that city. According to Herodotus,[4] the bodies of wolves which died in different parts of Egypt were not transported to Lycopolis, but were buried in the place where they happened to be found; but it is probable that they did not receive the same honours throughout the country, and those places where the sheep was particularly sacred could scarcely be expected to venerate the enemies of their favourite animal.

Ælian,[5] indeed, confines the worship of the wolf to certain parts of the country in the expression '*those* Egyptians who venerate the wolf.' But his idea of their rooting up the wolf-

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[1] Euseb. Præpar. Evang. ii. 1.
[2] Diodor. i. 83 and 88.
[3] Macrob. Saturn. i. 19.
[4] Herodot. ii. 67.
[5] Ælian, ix. 18.

bane is one of the many idle tales of ancient writers, who paused not to inquire if a plant bore the same name in other countries by which it was known to them, or even if it was a production of the soil. The worship of the wolf was perhaps connected with that of the fox and jackal; and the caves of Lycopolis present the mummies of these last, as well as of the animal whose name it bore.

The jackal is the invariable emblem of Anubis. The deity has the head of that animal, and it even occurs in the place of the god himself. For some mysterious reason it is always of a black colour; and the length of its legs, and generally elongated form, show that their mode of representing it was conventional. This was probably owing to their confining themselves to the imitation of an early style, from which later artists were forbidden to depart, as was usually the case in the religious subjects of the Egyptians. The head of the jackal was even given to one of the four genii of Amenti, whose figures were attached to particular portions of the viscera of human mummies, and whose heads form the covers of the four vases deposited in the tombs. Foxes and jackals are very common in Egypt. They are inferior in size to the generality of those in Europe and Asia, which accords with a remark of Denon, that the animals of Egypt are a smaller variety than in some other countries; but their habits are similar. Every evening, about sunset, the jackals issue from their caves or lurking-places. Then, calling each other together by loud and continued howlings, accompanied by an occasional bark, they leave the mountains, and scatter themselves over the plains in quest of food; and it is amusing to see them enjoy a plentiful repast of locusts, whenever a swarm of those insects settles in the country.

The Ichneumon[1] was particularly worshipped by the Heracleopolites,[2] who lived in a nome situated in the valley of the Nile, a little to the south of the entrance to the modern province of the Fyoóm. It was 'reputed sacred to Lucina and Latona.'

The principal cause of the respect paid to this animal was supposed to be its hostility to the crocodile, an animal held in

[1] Viverra ichneumon, *Linn.*; the Mangusta, *Cuv.*; or Herpestes, *Illig.* [Bronze figures of the Ichneumon, which have on their back the vase, disk, vulture, and hawk, like the Apis, occur. The story that it cannot be killed by the bite of a snake is uncertain.—S. B.]

[2] Ælian, x. 47.

great abhorrence by the people of Heracleopolis. It destroyed its eggs, and some believed that it attacked the crocodile itself. Diodorus[1] affirms that it broke the eggs of the crocodile, not for the sake of food,[2] but from a benevolent motive towards mankind, whose welfare it sought to promote by killing the offspring of that odious animal. But this idea probably arose from its having been observed not to eat the young when of a large size and ready to leave the egg, preferring, as no doubt it did, with the taste of an epicure, a fresh-laid egg, or at least one which had not so far undergone a change as to contain within it the hard and scaly substance of a full-formed crocodile. 'Were it not,' adds the historian, 'for the service it thus renders to the country, the river would become unapproachable, from the multitude of crocodiles; and it even kills them when full-grown, by means of a wonderful and almost incredible contrivance. Covering itself with a coat of mud, the ichneumon watches the moment when the crocodile, coming out of the river, sleeps (as is its custom) upon a sand-bank, with its open mouth (turned towards the wind), and, adroitly gliding down its throat, penetrates to its entrails. It then gnaws through its stomach, and, having killed its enemy, escapes without receiving any injury.' However unworthy of credit this story may be, the destruction of the crocodile's eggs by the ichneumon is not improbable, both on account of its preferring eggs to every kind of food, and from its inhabiting the banks of the river where those animals deposit them in the sand. And though the part of the country in which the ichneumon abounds lies more to the north than the usual abode of the crocodile at the present day, there is little doubt that in former times the latter frequented Lower Egypt; and this is proved by the fact of its having been the sacred animal of the Arsinoïte nome.

It is, indeed, fortunate for the crocodiles of the present day that ichneumons no longer abound in the same districts, and that their degenerate descendants have not inherited the skill of those mentioned by Diodorus. The chivalrous adventures of the ichneumon have ceased to be recorded by the more matter-of-fact researches of modern naturalists; and the interests of the two animals no longer clash, as in the days of their adoration.

The nome of Heracleopolis, the Fyoóm, and the vicinity of

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[1] Diodor. i. 87. [2] Ibid. i. 35.

Cairo, still continue to be the chief resorts of the ichneumon; and it is sometimes tamed and kept by the modern as by the ancient Egyptians, to protect their houses from rats. But from its great predilection for eggs and poultry, they generally find the injury it does far outbalances the good derived from its services as a substitute for the cat. In form it partakes of the weasel; with which it was formerly classed, under the head of Viverra. It is the Mangousta of Buffon, and the Nims, Tiffeh, and Kot Pharaoon, or 'Pharaoh's Cat,' of the Arabs. Its length is 2 feet 7 inches, measuring from the end of the tail to the tip of the nose, the tail being 1 foot 4 inches, and it is covered with long bristly hair. Though easily tamed, ichneumons are seldom used by the modern Egyptians, for the reasons already given. Unless taken very young, and accustomed to the habits of a domestic life, they always prefer the fields to the confinement of the house; and those I kept at Cairo, though perfectly tame and approachable, were ever ready to escape to the garden when an opportunity offered. And, whether from a jealousy common to two of the same profession, or from some natural hostility, I always found an irreconcilable hatred to exist between the ichneumons and the cats of the *ménage*, which last generally avoided a second *rencontre* with a full-grown ichneumon. Much controversy has existed on the question whether ichneumons were tamed, and used in the houses of modern Egypt. Some have affirmed that they were frequently domesticated, others that this was incompatible with their nature. The truth, as in many similar instances, lies between both. Some have most unquestionably been reared, and have served the purpose of cats, as I know from positive experience, as well as from the reports of others. The two in my own possession at Cairo were very imperfectly tamed, being caught when full-grown; but I saw one in the house of Lavoratori perfectly domesticated, against which the only complaint was its propensity to appropriate the eggs and poultry. On the other hand, it may be observed that the custom of keeping them is by no means general, and the few which are accidentally met with are rather objects of curiosity than utility.

The paintings of Thebes, Memphis, and other parts of Egypt frequently represent this animal clandestinely searching for eggs, or carrying off young birds from their nests amidst the water-plants of the lakes; and some representations of it in bronze confirm the authority of those ancient writers who place

it among the sacred animals of Egypt. Plutarch[1] attributes the religious respect of the Egyptians for the ox, sheep, and ichneumon, to their utility to mankind.[2] 'The people of Lemnos in like manner venerate the lark, from its finding out and breaking the eggs of the caterpillar; and the Thessalians[3] the stork, because on its first appearance in their country it destroys the numerous serpents with which it is then infested. They have therefore made a law that whoever kills one of these birds should suffer banishment.' 'The asp, the weasel, and the beetle, on the other hand, are worshipped on account of certain resemblances, obscure as they are, which those creatures are thought to present to the operations of the Divine Power.'

Herodotus says little respecting the ichneumon,[4] except that it received the same honours of sepulture as the domestic animals. But Ælian[5] tells us that it destroyed the eggs of the asp, and fought against that poisonous reptile, which appears the most plausible reason for the veneration in which it was held by the Egyptians. Pliny,[6] Strabo, and Ælian[7] relate the manner in which it attacked the asp, and was protected from the effect of its poisonous bite. Ælian says it covered itself with a coat of mud, which rendered its body proof against the fangs of its enemy; or if no mud was near, it wetted its body with water and rolled itself in the sand. Its nose, which alone remained exposed, was then enveloped in several folds of its tail, and it thus commenced the attack. If bitten, its death was inevitable;[8] but all the efforts of the asp were unavailing against its artificial coat of mail, and the ichneumon, attacking it on a sudden, seized it by the throat and immediately killed it.

Strabo[9] gives a similar account of its covering itself with mud in order to attack the crocodile; and adds, that its mode of killing the asp was by seizing it by the head or tail, and dragging it into the river. In Pliny and Aristotle's description[10] of the ichneumon, we find the same story respecting the coat of mud in which it was clad for an encounter with the asp; and the former adds, that on perceiving its enemy, it deferred the attack until it had called to its assistance other ichneumons. But modern experience proves that, without having recourse to

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 74.
[2] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. i.
[3] Conf. Plin. x. 23. [4] Herodot. ii. 77.
[5] Ælian, Nat. An. vi. c. 38.
[6] Plin. viii. c. 24. [7] Ælian, iii. 22.
[8] Contrary to the common story of its eating a particular herb as an antidote, like the *wáran* subsequently mentioned.
[9] Strabo, xvii. p. 558.
[10] Aristot. Hist. Anim. ix. 6.

a cuirass of mud, the ichneumon fearlessly attacks snakes; and the moment it perceives them[1] raise their head from the ground, it seizes them at the back of the neck, and with a single bite lays them dead before it.

Diodorus affirms[2] that the cat was regarded as the destroyer of the asp and other deadly serpents. But though the cat is known to attack them, its habits are not such as to ensure its success in these encounters. Even in attacking the scorpion, few have the address to kill that reptile, till it has been acquired by experience, which with the asp would be far too dearly bought. The way in which cats attack the scorpion is curious. They turn it over on its back by a blow of their claws upon its side, and then placing one foot on the body they tear off the tail with the other; and thus deprived of its weapon of offence, it is killed, and sometimes eaten, without further risk.

The Arabs relate that when the *wáran*, or lizard monitor, attacks a snake, and is bitten by its venomous fangs, it immediately runs to a particular herb which grows in the desert; and eating some of it, and rubbing the wounded part upon the leaves, it recovers from the effect of the poison and returns to the fight. One assured me that he had witnessed an encounter of this kind, in which he perceived the effects of the herb whenever the lizard was wounded by its adversary; and having plucked it up during their continued encounter, he saw the wounded lizard seek in vain this antidote, and die of the bite. But the tales of the Arabs are not always true; and this cannot fail to recall the ancient belief in the properties of the Elaphoboscon[3] and Dictamnus.

Pliny mentions several plants said to be remedies against the bites of serpents;[4] and Cicero[5] asserts that 'the wild goats of Crete, when wounded by poisonous arrows, fled to a herb called Dictamnus, which they had no sooner tasted than the arrows forthwith fell from their bodies.' This is repeated in other words by Aristotle and Pliny,[6] and by Virgil.[7]

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[1] Pliny (viii. 24) says, it only eats the brains.

[2] Diodor. i. 87.

[3] [Some suppose this to be the parsnip. — G. W.]

[4] Plin. xxii. 22, *et alibi.*

[5] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. ii.

[6] Plin. xxv. 8: 'Statim decidentibus telis.' Aristot. Anim. ix. 6.

[7] Virg. Æn. xii. 412:

'Dictamnum genitrix Cretæa carpit ab Ida
Puberibus caulem foliis, et flore comantem
Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris
Gramina, cum tergo volucres hæsere sagittæ.'

With regard to Ælian's remark[1] of the ichneumon being both male and female, we may conclude that, like the notion respecting the spotted hyæna (or Marafeen of Ethiopia), it originated in a peculiarity common to both those animals; and the ludicrous statement afterwards given by the naturalist was supplied by a misguided imagination. The vicinity of the Heracleopolite and Arsinoïte nomes, where two animals the most hostile to one another were revered, seems to have led to serious and repeated disputes. And to such a point was their animosity carried, that even the respect with which the national vanity of an Egyptian might be expected to regard a monument so universally celebrated as the Labyrinth, was not sufficient to restrain the fanaticism of the Heracleopolites in maintaining the cause of their favourite animal.[2]

The representations of the hyæna in the paintings of Thebes show it to have been looked upon as an enemy to the flocks and fields, and to have been hunted by the peasants, who either shot it with arrows or caught it in traps. No sculpture in the temples, and no emblem in the tombs furnish the least authority for supposing it sacred, though some have thought it was dedicated to the Egyptian Mars.[3] It is very common throughout Egypt; and the paintings of Thebes, Beni-Hassan, and the tombs near the Pyramids, show it to have frequented the Upper and Lower Country in ancient times as at the present day. Its Coptic name is *hoite*[4]—in Egyptian *het* or *heti*, and the same by which the hieroglyphics prove it to have been known in the ancient Egyptian language.

The favourite food of this animal seems to be the ass. It sometimes attacks cattle and men, and is particularly dreaded by the modern peasants; but I never found one which ventured to attack a man who fearlessly advanced towards it, except when rendered savage by a wound, or by the desire natural to all animals of defending its young. On these occasions it is a rude and dangerous antagonist. Its general mode of attacking a man is by rushing furiously against him, and throwing him down by a blow of its large bony head; and in a sandy place it is said first to throw up a cloud of dust with its hind legs, and then to close with its opponent, while disconcerted by this wily artifice.

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[1] Ælian, An. x. 47. [2] Plin. xxxvi. 13.

[3] At the time of the 4th Dynasty the hyæna is represented as a domesticated animal, or kind of game; and in one of the lists of food of the time of Cheops it is registered as eaten. (Lepsius, 'Denkm.,' Abt. II. Bl. 25.)—S. B.

[4] ϩOITE.

The Abyssinians have an extraordinary fancy respecting the hyæna. They affirm that a race of people who inhabit their country, and who usually follow the trade of blacksmiths, have the power of changing their form at pleasure, and assuming that of the hyæna. I had often heard this tale from natives of Abyssinia living in Egypt, and having been told many equally extravagant I was not surprised at their credulity. Meeting accidentally with an Englishman who had lived about thirty years there, and who on his way to Europe was staying a few days at Cairo, I mentioned, in the course of conversation, this singular notion, with an evident demonstration of my own disbelief, and with an inquiry whether it was generally credited. Looking at me with an unequivocal expression of pity for my ignorance, he answered that no Abyssinian ever doubted it, and that no one at all acquainted with that country would think of asking such a question. 'Every one,' he added, 'knows that those blacksmiths have the power of assuming the form of a hyæna, which as naturally belongs to them as that of a man. I had a proof of it a few days before I left Abyssinia. For while walking and conversing with one of them, I happened to turn my head aside for a few instants, and on looking round again I found that he had changed himself, and was trotting away at a little distance from me under his new form.'

The *Hyæna crocuta*, or spotted hyæna,[1] differs from the former in its form and colour, as well as its habits, which are gregarious. It appears to answer to the Chaus of Pliny,[2] which Linnæus places in the Felis tribe. It is the Crocuta of Strabo,[3] which he considers a hybrid of the wolf and the dog. Large packs of them infest the country in many parts of Upper Ethiopia, but they do not extend their visits to Nubia or Egypt; and in former times also they seem to have been unknown in Egypt: for the sculptured representations of them show that they were only brought out of curiosity as presents to the Pharaohs, to be placed among the strange animals of foreign countries in the vivaria, or zoological gardens, of the royal domain. Nor is there any probability of their having held a place amongst the sacred animals either of Egypt or Ethiopia.

The respect with which the cat was treated in Egypt was such as few of the sacred animals enjoyed. Its worship was

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[1] The Marafeen or Marafeeb of Berber and Sennaar.

[2] Plin. viii. 19: 'Effigie lupi, pardorum maculis.'

[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 533.

universally acknowledged throughout the country;[1] and though, in some districts, the honours paid to it were less marked than in the immediate neighbourhood of Bubastis, its sanctity was nowhere denied; and the privileges accorded to the emblem of the Egyptian Diana were as scrupulously maintained in the Thebaïd as in Lower Egypt. 'Never,' says Cicero,[2] 'did anyone hear tell of a cat having been killed by an Egyptian;' and so bigoted were they in their veneration for this animal, that neither the influence of their own magistrates, nor the dread of the Roman name, could prevent the populace from sacrificing to their vengeance an unfortunate Roman who had accidentally killed a cat.[3] When one of them died a natural death, all the inmates of the house shaved their eyebrows in token of mourning, and, having embalmed the body, they buried it with great pomp; so that, as Diodorus[4] observes, 'they not only respected some animals, as cats, ichneumons, dogs, and hawks, during their lifetime, but extended the same honours to them after death.'

All writers seem to agree about the respect shown to the cat throughout the country; we can therefore with difficulty credit the assertion of a late author,[5] who states, 'that in Alexandria, one of these animals was sacrificed to Horus,' even though the city was inhabited by a mixed population, in great part composed of Greeks. Those which died in the vicinity of Bubastis[6] were sent to that city, to repose within the precincts of the place particularly devoted to their worship. Others were deposited in certain consecrated spots set apart for the purpose near the town where they had lived. In all cases the expense of the funeral rites depended on the donations of pious individuals, or on the peculiar honours paid to the goddess of whom they were the emblem. Many were, no doubt, sent by their devout masters to Bubastis itself, from an impression that they would repose in greater security near the abode of their patron; and to the same feeling which induced their removal to a choice place of burial may be attributed the abundance of cat-mummies in the vicinity of Sheikh Hassan, where a small rock temple marks the site of the Speos Artemidos.[7]

Those cats which during their lifetime had been worshipped

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[1] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.
[2] Cic. de Nat. Deor. i. 29.
[3] Diodor. i. 83.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Sextus Empiricus, Pyrrhon. Hypotyp. iii. 24, quoted by Larcher. Herodot. ii. 301.
[6] Herodot. ii. 67.
[7] 'Egypt and Thebes,' p. 379.

in the temple of Bast, as the living types of that goddess, were doubtless treated after death with additional honours, and buried in a far more sumptuous manner. This distinguished post raised them from the rank of emblems to that of representatives of the deity herself. The Cynocephalus kept in the temple of Hermopolis, or the sacred hawk adored at Heliopolis, enjoyed in like manner a consideration far beyond the rest of their species, though all were sacred to Thoth and Ra, the gods of those cities; and this remark equally applies to all the sacred animals of Egypt.

I have already observed, that in places where the deities to whom particular animals were consecrated held a distinguished post in the sanctuary, the ceremony of removing them after death to another city was dispensed with. We consequently find that the bodies of cats were embalmed and buried at Thebes and other towns, where the rites of Bast were duly observed: and if some individuals, as already stated, preferred, from a bigoted fancy or extravagant affection, to send the body of a favourite to the Necropolis of Bubastis, it was done with the same view as when a zealous votary of Osiris requested, on his death-bed, that his body should be removed from his native town to the city of Abydus. This, as Plutarch says,[1] 'was in order that it might appear to rest in the same grave with Osiris himself;' but it was merely a caprice, in no way arguing a common custom. A few instances of a similar kind probably induced Herodotus to infer the general practice of removing the cats which had died in other places to Bubastis, as the ibis to Hermopolis.[2]

After showing how prolific Egypt was in domestic animals, Herodotus mentions[3] two peculiarities of the cats, by which he accounts for their numbers not increasing to the extent they otherwise would. But these, like other prodigies of the good old times, have ceased in Egypt, and the actions of cats, like other things, have been reduced to the level of commonplace realities. He tells us that, 'when a house caught fire, the only thought of the Egyptians was to preserve the lives of the cats. Ranging themselves therefore in bodies round the house, they endeavoured to rescue those animals from the flames, totally disregarding the destruction of the property itself; but, notwithstanding all their precautions, the cats, leaping over the heads and gliding between

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 20.
[2] Herodot. ii. 67.
[3] Herodot. ii. 46; and Ælian, vii. 27.

the legs of the bystanders, rushed into the flames, as if impelled by divine agency to self-destruction.' Were this true, the love of their domestic animals must frequently have sacrificed several contiguous houses during their exertions to prevent the suicide of a cat; but however great the grief of the Egyptians in witnessing these wonderful cases of a feline *felo de se*, we may make some allowance for the exaggeration of a Greek,[1] and doubt the neglect of their burning dwellings stated by the historian.

That their numbers do not diminish in Egypt is perceptibly felt by the present inhabitants of Cairo, who are frequently obliged to profit by the privilege of sending their surplus cat population to the house of the Kadi, where a fund is charitably provided for their maintenance. When they are found to have increased, as is often the case, to a troublesome extent in a house, the inmates send a basketful of cats to be set loose in the Kadi's courtyard, without much regard to the feelings of the neighbours, who happen to live in so disagreeable a vicinity. Daily, at the *asser*,[2] a person employed for this purpose brings a certain quantity of meat, cut into small pieces, which is thrown into the middle of the courtyard, and a prodigious number of cats is seen about that hour coming down from the walls on all sides, to partake of their expected repast. The weak and the newly-arrived fare but badly, the whole being speedily carried off by the veterans and the most pugnacious of the party—the former excelling in rapidity of swallowing, the latter in appropriating, and many only obtain a small portion while the claws and teeth of their stronger competitors are occupied.

A similar feeling in favour of this animal provides food for other communities of cats in various parts of the city; and though they no longer enjoy the same honours as their predecessors, they are invariably well treated by the modern Egyptians, from their utility in freeing the houses from the numerous rats and reptiles which so often infest them. Such favourites are they, that, while the dog is looked upon as an unclean animal, whose touch is carefully avoided by the Moslem, the cat is often allowed to partake of the same dish with its

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[1] I have had occasion to observe that Herodotus has sometimes sacrificed truth to the pleasure of setting forth an amusing contrast to Greek customs, and striking his readers or hearers with surprise. Several instances of this may be pointed out in his Euterpe, 35 and 36.

[2] In the afternoon, between midday and sunset.

master, unless there be reason to suppose it has been contaminated by eating a scorpion or other unclean reptile.

The origin of the respect paid to the cat by the ancient Egyptians, was owing to the benefits it was thought to confer on mankind by destroying various noxious reptiles.[1] And though, as I have already observed, Diodorus, in considering it as the enemy of the asp and other serpents, gives it more credit than it really deserved, its utility in a country like Egypt must have been universally allowed. This predilection for it is frequently alluded to in the paintings, where a favourite cat is represented accompanying the master of the house in his fowling excursions, or when seated at home with a party of friends.

'The care they took of the cat and other sacred animals,' says Diodorus,[2] 'was remarkable. For these and the ichneumons they prepared bread sopped in milk, or fish of the Nile cut up into small pieces, and each was supplied with the kind of food best suited to its habits and taste. As soon as they died they were carried amidst bitter lamentations to the embalmers, and their bodies having been prepared with oil of cedar, and other aromatic substances capable of preserving them, were deposited in sacred vaults.'

Numerous embalmed cats are found in tombs at Thebes and other places in Upper and Lower Egypt.[3] They are frequently accompanied by the mummies of dogs—probably from these two being looked upon as the favourite domestic animals of the country. They are generally enveloped in the same manner—the legs bound up with the body, and the head alone left in its real shape. This, from the ears and painted face, readily indicates the animal within the bandages; which are sometimes of various colours, arranged in devices of different forms. Cat-mummies were sometimes deposited in wooden boxes or coffins; but in all cases they were wrapped in linen bandages, which, as Diodorus observes,[4] were employed for enveloping the bodies of cats and other sacred animals.[5]

According to Plutarch,[6] the cat was placed upon the top of

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[1] Diodor. i. 87.

[2] Ibid. i. 83.

[3] They are found bandaged in different manners, and generally with much care, sometimes made up with the bandage retaining the shape of the head of the animal in it.—S. B.

[4] Diodor. i. 83.

[5] There was also a favourite or more expensive way of depositing their mummies in cases of wood or bronze, which had the form of a cat, and the pedestal in shape of the hieroglyph of the name Bast or Bubastis.—S. B.

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 63.

the sistrum, 'to denote the moon;[1] its variety of colour, its activity in the night, and the peculiar circumstances attending its fecundity, making it a proper emblem of that luminary.' For it is reported, that at first it brings forth one, then two, afterwards three, and so on; adding one to each former birth till it reaches seven; so that it brings forth twenty-eight in all, corresponding to the several degrees of light which appear during the moon's revolutions. 'And though,' he adds, 'such things may appear to carry an air of fiction with them, yet it may be depended upon, that the pupils of her eyes seem to fill up and to grow larger upon the full of the moon, and to decrease again and diminish in their brightness on its waning.' The notion of the cat having been emblematic of the moon was probably owing to the Greeks supposing Bast or Bubastis, the Egyptian Diana, to be related to the moon, as in their own mythology. That it was erroneous is evident, from the fact of the moon being represented in the Egyptian Pantheon by the god Thoth; but it may be more readily pardoned than many of the misconceptions of the Greeks. According to the fable which pretended to derive the worship of animals from the assumption of their various shapes by the gods, when striving to elude the pursuit of Typho, or the wicked attacks of mankind,[2] the goddess Diana was said to have taken the form of a cat.

The worship of the lion was particularly regarded in the city of Leontopolis;[3] and other cities adored this animal as the emblem of more than one deity. It was the symbol of strength,[4] and therefore typical of the Egyptian Hercules. With this idea the Egyptian sculptors frequently represented a powerful and victorious monarch accompanied by it in battle; though, as Diodorus[5] says of Osymandyas, some suppose the king to have been really attended by a tame lion on those occasions.

Macrobius,[6] Proclus,[7] Horapollo,[8] and others, state that the lion was typical of the sun—an assertion apparently borne out

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[1] There is no reason for believing the cat represented the moon, but it did the sun, for the reason of the dilatation of the pupil of the eye. The male cat symbolised the sun, or Ra, and as such is represented in the vignettes of the 17th chapter of the Ritual, destroying the serpent Aphôphis. The female cat was emblematic of Bast or Bubastis, also a solar deity.—S. B.

[2] Diodor. i. 86. Conf. Plut. de Isid. s. 72. Ovid. Met. v. 323.

[3] Diodor. i. 84. Strabo, xvii. Porphyr. de Abstin. iv. 9. Ælian, Hist. An. xii. 7. Plin. v. 10.

[4] Clem. Strom. lib. v.

[5] Diodor. i. 48.

[6] Macrob. Saturn. i. 26.

[7] Proclus, de Sacrific.: 'Some animals are solar, as lions and cocks.'

[8] Horapollo, i. 17.

by the sculptures, which sometimes figure it borne upon the backs of two lions. It is also combined with other emblems appertaining to the god Ra.

I have had occasion to mention a god and several goddesses who bore the head of a lion, independently of the Egyptian Diana, Bast or Bubastis. This deity had the head of a cat, or of a lion;[1] and the demonstrative sign following her name was sometimes the latter, in lieu of the cat, her peculiar emblem. Hence it is evident that the Egyptians not only included those two animals in the same family, but considered them analogous types. This, however, seems only to apply to the female, and not to have extended to the male lion, which was thought to partake of a different character, more peculiarly emblematic of vigour and strength.

Macrobius pretends that the Egyptians employed the lion to represent that part of the heavens where the sun, during its annual revolution, was in its greatest force, 'the sign Leo being called the abode of the sun;' and the different parts of this animal are reputed by him to have indicated various seasons, and the increasing or decreasing ratio of the solar power.[2] The head he supposes to have denoted the 'present time;'[3] which Horapollo interprets as the type of vigilance; and the fire of its eyes was considered analogous to the fiery look which the sun constantly directs towards the world.

In the temple of Dakkeh the lion is represented upon the shrine or sacred table of the ibis, the bird of Hermes; and a monkey, the emblem of the same deity, is seen praying to a lion with the disk of the sun upon its head.

Some also believed the lion to be sacred to the Egyptian Minerva; and Ælian says the Egyptians consecrated it to Vulcan,[4] 'attributing the fore-part of this animal to fire, and the hinder parts to water.' Sometimes the lion, the emblem of strength, was adopted as a type of the king, and substituted for the more usual representative of royal power, the sphinx; which, when formed by the human head and lion's body, signified the union of intellectual and physical strength.

In Southern Ethiopia, in the vicinity of the modern town of Shendy, the lion-headed deity seems to have been the chief

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[1] Not lioness—the mane is indicated.—S. B.

[2] Macrob. Saturn. i. 26.

[3] Ibid. i. 25. Macrobius (i. 20) also says, the sun is the 'heart of heaven,' and the 'mind of the world.' Besides other names, he has that of Phanes (i. 18).

[4] Ælian, Nat. An. xii. 7.

object of worship. He holds a conspicuous place in the great temple of Wady Owáteb, and on the sculptured remains at Wady Benát; at the former of which he is the first in a procession of deities, consisting of Ra, Chnoumis, and Ptah, to whom a monarch is making offerings. On the side of the propylæum tower is a snake with a lion's head and human arms, rising from a lotus; and in the small temple at the same place, a god with three lions' heads and two pair of arms holds the principal place in the sculptures. This last appears to be peculiarly marked as a type of physical strength; which is still farther expressed by the choice of the number *three*, indicative of a material or physical sense. The lion also occurs in Ethiopia, devouring the prisoners or attacking the enemy, in company with a king, as in the Egyptian sculptures.[1]

According to Plutarch,[2] 'the lion was worshipped by the Egyptians, who ornamented the doors of their temples with the gaping mouth of that animal, because the Nile began to rise when the sun was in the constellation of Leo.' Horapollo[3] says lions were placed before the gates of the temples as the symbols of watchfulness and protection. And 'being a type of the inundation, in consequence of the Nile rising more abundantly when the sun is in Leo, those who anciently presided over the sacred works made the waterspouts and passages of fountains in the form of lions.'[4] The latter remark is in perfect accordance with fact—many waterspouts terminating in lions' heads still remaining on the temples. Ælian[5] also says, that 'the people of the great city of Heliopolis keep lions in the vestibules or areas of the temple of their god (the sun), considering them to partake of a certain divine influence, according to the statements of the Egyptians themselves;' 'and temples are even dedicated to this animal.' But of this, and the statement of Horapollo respecting the deity of Heliopolis, under the form of a lion, I have already spoken.

The figure of a lion, or the head and feet of that animal, were frequently used in chairs, tables, and various kinds of furniture, and as ornamental devices. The same idea has been common in all countries, and in the earliest specimens of Greek sculpture.

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[1] At Beitoualli, in the reign of Rameses II., an actual lioness, or lion, called *Anta-em-nekht*, or 'Anath in strength,' accompanied the king to the war as is said of Sesostris.—S. B.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 38. Pliny, xviii. 18. Plutarch (Sympos. iv. 5) speaks of the Egyptian fountains ornamented with lions' heads for the same reason.

[3] Horapollo, i. 19.

[4] Ibid. i. 21.

[5] Ælian, Nat. Hist. xii. 7.

The lions over the gate of Mycenæ are similar to many of those which occur on the monuments of Egypt.[1]

No mummies of lions have been found in Egypt. They were not indigenous[2] in the country, and were only kept as curiosities, or as objects of worship. In places where they were sacred they were treated with great care, being 'fed with joints of meat, and provided with comfortable and spacious dwellings—particularly in Leontopolis, the City of Lions; and songs were sung to them during the hours of their repast.'[3] The animal was even permitted to exercise its natural propensity of seizing its prey, in order that the exercise might preserve its health, for which purpose a calf was put into the enclosure. And having killed the victim thus offered it, the lion retired to its den, probably without exciting in the spectators any thought of the cruelty of granting this indulgence to their favourite animal. We naturally censure them for sacrificing their humanity to a religious prejudice; but while we do so, let us not forget to anticipate the reply of an Egyptian, by calling to mind the fact that many keepers of animals in modern Europe, without the plea of religious feeling, commit a similar act of cruelty; living creatures being given as food to snakes and other animals, frequently for the sole purpose of amusing or astonishing an idle spectator.

The panther, leopard, and Felis Chaus do not appear to have been sacred in Egypt, and the first two only are represented in the sculptures. It is evident that they were merely brought to Egypt as curiosities; and their skins, which were in great request for ornamental purposes, were among the objects presented by the Ethiopians in their annual tribute to the Egyptian monarchs. Though the Felis Chaus does not occur in the sculptures, it is a native of Egypt, inhabiting principally the hills on the western side of the Nile, and sometimes extending its predatory rambles to the vicinity of the Pyramids. In appearance it is like a large cat, with a tuft of long black hair on the extremity of its ears, in which, as in its size, it bears some resemblance to the lynx.

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[1] The lion was named *mau*, and appears in the mythology to symbolise the sun, and the Ethiopian god, Hbos, or Hebs. Two lions are represented supporting the solar disk instead of the mountains, apparently referring to the *χu*, or Horizon of the East and West. The twin lions also represented and meant either Horus and Set, or Shu and Tefnu. (Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 303.)—S. B.

[2] On some of the earliest tombs the lion appears represented with the usual animals in the hills as hunted, and consequently the lion was indigenous, though probably later driven out of the country. —S. B.

[3] Ælian, xii. 7.

The injuries caused by mice and rats, in a country like Egypt, were far from suggesting any sanctity in these destructive animals; though jerboas, from their more secluded habits and smaller numbers, might not have excited the same animosity, either among the peasantry or the inhabitants of the towns. Two species of jerboa inhabit the country. They are the same which Pliny and Ælian[1] mention as 'mice walking on two legs,' 'using,' as the latter observes, 'their fore-feet for hands,' and 'leaping, when pursued, upon their hind-legs.' Those with bristles, like the hedgehog, described by Pliny,[2] are still common in Egypt, principally in the desert, where their abode is among stones and fallen rocks. The mummies of mice and rats are said to have been found in the tombs of Thebes.

The rat is figured in the paintings among the animals of Egypt; and at Beni-Hassan it is very consistently placed near its natural enemy, the cat.[3] The number of these destructive animals in some parts of Egypt is beyond belief. The fields, the banks of the river, and the boats themselves, swarm with rats, frequently of immense size; and even in the deserts I have occasionally found a small kind, which Nature enables to live, though far removed beyond the reach of water, and apparently with very little means of subsistence.

The porcupine is also represented in the Egyptian paintings among the wild animals of the desert. But it does not appear whether, like the modern Italians and others, the ancient Egyptians ate its flesh; and there is no evidence of its having been sacred, or even kept by them, and embalmed after death.

The hare was probably lawful food to the Egyptians, though forbidden to the Jews;[4] and it is frequently shown by the sculptures to have been among the game caught by their chasseurs. It differs in appearance from our own; and though frequently exaggerated by the Egyptian artists, the length of its ears and general form show it to be distinct from the European species. Some idea may be formed of it from the paintings in the tombs, one of which is preserved in the British Museum. Though not sacred, it was admitted as an emblem of some of the genii, or

[1] Ælian, xv. 26.

[2] Plin. x. 65. Those which walk on two legs should be distinct from the bristly-haired mice.

[3] The name of the rat was *pennu*, and it appears in the hieroglyphs. In chapter xxxiii. l. 2, of the Ritual, the text says of the *rer*, or snake, 'Thou devourest the abominable rat of Ra,' or the sun; and again, 'Thou eatest the filthy cat,' *mau*, or 'beast'—the vignettes of some papyri giving a sow to this chapter. —S. B.

[4] Levit. xi. 6: 'And the hare, because he cheweth the cud and divideth not the hoof; he is unclean unto you.'

lower order of gods, who were figured in the funeral subjects with the head of this animal. In the hieroglyphics it signified 'to open,' as Horapollo tells us—being the beginning or principal part of the word *un*.

The elephant is represented in the sculptures, together with the bear, among the presents brought by an Asiatic nation to the Egyptian king. Ivory is also frequently shown to have been sent to Egypt from Ethiopia and the interior of Africa;[1] and the Ptolemies, at a subsequent period, established a hunting-place on the confines of Abyssinia, for the chase of the elephant.

It does not appear at any time to have held a post among the sacred animals of the country; even at the island of Elephantine, which took its name from it, nothing indicates the worship of the elephant. It only occurs there in the name of the place, which in hieroglyphics[2] is styled 'the Land of the Elephant.'[3] Nor does it appear as an object of adoration in the numerous subjects which cover the walls of the neighbouring island, Philæ, where, had it been sacred in the vicinity, it would not have been omitted; and the only instance of it is in a side entrance to the front court of the temple of Isis, where the god Nilus brings an elephant among the presents to be offered for the king to the deity of the place. In Ethiopia the elephant is once found in a temple at Wady Benát, near Shendy, with various deities and sacred devices; but there is no evidence of its having been worshipped there, or even ranked among the sacred animals of that country.

Abu, or Elephantine. No. 567*.

The hippopotamus was sacred to the god Mars, and worshipped at Papremis. In former times it seems to have been a native of Egypt, and to have lived in the northern part of the Nile. The city where it is reputed to have been principally honoured stood in the Delta; and Herodotus,[4] Diodorus,[5] and others mention it among the animals of Egypt. But it is now confined to the upper parts of Ethiopia, being seldom known to come into Nubia, or that part lying between the Second and First Cataracts; and if ever it is seen in Egypt, its visit is purely accidental, and as contrary, as I have already had occasion to

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[1] This may have been the teeth of the hippopotamus, as well as the tusks of elephants, which are mentioned as early as Thothmes III.—S. B.

[2] *Vide* Plate 59 of the Hieroglyphics of the Royal Society of Literature.

[3] Probably from its being the depôt of ivory.—S. B.

[4] Herodot. ii. 59, 63, and 67.

[5] Diodor. i. 35. Aristot. Hist. An. ii. 7.

remark, to its own expectations as to those of the astonished natives who witness its migration. I have also mentioned the mode of catching it, and the uses to which its hide was applied, both in ancient and modern times.

Herodotus says, that though the hippopotamus is sacred in the Papremitic nome, they have not the same respect for it in the rest of Egypt; and, according to Plutarch, 'it was reckoned amongst the animals emblematic of the Evil Being. At Hermopolis,' he adds, 'is shown a statue of Typho, which is a river-horse with a hawk upon its back, fighting with a serpent; the river-horse signifying Typho, and the hawk that power and sovereignty which he frequently gets into his hands by violence, and then employs in works of mischief, both to his own annoyance and to the prejudice of others. So, again, those sacred cakes offered in sacrifice upon the seventh day of the month Tybi, when they celebrate the return of Isis from Phœnicia, have the impression of a river-horse bound stamped upon them.' From the representations of this animal in the sculptures, both in Upper and Lower Egypt, it is evident that the respect paid to it was far from being general in the country; and figures of a Typhonian character in religious subjects on the monuments are frequently portrayed with the head of a hippopotamus. Even the Cerberus, or monster of Amenti, is sometimes represented under the form of this animal. I have nowhere found a male deity with the head of a hippopotamus, or accompanied by it as an emblem, in any of the sculptures of Egypt; and the only instances of a hippopotamus-headed god are in some figures of blue pottery, probably from the vicinity of Papremis, to which, as Herodotus observes, its worship was confined.

According to Plutarch, the 'river-horse' was the emblem of 'impudence.'[1] This he endeavours to show by a hieroglyphic sentence in the porch of the temple of Saïs, composed of an *infant*, an *old man*, a *hawk*, a *fish*, and a *hippopotamus*, which he thus interprets: 'Oh! you who are coming into the world, and who are going out of it (that is, young or old), God hateth impudence.'[2] And, indeed, if the reason he gives[3] for its having been chosen as this symbol were true, or even believed by the Egyptians, we ought not to be surprised that he was considered to be sufficiently unamiable to be a Typhonian animal. Clemens

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 32.

[2] Which is quite correct.—S. B.

[3] Conf. Ælian, Hist. An. vii. 19.

substitutes the crocodile for the hippopotamus in this sentence, which he gives[1] from a temple of Diospolis; and Horapollo[2] assigns to the claws of the hippopotamus the signification of 'injustice and ingratitude,' as to the whole animal the force of 'time' or 'an hour.'

The injury done by this animal to the corn-fields[3] might suffice to exclude it from the respect of the agricultural population; and the Egyptian peasants were probably called upon to frighten it out of their fields on many occasions with brass saucepans and other utensils, in the same manner as the modern Ethiopians. But it probably never abounded in that part of the Nile south of the First Cataract;[4] and its worship was confined to places beyond the reach of its intrusion.

The hippopotamus was also said to have been a symbol of the western pole, or the region of darkness[5]—distinct, of course, from that primeval darkness which covered the deep, and from which sprang the light, supposed to have been typified by the mygale, the emblem of Buto. I have already explained the opinions of the Egyptians on this point; and on the supposed analogy of the West, which buried the sun in darkness, and the gloomy mansions of the dead; the former being termed Ement, and the latter Amenti. I have also noticed the resemblance between *Eréb*, or *Gharb*, the West, of the Hebrews, and the *Erebus* of Greece.

Mummies of the hippopotamus are said to have been found at Thebes, and a figure of one is preserved in the British Museum.

The horror in which the pig was held in Egypt I have had occasion to mention.[6] According to Herodotus,[7] the same aversion extended to the people of Cyrene, who abstained from the meat of swine, as well as 'of the cow out of respect to Isis.' Herodotus[8] says it was unlawful for the Egyptians to sacrifice the pig to any gods but to the moon and Bacchus, which was only done at the full moon—a sacred reason forbidding them to offer it on

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[1] Clem. Strom. v. p. 159. [Which has the same meaning.—S. B.]

[2] Horapollo, i. 56, and ii. 20.

[3] Ælian, v. 53.

[4] There is, however, reason to believe that it descended the Nile at the time of the 4th Dynasty as far as Memphis, where it appears in the hieroglyphs, and a female of the time of Chephren is called *Teb.t*, 'the female hippopotamus.' It is also called *kheb*, or *bekham*, and represented the goddesses Thoueris and Apet, both connected with the waters. In the planisphere it is called *rer*, the hog. (Lepsius, 'Einleit.,' p. 10.) It also designated that which was abominable.—S. B.

[5] Euseb. Præp. Evang. iii. 12.

[6] It has been stated that the eating of its flesh produced leprosy, and that the Jews who do not eat it never have cancer. —S. B.

[7] Herodot. iv. 186. [8] Ibid. ii. 47.

any other festival.[1] It was on the former occasion alone that the people were permitted to eat its flesh—a wise sanitary regulation having made it unclean in the hot climate of Egypt. A similar prohibition was denounced against it by the Jewish legislator, and the Abyssinian Christians continue to think it a religious duty to abstain from this unwholesome food. From the aversion felt by the Egyptians to the pig, we can readily account for their choosing it as an emblem of uncleanness,[2] and a fit abode for the souls of wicked men. The prejudices of other people have to the present day followed its name, even to a proverb, however welcome its meat may be at table;[3] and though we may not enter into all the horror of an Egyptian on seeing the great predilection of a Greek for the pig, we may ourselves feel surprised at Homer's respect for a feeder of pigs, who had the title 'divine,' and 'prince of men.'[4]

In the fête of Bacchus, the historian tells[5] us, they did not eat the pig which was sacrificed before their door, but gave it back to the person of whom it had been purchased. Plutarch,[6] however, says that 'those who sacrifice a sow to Typho once a year at the full moon, afterwards eat its flesh; giving as a reason for the ceremony, that Typho, being in pursuit of that animal at this season, accidentally found the chest wherein was deposited the body of Osiris.' But it does not appear whether he had in view the festival of Bacchus, Osiris, or that of the full moon previously mentioned by Herodotus; and it is possible that both writers intended to confine the custom of eating swine's flesh to one single day in the year. Ælian, indeed, affirms, that they only sacrifice the sow (which they consider an animal most hateful to the sun and moon) *once a year*, on the festival of the moon, but on no other occasion either to that or *any other* deity.

Though the pig may not properly be classed among the sacred animals, it was an emblem of the Evil Being; and this may account for Plutarch's supposing it to have been connected with the history of Osiris and Typho.[7] Several instances occur

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[1] The celebration of this rite I shall mention in treating of the ceremonies.

[2] Horapollo, ii. 37. Ælian, x. 16.

[3] Cicero does not pay a compliment to pigs, when he says they have 'animam pro sale ne putrescant.' (De Nat. Deor. lib. ii.) Ælian, on the authority of Agatharcides, gives the pigs of Ethiopia horns (v. 27).

[4] Hom. Od. ΙΔ, 22 and 48; ΙΕ, 350, 388, &c.

[5] Herodot. ii. 48.

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 8.

[7] The boar was called *rer*, probably from the onomatopœia of its grunt. The sow was called *sau*. Many small porcelain figures of sows, sometimes with their little pigs, are found of a later period, although it is unknown in what sense. In the legends of Horus, Set transformed himself into a black boar, and attempted to destroy

of the pig in sacred subjects, principally in the tombs, where the attendance of monkeys might be supposed to connect it with the moon. But these seem chiefly to refer to the future state of the wicked, whose souls were thought to migrate into that unclean animal; and the presence of Anubis confirms this opinion.

Pigs were kept by the Egyptians, as I have already observed, to be employed for agricultural purposes; and Ælian,[1] on the authority of Eudoxus, pretends that 'they were sparing in their sacrifices of swine, because they were required to tread in the grain, pressing the seed with their feet from the surface into the soil, and securing it from the ravages of birds.'

It does not appear whether the wild boar was hunted by the chasseur—those parts of Egypt where hunting scenes are represented not being frequented by that animal, whose resorts were probably, as at present, confined to the banks of the Birket el Korn,[2] and the vicinity of Lake Menzaleh.

As the Hyrax did not hold a rank among the sacred animals, I need only refer to what has already been stated respecting it in enumerating the animals of Egypt.

Notwithstanding the great utility of the horse,[3] it did not enjoy sacred honours,[4] nor was it the emblem of any deity. This is the more remarkable, as the breed of horses was considered of the highest importance in Egypt; and even among the Greeks, less scrupulous regarding the sanctity of animals, it was dedicated to one of the principal gods of their Pantheon. For though Neptune was unknown in Egypt, and the sea was odious to the Egyptians, the warlike horse might well have found some deity of eminence to adopt it as a type; and surely few would stand less in need of so peculiarly a terrestrial animal than the god of the Ocean, and few be less consistently chosen as the patron of the horse.

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the eye of Horus, probably the moon, and Horus avenged himself by instituting the sacrifice of the pig. (Lefebure, 'Les Yeux d'Horus,' p. 43.) The boar is represented in a tomb at Thebes proceeding in a boat, in which are two cynocephali, and is called *Am*, or 'gluttony' personified. Cory, Horapollo, 1840, plate 2.—S. B.

[1] Ælian, x. 16.

[2] In the Fyoóm, formerly Lake Mœris.

[3] The horse or stallion was called *htar*, if that, indeed, does not mean the pair, or 'yoke' of the chariot, as the two horses only bore one name. The name of the female horse was *ses-mut*, the last word either expressing 'mother,' like the English 'mare,' or the plural, and is Semitic, being the same as the Hebrew *sus-im*. It does not appear in the monuments till the time of the 18th Dynasty, and after that was an important and highly-esteemed animal. Prior to the Shepherd invasion the ass was used for purposes of transport, but there is no representation of its being ridden astride, although prior to the invention of chariots a kind of seat or pillion was occasionally used on its back.—S. B.

[4] Traces of worship are supposed to be found.—S. B.

But an evident distinction was conferred on the less dignified ass; and if, as some have thought, it is a greater disgrace to pass unobserved than to be noticed, even in an unfavourable or equivocal manner, the ass enjoyed the marked but uncomplimentary honour of being sacred to Typho. This distinction entailed upon it another less enviable, though more positive mark of their notice, 'the Coptites being in the habit of throwing an ass down a precipice, considering it unclean and impure, from its supposed resemblance to Typho.'[1] 'The inhabitants of Abydus,[2] Busiris, and Lycopolis carried their detestation of this animal still farther; so that they even scrupled to make use of trumpets, because their sound was thought to be like the braying of an ass.'[3]

It was from 'the idea entertained by the Egyptians of the stupidity and sensuality[4] of its disposition, that they gave the Persian Prince Ochus the name of the Ass, in token of their execration of so detestable a tyrant.' Even the colour of this animal was thought to partake of the nature of the Evil Being; and with a similar prejudice, whenever any individual happened to have a red complexion or red hair, they considered him connected with Typho. For this reason they offered red oxen in their sacrifices; and in consequence of its supposed resemblance to Typho, 'those cakes offered in sacrifices, during the two months Paüni and Phaophi, had the impression of an ass bound stamped upon them; and for the same reason, when they sacrificed to the sun, they strictly enjoined all who approached to worship the god, neither to wear any gold about them,[5] nor to give provender to an ass.' Another superstitious reason was also assigned by them, according to Plutarch, for their contempt of the ass: 'that Typho escaped out of battle upon that animal, after a flight of seven days, and after he had got into a place of safety begat two sons, Hierosolymus and Judæus.'[6] But this, he adds, 'is evidently told to give an air of fable to the Jewish history.'

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 30.

[2] Ælian (x. 28) says, Busiris, Abydus, and Lycopolis.

[3] Most people will agree in the unmelodious voice of this animal; but the Pythagoreans had a curious idea, that 'it was not susceptible of harmony, *being insensible to the sound of the lyre.*' (Ælian, x. 28.)

[4] This quality of the ass was called in hieroglyphics *aa*, and is alluded to by Ezekiel xxiii. 20.—S. B.

[5] We cannot fail to be struck by such superstition; but an old Egyptian might smile at the scruples of many persons who object to commence a journey on a Friday, dine thirteen at table, or look upon a new moon without silver in their pocket. A modern Egyptian avoids visiting a friend suffering from ophthalmia with 'any gold about him,' lest he should increase the malady.

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 31.

Some instances occur of an ass-headed deity.[1] He is rarely met with, and is apparently of the order of dæmons or an inferior class of gods connected with a future state in the region of Amenti. The only place where I have seen the Onocephalus is at Tuot,[2] the ancient Tuphium; but the head of the ass is sometimes introduced among the hieroglyphics.

The prejudice against the ass[3] appears to have been universal in all ages. Egypt and the East, however, seem to have looked upon it rather as an emblem of perverseness than of stupidity; and in this character it is still viewed by the Arabs,[4] as the bull is considered by them the symbol of stupidity. Ælian[5] pretends that 'Ochus, king of Persia, in order to afflict the Egyptians, slew the Apis, and, consecrating an ass in its stead, commanded them to pay it divine honours;' and even if not looked upon with the same detestation at Memphis as at Lycopolis and Busiris, we may suppose, if Ælian's story be true, how fully the tyrant's intention was gratified by the substitution of this animal for their god. Neither the mummies of the pig, hyrax, horse, or ass, have been found in the tombs of Egypt.

Of the camel,[6] stag, giraffe, gazelle, and other antelopes, I have already treated. I have also remarked the singular fact of the camel not being represented in the hieroglyphics, either in domestic scenes or in subjects relating to religion.

Though its flesh was forbidden to the Jews,[7] it is probable that religious scruples did not prevent the Egyptians from eating it; and the modern inhabitants, as well as the Arab tribes, delight in this light and wholesome food. But the wisdom of forbidding so valuable an animal is evident, from the great probability of its being killed when about to die a natural death;[8] and the Arabs are so scrupulous on this point, that few can be induced to eat the meat of the camel, unless certain of its having

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[1] Horapollo (i. 23) supposes the Onocephalus to signify one who has never travelled out of his own country.

[2] Tuot, or Seleméeh, is in the Thebaïd, nearly opposite Hermonthis, or Erment, on the east bank.

[3] Jerem. xxii. 19.

[4] See the introductory tale in the Arabian Nights.

[5] Ælian, Hist. An. x. 28.

[6] Plin. viii. 18, of the camel and giraffe. Strabo, xvii. 533. [The camel is mentioned by its name *kamalu*, in the texts of some papyri. (Chabas, 'Études,' p. 400.) At the time of the Ptolemies it was introduced into Egypt, but not before, and is represented on coins of the Arabian nome under the Romans.—S. B.]

[7] Levit. xi. 4.

[8] [A wise precedent as regards the *horse-flesh* of Europe! We might learn other hygienic lessons from the ancients: the Greeks, as Athenæus shows, forbade fishmongers to lower the price of their fish as the day went on, lest the poor people should be induced by the fall of price to buy stale fish in the evening.—G. W.]

been killed when in a healthy state. The giraffe frequently occurs, both in the paintings, as a rare animal brought from Ethiopia to Egypt, and as a hieroglyphic in monumental sculptures. But there is no appearance of its having been sacred, though an instance is mentioned of its having been found embalmed. It is introduced as an emblem connected with the religion in the sculptures of Hermonthis, where it accompanies the figure of Death, some apes, and a jackal in adoration of the winged scarabæus, the emblem of the sun. Pliny says it was called by the Ethiopians Nabin, or Nabis.

Of the antelopes, the oryx was the only one chosen as an emblem, but it was not sacred; and the same city on whose monuments it was represented in sacred subjects, was in the habit of killing it for the table.

The head of this animal formed the prow of the mysterious boat of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, who was worshipped with peculiar honours at Memphis, and who held a conspicuous place among the contemplar gods of all the temples of Upper and Lower Egypt. This did not, however, prevent their sacrificing the oryx to the gods, or slaughtering it for their own use, large herds of them being kept by the wealthy Egyptians for this purpose; and the sculptures of Memphis and its vicinity abound, no less than those of the Thebaïd, with proofs of this fact. But a particular one may have been set apart and consecrated to the deity—being distinguished by certain marks which the priests fancied they could discern, as in the case of oxen exempted from sacrifice.[1] And if the law permitted the oryx to be killed without the mark of the pontiff's seal (which was indispensable for oxen previous to their being taken to the altar), the privilege of exemption might be secured to a single animal, when kept apart within the inaccessible precincts of a temple. In the zodiacs the oryx was chosen to represent the sign Capricornus.

Champollion considers it the representative of Set; and Horapollo[2] gives it an unamiable character, as the emblem of impurity. It was even thought 'to foreknow the rising of the moon, and to be indignant at her presence.' Pliny is disposed to give it credit for better behaviour towards the Dog-star,[3] which, when rising, it looked upon with the appearance of adora-

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[1] Herodot. ii. 38. [2] Horapollo, i. 49. Ælian, Hist. An. x. 28.
[3] Plin. ii. 40. Ælian, Hist. An. vii. 8.

tion. But the naturalist was misinformed respecting the growth of its hair,[1] in imitation of the bull Pacis. Such are the fables of old writers; and, judging from the important post it held in the boat of Socharis, I am disposed to consider it the emblem of a good[2] rather than of an evil deity, contrary to the opinion of Champollion.[3]

According to Herodotus,[4] the goat was sacred in the Mendesian nome, where great honours were paid to it, particularly to the male.[5] In that province, even the goatherds themselves were respected, notwithstanding the general prejudice of the Egyptians against every denomination of pastor. The same consideration was not extended to these animals in every part of the country; and some of the inhabitants of Upper Egypt sacrificed them: as the Mendesians offered to their god sheep, which were sacred in the Thebaïd.[6] Ælian[7] states that at Coptos the she-goat was sacred, and religiously revered, being a favourite animal of the goddess Isis, who was particularly worshipped there; but this feeling did not prevent their sacrificing the males of the same species.

Herodotus also tells us that the goat was sacred to Pan, who was worshipped in the Mendesian nome.

When a he-goat died, the whole Mendesian nome went into mourning; and Strabo[8] and Diodorus[9] also mention the veneration in which it was held, in some parts of Egypt, as the emblem of the generative principle. It is, therefore, singular that the horns of the goat were not given to Khem, who answered to that attribute of the Divine Power. Plutarch pretends that the Mendesian goat was called Apis, like the sacred bull of Osiris; but this is very questionable, as I have already observed.

The ibex, or wild goat of the desert, occurs sometimes in astronomical subjects,[10] and is frequently represented among the animals slaughtered for the table and the altar, both in the Thebaïd and in Lower Egypt.[11]

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[1] Plin. viii. 53.

[2] Horus is sometimes represented holding a gazelle in the hand, supposed to explain his victory over Set; but a mummied gazelle, showing that it was a sacred animal, is in the collection of the British Museum, No. 6778*a*, *Antilope Dorcas*. It was called *kahas*.—S. B.

[3] The leucoryx, often seen in the hieroglyphs, was called *ma het*, or 'white beast.'—S. B.

[4] Herodot. ii. 46.

[5] The goat appears to have been called *ba* in the hieroglyphics, and was used to express the idea 'soul.' In Coptic it was *ba-em-pe*, 'goat of heaven.'—S. B.

[6] Herodot. ii. 42.

[7] Ælian, x. 23.

[8] Strabo, xvii. p. 559.

[9] Diodor. i. 84 and 88.

[10] Ælian, xiv. 16.

[11] On one tablet, in the Belmore Collection, it appears as an emblem, or sacred to the god Amen-ra.—S. B.

The sheep was sacred in Upper Egypt, particularly in the vicinity of Thebes and Elephantine. The Lycopolites, however, sacrificed and ate this animal, 'because the wolf did so, whom they revered as a god;'[1] and the same was done by the people of the Mendesian nome; though Strabo[2] would seem to confine the sacrifice of sheep to the nome of Nitriotis. In the Thebaïd it was considered not merely as an emblem, but ranked among the most sacred of all animals. It was dedicated to Chnoumis, one of the greatest deities of the Thebaïd, who was represented with the head of a ram, for, as I have already observed, this was not given to Amen, as the Greeks and Romans imagined; and the inhabitants of that district deemed it unlawful to eat its flesh,[3] or to sacrifice it on their altars. According to Herodotus, they sacrificed a ram once a year at Thebes, on the festival of Jupiter[4]—the only occasion on which it was permitted to kill this sacred animal; and after having clad the statue of the god in the skin, the people made a solemn lamentation, striking themselves as they walked around the temple. They afterwards buried the body in a sacred coffin.

The sacred boats or arks of Chnoumis were ornamented with the head of a ram; and bronze figures of this animal were made by the Thebans to be worn as amulets, or kept as guardians of the house, to which they probably paid their adorations in private, invoking them as intercessors for the aid of the deity they represented. Their heads were often surmounted by the globe and uræus, like the statues of the deity himself. Strabo,[5] Clemens,[6] and many other writers, notice the sacred character of the sheep; and the two former state that it was looked upon with the same veneration in the Saïte nome as in the neighbourhood of Thebes. The four-horned sheep mentioned by Ælian,[7] which, he says, were kept in the temple of Jupiter, are still common in Egypt.

Numerous mummies of sheep are found at Thebes; and, as I have already observed, large flocks were kept there. For though it was neither required for sacrifice nor for the table, the wool was of the highest importance to them; and much care seems to have been bestowed upon this useful animal, whose benefits to

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.
[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 552.
[3] Plutarch seems to think *all* the priests abstained from it, as from swine's flesh (ss. 5, 74).
[4] Herodot. ii. 42.
[5] Strabo, xvii. pp. 552, 559.
[6] Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 17.
[7] Ælian, Hist. An. xi. 40.

mankind Diodorus[1] supposes to have been the cause of its holding so high a post among the sacred animals of Egypt.

The ram was chosen to represent the sign Aries in the zodiacs of Egypt; but these partake too little of the mythology of the country to be of any authority respecting the characters of the animals they contain. Of the Kebsh, or wild sheep of the desert, I have already spoken in treating of the animals chased by the Egyptians.

The ox and cow were both admitted among the sacred animals of Egypt. All, however, were not equally sacred; and it was lawful to sacrifice the former and to kill them for the table, provided they were free from certain marks, which the priests were careful to ascertain before they permitted them to be slaughtered. When this had been done, the priest marked the animal by tying a cord of the papyrus-stalk round its horns, fastened by a piece of clay, on which he impressed his seal. It was then pronounced clean, and taken to the altar. But no man, on pain of death, could sacrifice one that had not this mark.[2] 'All the clean oxen were thought to belong to Epaphus,'[3] who was the same as the god Apis. Herodotus says that a single black hair rendered them unsuitable for this purpose; and Plutarch[4] affirms that red oxen were alone lawful for sacrifice. But the authority of the sculptures contradicts these assertions, and shows that oxen with black and red spots were lawful both for the altar and the table in every part of Egypt. This I shall have occasion to notice more fully in treating of the religious ceremonies. It will suffice for the present to observe that certain marks were required to ascertain the sacred bulls, as the Apis, Mnevis, and Pacis; and that the cow of Athor was recognised by peculiar signs known to the priests, and doubtless most minutely described in the sacred books.

The origin of the worship of the bull was said to be its utility in agriculture,[5] of which Clemens considers[6] it the type, as well as of the earth itself; and this was the supposed reason of the bull being chosen as the emblem of Osiris, who was the abstract idea of all that was good or beneficial to man.

Though oxen and calves were lawful food, and adapted for sacrifice on the altars of all the gods, cows and heifers were for-

[1] Diodor. i. 87.
[2] Herodot. ii. 38. *Vide infrà*, on the sacrifices.
[3] Ibid. ii. 38, and iii. 27.
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 31.
[5] Ibid. s. 74. Diodor. i. 88.
[6] Clem. Strom. v.

bidden to be killed, being consecrated, according to Herodotus, to Isis;[1] or rather, as he afterwards shows, and as Strabo, in perfect accordance with the sculptures, states, to Athor. This was a wise regulation, in order to prevent too great a diminution in the cattle of the country; and the prohibition being ascribed by the priests to some mysterious reason, was naturally looked upon in process of time as a divine ordinance, which it would be nothing less than sacrilege to disregard. According to Strabo,[2] many, both male and female, were kept in different towns, in and out of the Delta; but they were not worshipped as deities, like the Apis and Mnevis, which had the rank of gods at Memphis and Heliopolis. Nor did they enjoy the same honours that were paid to the sacred cow at Momemphis, where Venus was worshipped.

Bull and cow mummies are frequently met with at Thebes and other places; and though Herodotus states that the bodies of the former were thrown into the river, and the latter all removed to Atarbechis in the Isle of Prosôpitis, there is sufficient evidence of their having being buried in other parts of Egypt.[3]

The god Apis has been already mentioned. 'Mnevis, the sacred ox of Heliopolis,[4] was honoured by the Egyptians with a reverence next to the Apis, whose sire some have pretended him to be. He too was dedicated to Osiris, and represented of a black colour, like the god himself, by whom his worship was instituted;[5] and though inferior to Apis, the respect shown him was universal throughout the country.'

568. Name of Apis.

In the Coronation Ceremony at Thebes he appears to be introduced under the name of 'the *white* bull,' which is specified by the same character used to denote silver, or, as the Egyptians called it in their monumental inscriptions, '*white* gold.' If this really represents the Mnevis, Plutarch and Porphyry are mistaken in stating its colour to be black; and from what the latter says of the hair growing the wrong way, it seems that he had in view the Pacis or black bull of Hermonthis. Ammianus Marcellinus,[6] Porphyry, and Ælian suppose that Mnevis was sacred to the sun, as Apis to the moon; Macrobius states that Mnevis, Apis,

[1] Herodot. ii. 41.
[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 552.
[3] As at Thebes, parts of the bodies, including the skull, were dried and wrapped up in the form of the animal.—S. B.
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 33. Diodor. i. 84.
[5] Diodor. i. 88.
[6] Ammian. Marcell. xxii. 14, p. 332.

and Pacis were all consecrated to the sun; and Plutarch considers Mnevis to be sacred to Osiris.[1] Strabo merely says, in the Heliopolitan prefecture is the city of the sun, raised on a lofty mound,[2] having a temple dedicated to that deity, and the bull Mnevis, which is kept in a certain enclosure, and looked upon by the Heliopolites as a god, like the Apis in Memphis. The bull of Heliopolis appears to have been called, in the hieroglyphic legends, Mena.[3] It had a globe and feathers on its head; but though found on the monuments of Upper Egypt, it is evident that it did not enjoy the same honours as Apis beyond the precincts of its own city.

It was from this, and not the Apis, that the Israelites borrowed their notions of the golden calf; and the offerings, dancing, and rejoicings practised on the occasion, were doubtless in imitation of a ceremony they had witnessed in honour of Mnevis during their sojourn in Egypt.

Ælian mentions a story of Bocchoris introducing a wild bull to contend against Mnevis, which, having rushed at him without effect, and having fixed its horns into the trunk of a Persea, was killed by the sacred animal. The king was said to have incurred, by this profane action, the hatred of all his subjects. But the story is too improbable to be credited, though related to him by the Egyptians themselves. Basis or Pakis was the sacred bull worshipped at Hermonthis. Ælian[4] calls it Onuphis. 'The Egyptians,' he says, 'worship a black bull, which they call Onuphis. The name of the place where it is kept may be learnt from the books of the Egyptians, but it is too harsh both to mention and hear.' 'Its hair turns the contrary way from that of other animals, and it is the largest of all oxen.'

Macrobius relates the same of the sacred bull of Hermonthis, but gives it the name of Bacchis. 'In the city of Hermonthis,' he says, 'they adore the bull Bacchis,[5] which is consecrated to the sun, in the magnificent temple of Apollo. It is remarkable for certain extraordinary appearances, according with the nature of the sun. For every hour it is reported to change its colour,

[1] In a papyrus mentioned by Professor Reuvens, Lettre iii., p. 50, mention is made of Osor-Apis, and Osor-Mnevis.

[2] Its lofty mound, and the obelisk of Usertesen I., still mark the site of Heliopolis.

[3] This is uncertain: the word *men* rather means cattle than an individual animal. It was called in hieroglyphics *Ur-mer*, supposed to be the incarnation of the sun, and wore the solar disk on its head surmounted by plumes of two hawk's feathers on the coins of the Heliopolitan nome at the Roman period. Sometimes it has only the solar disk and uræus.—S. B.

[4] Ælian, Nat. An. xii. 11.

[5] Some MSS. read Bacis and Pacis.

and to have long hairs growing backwards, contrary to the nature of all other animals; whence it is thought to be an image of the sun shining on the opposite side of the world.'[1]

Strabo[2] mentions the sacred bull of Hermonthis, but without stating its name; and the Onuphis, mentioned by Ælian, appears rather to have been a title, signifying 'the opener of good,' or Ouonnofri, which properly belonged to Osiris.[3] If, indeed, this name was really given to the bull Pacis, we may conclude that, like Apis, it was sacred to, or an emblem of, Osiris; as was Mnevis, according to Plutarch and Diodorus:[4] and thus the three, instead of being emblems of the sun, as Macrobius supposes, were consecrated to Osiris.

The other bulls and cows mentioned by Strabo[5] did not hold the rank of gods, but were only *sacred:* and this distinction may be applied to other animals worshipped by the Egyptians.

I have met with no representation of the buffalo; though, from its being now so common in the country and indigenous in Abyssinia, it was probably not unknown to the ancient Egyptians.

The Indian or humped ox was common in former times, and is abundant in Upper Ethiopia, though no longer a native of Egypt. Like other cattle, it was used for sacrifice as for the table; and large herds were kept in the farms of the wealthy Egyptians, by whom the meat, particularly the hump on the shoulder, was doubtless esteemed as a dainty. It is sometimes represented decked with flowers and garlands on its way to the altar; but there is no appearance of its having been emblematic of any deity, or of having held a post among the sacred animals of the country.

The dolphin, a native of the sea, was not likely to command the respect of the terrestrial, or, if they adopted the same epithet as the modern Chinese, the celestial Egyptians. It is, indeed, difficult to account for its selection by the Greeks as the companion of Venus: for, however little we may object to its presence with her statue, under the guise of white marble and the classical name of dolphin, it recalls too strongly our ideas of the porpoise to appear to us a suitable attendant on the goddess of beauty.

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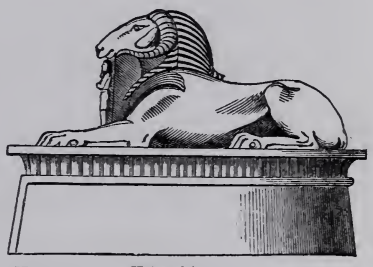
[1] Macrob. Saturn. i. 26.
[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 361.
[3] The Omphis of Plutarch (de Isid. s. 42) is evidently this name.
[4] Diodor. i. 88.
[5] Strabo, xvii. p. 552. He applies his remark only to Apis and Mnevis.

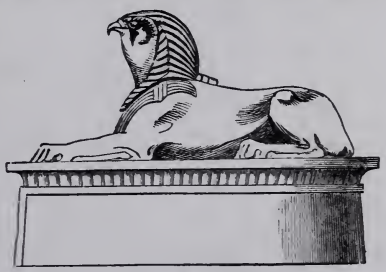
Pliny,[1] Seneca,[2] and Strabo[3] speak of the contests of the dolphin and the crocodile; in which the former, wounding the crocodile with the *spine* of its dorsal fin in the abdomen, gained an easy victory over it, even in its own river. But its credit seems principally indebted to fable, its weapons, like its beauty, being imaginary; and whatever may have been the prestige in its favour among the classic writers of Greece and Rome, the Egyptians do not appear to have noticed it so far as to give it a place in their paintings or their alphabet.

No. 569. Androsphinx.

The most distinguished post amongst fabulous animals must be conceded to the sphinx. It was of three kinds,—the *androsphinx*, with the head of a man and the body of a lion, denoting the union of intellectual and physical power; the *kriosphinx*, with the head of a ram and the body of a lion; and the *hieracosphinx*, with the same body and the head of a hawk. They were all types or representatives of the king. The last two were probably so figured in token of respect to the two deities whose heads they bore, Chnoumis and Ra; the other great deities, Amen, Khem, Ptah, and Osiris, having human heads, and therefore all connected with the form of the androsphinx.[4] The king was not only represented under the mysterious figure of a sphinx, but also of a ram



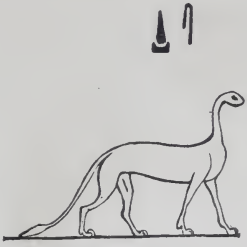
No. 570. Kriosphinx.



No. 571. Hieracosphinx.

[1] Plin. viii. 26.
[2] Seneca, Nat. Quæst. iv. p. 886.
[3] Strabo, xvii. p. 567.
[4] Sometimes kneeling rams were substituted for androsphinxes, as at Karnak, Gebel Berkel, and other places. The androsphinx symbolised the union of intellectual and physical strength; and Clemens and Plutarch say they were placed before the temples as types of the mysterious nature of the Deity. (Strom. v. 5, p. 664, and 7, p. 671; and Plut. de Isid. s. 9.)

and of a hawk; and this last had, moreover, the peculiar signification of *Phrah*, or Pharaoh, *the sun*, personified by the monarch.[1] [Sometimes the paintings represented an asp, or some other snake (woodcut No. 572). Egyptian sphinxes were not composed of a woman and a lion, like those of Greece; and if an instance occurs of this, it was a mere caprice, and probably a foreign innovation, justified by its representing a queen, the wife of King Horus of the 18th Dynasty; and they are sometimes seen in the sculptures that portray the spoil taken from Asiatic nations.



Sta, asp-headed monster.
No. 572.

One sphinx has been found of the early time of the 6th Dynasty (in the possession of Mr. Larking, of Alexandria), having the name of King Merenra; and another of the 12th Dynasty (on a scarabæus of the Louvre); which at once decide the priority of those of Egypt. Sometimes an androsphinx, instead of the lion's paws, has human hands, with a vase or censer between them. The winged sphinx is rare in Egypt, but a few solitary instances of it occur on the monuments and on scarabæi; as well as of the hawk-headed sphinx called *sefer*, which is winged (woodcut No. 575). There are other fanciful creatures, one of which has the spotted body of a leopard, with a winged human head on its back resembling a modern cherub; and another is like a gazelle with wings (woodcut No. 576). There is also the square-eared quadruped, the emblem of Seth (woodcut No. 577). The Egyptian unicorn, even in the early time of the 12th Dynasty, was the rhinoceros; and though less known then than afterwards, it had

The queen Mut-netem of the 18th Dynasty as a female sphinx.
No. 573.

No. 574. Androsphinx.

[1] The sphinx was the emblem of the god Harmachis, and represented the king in that character. Its earliest appearance is at the time of the 4th Dynasty, the great sphinx representing Shafra or Khefren. Sphinxes were called *Ha* or *Akar:* as a hieroglyphic they represented the idea *neb* or 'lord.'—S. B.

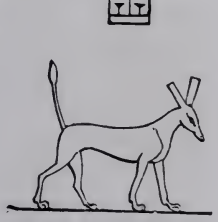
the pointed nose and small tail of that animal, of which it is a rude representation. Over it is *abu*, a name applied also to 'ivory,' and to any large beast. The winged Greek sphinxes, so common on vases, are partly Egyptian, partly Phœnician in their character, the recurved tips of the wings being evidently taken from those of Astarte.—G. W.]

Sefer, or hawk-headed sphinx. No. 575.

Sphinxes were frequently placed before the temples, on either side of the *dromos*, or approach to the outer gate. Sometimes lions, and even rams, were substituted for them, and formed the same kind of avenues, as at the great temple of Karnak at Thebes; a small figure of the king being occasionally attached to them, or placed between their paws. When represented in the sculptures, a deity is often seen presenting the sphinx with the sign of life, or other divine gifts usually vouchsafed by the gods to a king, as well as to the ram or hawk, when in the same capacity, as an emblem of a Pharaoh. Instances of this occur on several of the obelisks and dedicatory inscriptions.

Winged gazelle. No. 576.

Pliny[1] mentions sphinxes and other fabulous monsters, who were supposed to live in Ethiopia; and the Egyptian sculptures, as I have already shown, are not behindhand in relating the marvellous productions of the valley of the Nile. Plutarch[2] and Clemens[3] are satisfied with the enigmatical intention of these compound animals: the former saying that sphinxes were 'placed before the temples as types of the enigmatical nature of their theology;' the latter supposing them to signify that 'all things which treat of the Deity must be mysterious and obscure.'



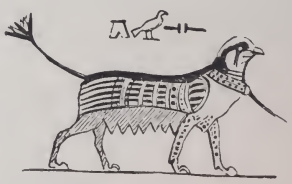
Sha, an emblem of Seth. No. 577.

The Egyptian sculptures also represent cows with human heads, lions with the heads of snakes and hawks or with wings, winged crocodiles with hawks' heads, and other monsters, some of which occur on monuments of the early period of the

[1] Plin. viii. 21; Strabo, xvii. p. 533. Ælian (xii. 7) considers it fabulous.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 9. [3] Clem. Strom. v. p. 156.

17th Dynasty. One of these, with the winged body of a quadruped and the head of a hawk, was called *axex;* and one named *sak* united a bird, a quadruped, and a vegetable production in

No. 578. *Axex.*



No. 579. *Sak.*

its own person. It had the head of a hawk, the body of a lion, and a tail terminating in a full-blown lotus; and, being a female, threatened to produce other monsters as horrid as itself, with a facility unknown to ordinary hybrids.

The large vulture of Egypt was said to have been emblematic of Neith, or Minerva;[1] and the sculptures show it to have been connected with more than one deity of the Egyptian Pantheon. It enters into the name of Mut, though it does not appear to be an emblem of that goddess, signifying only, as the word *mut* or *tmu* implies, 'mother.' Ælian[2] supposes that 'vultures were all females,' as if to account for their character as emblems of maternity. He even believes that a black vulture of Egypt was produced from the union of an eagle and a vulture; and he reports other tales with equal gravity.

Another deity to whom it was particularly sacred was the Egyptian Lucina;[3] and as her emblem it seems to protect the kings, whom it is represented overshadowing with its wings, whilst they offer to the gods in the temples, or wage war with an enemy in the field of battle.[4] Under this form the goddess is portrayed with outspread wings on the ceilings of the temples,[5] particularly in those parts where the monarch and the officiating priests were destined to pass on their way to celebrate the accustomed rites in honour of the gods. For this reason the vulture is introduced on the ceiling of the central avenues of the portico, and the under side of the lintels of the doors, which lead to the sanctuary. Sometimes in lieu

[1] Horapollo (i. 11) says, 'of Minerva, or of Juno, or heaven, Urania, a year, a mother,' &c.

[2] Ælian, ii. 46.

[3] [Ælian calls it the bird of Juno.—G. W.]

[4] Probably on account of the name of the vulture, *urau*, being the same as the word *urau*, 'victory,' in the hieroglyphs.—S. B.

[5] [Conf. Ælian, x. 22.—G. W.]

BIRDS AND OTHER CREATURES FROM EGYPTIAN MONUMENTS

of its body is placed a human eye with the same outspread wings.

The goddesses and queens frequently wear the vulture with outspread wings in lieu of a cap, the heads projecting from their foreheads, and the wings falling downwards on either side to their neck.[1] Mummies of this vulture have been found embalmed at Thebes. The vulture Percnopterus was probably regarded with great indulgence by the Egyptians; but though frequently represented in the sculptures, there is no evidence of its having been worshipped, or even considered the peculiar emblem of any deity.

Tradition, however, seems to record its having enjoyed a considerable degree of favour, in former times, by one of the names it now bears, 'Pharaoh's hen.' Even the Moslem inhabitants of Egypt abstain from ill-treating it in consequence of its utility, together with the kites and other birds of prey, in removing those impurities which might otherwise be prejudicial in so hot a climate. It is generally known in Arabic by the name *rákham*, which is the same it bore in Hebrew, *reham*, translated in our version of Leviticus *gier-eagle*;[2] where it is comprised among the fowls forbidden to be eaten by the Israelites.

Diodorus[3] and Strabo[4] tell us that the eagle was worshipped at Thebes. But it is evident that they ought to have substituted the hawk, which the sculptures, as well as ancient authors, abundantly prove to have been one of the most sacred of all the animals of Egypt. Diodorus, indeed, shows the connection he supposes to have subsisted between the latter bird and that city, when he says,[5] 'The hawk is reputed to have been worshipped, because augurs use them for divining future events in Egypt; and some say that in former times a book or papyrus, bound round with red or purple[6] thread, and containing a written account of the modes of worshipping and honouring the gods, was brought by one of those birds to the priests at Thebes. For which reason the hierogrammats or sacred scribes wear a (red)

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[1] [To indicate that they were mothers.—S. B.] Conf. Ælian, x. 22.

[2] Levit. xi. 18.

[3] Diodor. i. 87.

[4] Strabo, xvii.

[5] Diodor. *loc. cit.*

[6] The words *φοινικὸς* and *purpureus* are translated 'purple,' but it is evident that they originally signified fire-colour, or red; and the 'purpureus late qui splendeat unus et alter assuitur pannus' of Horace will translate very badly a 'purple patch;' though it is evident, from the 'certantem et uvam purpuræ,' that the Latin as well as the Greek word signified also the colour we call purple. (Hor. Ars Poet. 18; and Epod. ii. 20.) The purple continued to change in colour at different times till it arrived at the imperial hue, and that adopted by the modern cardinals.

purple band and a hawk's feather in their head.[1] The Thebans worship the eagle because it appears to be a royal animal worthy of the Deity.' But though the eagle was not worshipped, it frequently occurs in the hieroglyphics, where it has the force of the letter *a*, the commencement of the word *akhôm*, its name in Coptic.

Plutarch,[2] Clemens,[3] and others, agree in considering the hawk the emblem of the Deity; and the sculptures clearly indicate the god to whom it was particularly sacred to be Ra, or the sun.

Other deities also claimed it as their emblem; and it is shown by the monuments to have belonged to Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, to Aroeris, to the younger Horus, to Mentu, to Khonsu, to Har-Hat, and to Qabhsenuf, one of the four genii of Amenti; all of whom are represented with a hawk's head. There is also a goddess who bears on her head a hawk seated upon a perch, supposed to be the deity of the west bank of the Nile. The same emblem is given to Athor; and the name of the Egyptian Venus is formed of a hawk in a cage or shrine. The boat or ark of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris is covered by the hawk, and several of those birds are represented rowing it, while others stand upon the pillars which support its canopy; and the hawk is frequently introduced overshadowing the king while offering to the gods or engaged in battle, in lieu of the vulture of Eileithyia, as an emblem of Har-Hat or Agathodæmon.

Ælian[4] says, 'The hawk was sacred to Apollo, whom they call Horus.' The Tentyrites, he also states,[5] have them in great honour, though hated by the Coptites; and it is probable that in some ceremonies performed in towns where the crocodile was particularly revered the presence of the hawk was not permitted, being the type of Horus, whose worship was hostile to that animal. But this did not prevent the hawk-headed Aroeris and the crocodile-headed Sebak from sharing the same temple at Ombos.

The hawk was particularly known as the type of the sun, and worshipped at Heliopolis as the sacred bird and representative

[1] Clem. Strom. vi. p. 196.
[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 32.
[3] Clem. Strom. v. p. 159.
[4] Ælian, vii. 9, x. 14. He makes them live 700 years. Ælian's account of the two hawks being deputed by the others to go to certain desert islands near Libya, recalls the modern Arab story of the Gebel e' Tayr or 'mountain of the bird,' near Minieh. (Ælian, ii. 43.)
[5] Ælian, x. 24.

of the deity of the place. It was also peculiarly revered at the island of Philæ, where this sacred bird was kept in a cage, and fed with a care worthy the representative of the deity of whom it was the emblem.

It was said to be consecrated to Osiris, who was buried at Philæ; and in the sculptures of the temples there the hawk frequently occurs, sometimes seated amidst lotus-plants. But this refers to Horus, the son of Osiris, not to that god himself, as the hieroglyphics show whenever the name occurs over it.

The hawk of Philæ is the same kind as that sacred to Ra, and not, as some have imagined, a different species. It is therefore difficult to account for Strabo's assertion[1] that the bird worshipped at Philæ, though called a hawk, appeared to him unlike those he had been accustomed to see in his own country, or in Egypt, being much larger and of a different character. The only mode of accounting for his remark is to suppose he alludes to the hawk I have named *Falco Aroeris*, which is larger than the ordinary kinds of Europe and Egypt, and is seldom seen even in the valley of the Nile.

At Hieraconpolis, or the City of the Hawks, which stood nearly opposite Eileithyia, on the west bank, and at Hieracon, opposite Lycopolis, this bird likewise received divine honours; and the remains at the former, of the time of the first Usertesen, prove the antiquity of that place, and argue that the worship of the hawk was not introduced at a late period.

The universal respect for the gods, of whom it was the type, rendered the honours paid to the hawk common to all Egypt; and though the places above mentioned treated it with greater distinction than the rest of the country, no town was wanting in respect to it, and no individual was known to ill-treat this sacred bird. It was one of those 'confessedly honoured and worshipped by the whole nation,'[2] and 'not only venerated while living, but after death, as were cats, ichneumons, and dogs;'[3] and if, says Herodotus,[4] 'any one, even by accident, killed an ibis or a hawk, nothing could save him from death.' Ælian,[5] indeed, asserts that the Coptites showed great hatred to hawks, as the enemy of their favourite animal the crocodile, and even nailed them to a cross; but this appears improbable, since the sun and other deities, of whom they were emblems, were worshipped at Coptos as throughout Egypt.

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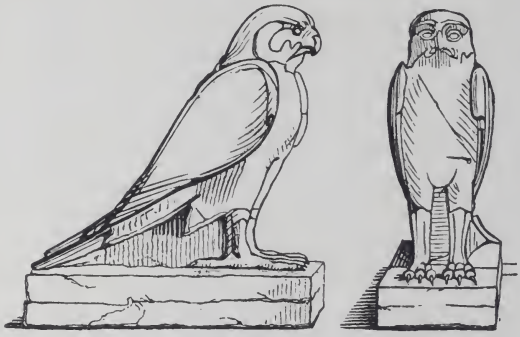
[1] Strabo, xvii. p. 562. [2] Plut. de Isid. s. 73. [3] Diodor. i. 83.
[4] Herodot. ii. 65. [5] Ælian, Nat. An. x. 24.

These sacred birds were maintained at the public expense. Every possible care was taken of them, by certain persons especially entrusted with that honourable duty,[1] who, calling them with a loud voice, held out pieces of meat cut up into small pieces for the purpose, until they came to take them. And whenever, like the curators of the other sacred animals, they travelled through the country to collect charitable donations for their maintenance, the universal veneration paid to the hawks was shown by the zeal with which all persons contributed. A hawk with a human head was the emblem of the human soul,



No. 580. Sacred hawk. *British Museum.*

the *baieth* of Horapollo. The goddess Athor was sometimes figured under this form, with the globe and horns of her usual head-dress. Hawks were also represented with the head of a ram.

Several species of hawks are natives of Egypt, and it is difficult to decide which was really the sacred bird. But it appears that the same kind was chosen as the emblem of all the different gods above mentioned, the only one introduced into the sculptures besides the sacred hawk being the small sparrow-hawk,[2] or *Falco tenunculoïdes*, which occurs in certain mysterious subjects connected with the dead, in the tombs of the kings. The sacred hawk had a peculiar mark under the eye, which, by their conventional mode of representing it, is much more strongly expressed in the sculptures than in nature; and I have met with one species in Egypt which possesses this

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[1] Diodor. i. 83.

[2] The origin of this inconsistent name may be a corruption of *sperviero*, *épervier*, 'a hawk;' or, as Johnson supposes, of the Saxon *spearhafoc*.

peculiarity in so remarkable a degree as to leave no doubt respecting the actual bird called sacred in the country. I have therefore ventured to give it the name of *Falco Aroeris*. Numerous hawk-mummies have been found at Thebes and other places. And such was the care taken by the Egyptians to preserve this useful and sacred bird, that even those which died in foreign countries,[1] where their armies happened to be, were embalmed and brought to Egypt to be buried in consecrated tombs.[2]

The kite was also treated with consideration, because it destroyed rats and noxious reptiles, and, like the *Vultur percnopterus*, aided in freeing the country of impurities which might be injurious to man. It does not, however, appear to have been worshipped as a sacred animal; though it is probable that, like the sparrow-hawk and others, it was thought to belong to Ra, the patron deity of all the falcon tribe, the various members of which were represented by, or included under the name and form of, the sacred hawk.

The horned and white owl are frequently represented in the sculptures; but there is no evidence of their having been sacred, which is the more remarkable, as this bird has been chosen in many countries as the emblem of a deity, or connected with some mysterious notion. Its constant occurrence on the monuments, where it stands for the letter *m*, and bears the sense of 'in,' 'with,' and 'for,' together with the eagle, vulture, hawk, chicken, and swallow, led to the name 'bird writing,'[3] which has been applied to hieroglyphics by the modern Egyptians.[4]

There is no reason for supposing the owl to have been an emblem of the Egyptian Minerva, as some have imagined. And if it obtained any degree of respect for its utility in

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[1] Diodor. i. 84.

[2] The hawk was called *bak*, the emblem of all the solar gods, Ra, Mentu, Amen, Socharis, Horus, and even Osiris. It also expressed sometimes the idea 'god.' It represented likewise the lunar god Khonsu. In the future state the deceased turned into a hawk, and a 'gold hawk,' which last was the author of time and also one of the Pharaonic titles.—S. B.

[3] The Greeks and Romans applied to them the name of 'animal writing.' Herodotus speaks of 'the causeway of the pyramids, with the figures of animals carved upon it' (ii. 124). Lucan says—

'Saxis tantum volucresque feræque,
Sculptaque servabant magicas animalia linguas.'

Ammianus Marcellinus, in describing the hieroglyphics on the sculptured walls of the Egyptian excavated monuments, observes, 'Excisis parietibus volucrum ferarumque genera multa sculpserunt, et animalium species innumeras, quas hieroglyphicas literas appellarunt' (xxii. c. 15, p. 339).

[4] It is remarkable, however, that the owl, accompanied by the crook and the whip, occurs in certain silver coins supposed to have been struck by the Persians.—S. B.

destroying noxious animals, the return for those benefits was thought to be sufficiently repaid by the care with which it was embalmed after death. Several mummies of owls have been found in the Necropolis of Thebes.

According to Horapollo,[1] the sparrow[2] was used by the Egyptians to denote 'a prolific man,' and, according to others, 'the revolution of a year.' But neither the swallow, sparrow, raven, crow, nor upupa, received divine honours among the Egyptians; and though the Moslems distinguish the raven by the name of 'Noah's crow,' and often consider it wrong to kill it, no peculiar respect appears to have been paid it in ancient times.

According to Horapollo,[3] the Egyptians represented Mars and Venus by two hawks, or by two crows; and the latter were chosen as the emblems of marriage. The same author assigns to the representation of a dead crow the idea of a man who has lived a perfect life,[4] and to young crows the signification of a man passing his life in movement and anxiety.[5] Ælian pretends that this bird was sacred to Apollo, two only which belonged to his temple being seen in the vicinity of Coptos.[6] The naturalist adds, that the Romans employed at the emerald mines observed the same number there also—a remark which originated in the circumstance of ravens[7] being almost the only birds seen in that tract; and their habit being to live in pairs. They go a very short distance from their usual haunts; but different valleys are visited by a different couple.

Ælian[8] also states that the sepulchre of a raven was shown in the vicinity of Lake Myris (Mœris); and relates a story of King Marras, who, having employed a raven to carry his letters, buried it there at its death in token of his esteem for its fidelity. From what he mentions in another place,[9] it appears that the race of crows and ravens has wofully degenerated, though greatly to the advantage of the modern inhabitants. For those birds, as soon as they saw a boat passing on the river, in a supplicating manner approached, and petitioned for whatever they required: if given, they departed quietly; but if refused, they settled on

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[1] Horapollo, Hierog. ii. 115.

[2] [Probably a peculiar species, or a variety, as the sparrow of Tunis is, differing slightly from that of Europe.—G. W.]

[3] Horapollo, i. 8, 9, and ii. 40.

[4] Ibid. ii. 89. What he says of its living thirteen years, and the Egyptian year being equal to four years, is obscure.

[5] Horapollo, ii. 97. [6] Ælian, vii. 18.

[7] He calls them crows, but I believe that both Ælian and Herodotus mean ravens; the Egyptian being the Royston crow, or *Corvus cornix*. I believe the latter to be sometimes represented in the Egyptian paintings, and even on papyri.

[8] Ælian, vi. 7. [9] Ibid. ii. 48.

the prow, and pulling to pieces the ropes, revenged themselves on the offenders. His well-known story of the Libyan crows dropping pebbles into jars until the water rose within reach of their bills is also on a par with the animal sagacity of those times.

The swallow[1] often occurs in hieroglyphics, where it sometimes signifies 'great' and 'valuable;' but it does not occur as an emblem of any deity, and the only instance of its occurrence in religious subjects is on the boat of Atum. Isis was not worshipped under the form of a swallow, as some have supposed; and if a group, of which this bird forms the principal feature, accompanies her name, it is only in the sense above mentioned, and applied to her in common with other deities. The swallow is found embalmed in the tombs of Thebes.

Another bird, which is generally mistaken for the swallow, and has been conjectured by Champollion to represent a sparrow, is figured in the hieroglyphic legends as the type of an impure or wicked person. I believe it to be the wagtail, or Motacilla; and it is worthy of remark that this bird is still called in Egypt 'Aboo fussád,' 'the father of *corruption*,' as if in memorial of the hieroglyphical character assigned to it by the ancient Egyptians.

It does not appear that the upupa was sacred. Ælian[2] states that the Egyptians respected this bird and the Vulpanser goose[3] for their love of their young, and the stork for its tenderness to its parents, but there is no reason to believe that any one of these was sacred.

It is a remarkable fact that, though fowls abounded in Egypt, they are never represented in the sculptures. Plutarch[4] tells us they sacrificed white and saffron-coloured cocks to Anubis, but without saying that they were the emblems of any god. Indeed, the universal use of fowls as an article of food argues against the probability of their having been sacred; nor are they found embalmed in the tombs. It is not, however, impossible on this account that they might have been emblems, as the goose, though so universally adopted as an article of food, was the symbol of the god Seb; and, were it not for the absence of all

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[1] Called *men*. The word for 'great' is *ur*, the Latin *hir-undo*.—S. B.

[2] Ælian, Nat. An. x. 16.

[3] The goose was sacred to, and the living emblem of Seb. (Prisse, 'Rev. Arch.,' 1845, p. 729.) There were several kinds of geese, called *sa*, *seb sa*, *seb apt*, and *khenen* or *χen*, like the Greek χήν. See the list of these found in the tombs. (Rosellini, 'Mon. Civ.,' tom. i., p. 189.)—S. B.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 61.

proof of it in the sculptures, we might believe that the assertion of Proclus respecting the cock applies to the religion of Egypt. That author says it held a rank among 'solar animals, because it appears to applaud the sun at its rising, and partakes like the lion of the solar influence: for though so inferior in size and strength, the cock is said to be feared by the lion, and almost revered by it, the virtue of the sun being more suited to the former than to the latter: and dæmons with a lion's head, when the cock is presented to them, are known to vanish instantly.'

This notion of the lion and cock being analogous emblems, and the latter possessing power to contend with his powerful competitor, probably led to the design engraved by a Roman artist on a stone I found in the Fyoóm, representing a lion and cock fighting, whilst a rat carries off the bone of contention. This, besides the obvious moral it conveys, shows that the two animals were chosen as the types of strength or courage. It also recalls the assertion of Pliny,[1] that 'cocks are a terror to lions, the most generous of animals.'

Pigeons are not generally represented in the sculptures; but an instance occurs of their introduction at the Coronation Ceremony, which is particularly interesting, as it shows the early custom of training carrier-pigeons, and adds one more confirmation of the truth of Solomon's remark, 'there is no new thing under the sun.' The king is there represented as having assumed the *pshent* or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt; and a priest lets fly four pigeons, commanding them to announce to 'the south, the north, the west, and the east, that Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, has put on the splendid crowns of the Upper and Lower Country—that is, that the king Rameses III. has put on the two crowns.'

The pigeon[2] is also noticed as a favourite food of the Egyptians; and so pure and wholesome was it considered by them, that when the country was visited by epidemic diseases, and all things were affected by the pestilential state of the atmosphere, they believed[3] that those alone who contented themselves with it were safe from the infection. Indeed, during that period, no other food was placed upon the tables of the kings and priests, whose duty it was to keep themselves pure for the service of the gods. There is, however, no appearance

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[1] Plin. lib. x. c. 21.

[2] It was called *kar-em-pe*, 'the bird of heaven.' The word *ari-em-pe*, 'keepers of heaven,' are also applied to birds.—S. B.

[3] Horapollo, Hierog. i. 57.

of pigeons, or even doves,[1] having been sacred; and neither these nor the quail are found embalmed.

The quail is represented among the offerings to the gods in the tombs, and was eaten by the Egyptians, but it was not the emblem of any deity. Nor did the ostrich hold a place among the sacred animals of Egypt, though much esteemed for its plumes. This is the more singular, as the ostrich-feather was a symbol of the goddess of Truth or Justice. It belonged also to the head-dress of Shu; it was adopted by Hermes Trismegistus, as well as some other deities; and it was worn by the soldiery and the priests on certain religious festivals. Ostrich eggs were highly prized by the Egyptians, and were part of the tribute paid to them by foreigners whose countries it inhabited; and it is possible, as I have already observed, that they were considered, as at the present day, the emblems of some divine attribute, and suspended in their temples, as they still are in the churches of the Copts.

The ibis was sacred to Thoth,[2] who was fabulously reported to have eluded the pursuit of Typho under the form of this bird. It was greatly revered in every part of Egypt; and at Hermopolis, the city of Thoth, it was worshipped with peculiar honours, as the emblem of the deity of the place. It was on this account considered, as Clemens and Ælian[3] tell us, typical of the moon, or the Hermes of Egypt. Its Egyptian name was *Hab;* from which Champollion supposes the town of Nibis to have been called, being a corruption of *Ma-n-hip*, or *n-hip*, 'the place of the ibis.' This name was applied to the Ibeum, where it received the same honours as at the city of Thoth.

Such was the veneration felt by the Egyptians for the ibis, that to have killed one of them, even involuntarily, subjected the offender to the pain of death;[4] and 'never,' says Cicero,[5] 'was such a thing heard of as an ibis killed by an Egyptian.' So pure did they consider it, that 'those priests who were most scrupulous in the performance of the sacred rites, fetched the water they used in their purifications from some place where the ibis had been seen to drink; it being observed of that bird that it never goes near any unwholesome and corrupted water.'[6] The

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[1] The doves represented on the monuments, called *men*, appear to have been ring-doves.—S. B.

[2] Plato in Pnædone. Ælian, Nat. An. x. 29. Horapollo, i. 10 and 36.

[3] Clem. Strom. lib. v. p. 242. Ælian, Nat. An. ii. 38.

[4] Herodot. ii. 65, and Diodor. i. 83.

[5] Cic. de Nat. Deor. lib. i. 29.

[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 75. Ælian, vii. 45.

particular respect paid to it was supposed to be owing to its destroying venomous reptiles, which, as Cicero says, its height, its hard legs, and long horny beak enable it to do with great ease and safety; thus averting pestilence from Egypt, when the winged serpents are brought by the westerly winds from the deserts of Libya.[1] Pausanias,[2] Cicero, and others,[3] think the existence of these serpents not impossible; and Herodotus says he only saw their bones and wings. But we may readily pardon their credulity, when we find it asserted by a modern traveller that they still exist in Egypt.

The account of Herodotus is this:[4] 'In Arabia (the eastern or Arabian side of the Nile), very near to the city of Buto, is a place to which I went to inquire about the winged serpents. On my arrival I saw a great quantity of bones and backbones of serpents scattered about, of all sizes, in a place where a narrow gorge between two hills opens upon an extensive plain contiguous to the valley of Egypt. These serpents are reported to fly from Arabia into Egypt about the beginning of spring, when the ibis, meeting them at the opening of this defile, prevents their passing, and destroys them: in gratitude for which service, the Arabs say that the Egyptians have great veneration for the ibis; and they themselves allow it is for this reason they honour that bird.

'There are two kinds of ibis. The first is of the size of a *crex*,[5] with very black plumage; the legs like those of the crane, and the beak curved. This kind attacks the serpents. The other ibises are more common, and often seen. They have the head and all the neck without feathers; their plumage is white, except the head, neck, and extremity of the wings and tail, all which are quite black; the legs and beak being the same as in the other species. The winged serpent is in figure like a water-snake; its wings are without feathers, and exactly like those of a bat.'

Among the many fanciful animals of the Egyptian sculptures, the winged serpents mentioned by Herodotus are nowhere found. Even among the many monsters in the mythological subjects of their tombs, none are represented, as he describes them, with the wings of bats, though some occur with the feathered wings of birds. Had the Egyptians themselves believed the existence of that kind of serpent, we may reasonably

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[1] Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. i. Herodotus says they came from Arabia.
[2] Pausan. x. 21.
[3] Ælian, Nat. An. ii. 38. Amm. Marc. xxii. 15, p. 338.
[4] Herodot. ii. 75.
[5] *Rallus crex.*

suppose they would not have omitted it in the numerous scenes connected with the Evil Being, of whom this hateful monster would have been an appropriate type. We may therefore conclude that Herodotus was imposed upon by some deceitful or credulous Egyptian, who showed him the backbones of serpents mixed with the wings and bones of bats; which last abound in great numbers in Egypt, and many have been found in the gorge near Buto.[1]

The common ibis mentioned by Herodotus corresponds with the *Numenius Ibis*, or *Ibis religiosa*, of modern naturalists, as Cuvier has shown;[2] but this is not the ibis famed for its attack on the serpents, which was less common, and of a black colour. Those we find embalmed are the Numenius. They are white, with black pinions and tail: the body measures 12 inches, and 4½ in diameter, and the beak about half a foot. The leg, from the knee to the plant of the foot, is about 4½ inches, and the foot the same length; the wing, from the pinion-joint to the extremity of the feathers, being nearly 10 inches. The *Ardea Ibis* of Hasselquist, which is a small heron with a straight beak, has no claim to the title of ibis of the ancients. The black and the common Egyptian ibis were related to the curlews, both having curved beaks. The *Tantalus Ibis* of Linnæus is indefinite, from its comprehending, as Cuvier says, 'four species of three different genera.'[3]

That the ibis was of great use in destroying locusts, serpents, scorpions, and other noxious creatures which infested the country, is readily credited. And its destruction of them[4] led to the respect it enjoyed; in the same manner as the stork was honoured in Thessaly,[5] where it was a capital offence to kill one of those birds.[6] Some have doubted the bill of the ibis having sufficient power to destroy serpents; and therefore, questioning the accuracy of Herodotus's description of the birds which attacked them in the desert near Buto, have suggested that they were of the Ardea kind. But it is evident that the bill of the ibis is sufficiently strong for attacking serpents[7] of ordinary size,

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[1] From his never mentioning locusts, some might suppose he had made this mistake on seeing the bones and wings of those insects; but the form of the snakes, the bat's wings, and what he afterwards says of their living in Arabia, prevent this conclusion. (Herodot. ii. 75, and iii. 107, 109.)

[2] Jameson's Cuvier's 'Theory of the Earth,' p. 300, *et seq.*

[3] Ibid. p. 329.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 75.

[5] Ibid. s. 74.

[6] Plin. x. 23.

[7] Some birds, as the secretary and others, attack snakes by striking them with the edge of their pinions, and, having stunned them, then use their beaks.

and well suited for the purpose. With regard to the statement of Herodotus, nothing conclusive can be derived from it; his whole testimony, as Cuvier observes, only proving that he saw a heap of bones, without having ascertained, beyond report, how they were brought to the spot.

Bronze figures of the ibis represent it attacking snakes; which, if not of ancient Egyptian, but of Roman time, suffice to show the general belief respecting it; and Cuvier actually found the skin and scales of a snake, partly digested, in the intestines of one of these mummied birds. The food of the common ibis also consisted of beetles and other insects; and in the body of one were several Coleoptera, two of which have been ascertained by Mr. Hope to be *Pimelia pilosa*,[1] and *Akis reflexa* of Fabricius, common in Egypt at the present day. Insects, snakes, and other reptiles appear to have been the food of both kinds of ibis.

Plutarch and Cicero pretend that the use it made of its bill taught mankind an important secret in medical treatment.[2] The form of the ibis, when crouched in a sitting position, with its head under its feathers, or when in a mummied state, was supposed to resemble the human heart:[3] 'the space between its legs, when parted asunder as it walks, was observed to make an equilateral triangle,'[4] and numerous equally fanciful peculiarities were discovered in this revered emblem of Thoth.

Pettigrew says,[5] 'The heart was looked upon by the Egyptians as the seat of the intellect; and in this way it has been attempted to explain the attribute of the ibis, which was no less than to preside over and inspire all sacred and mystical learning of the Egyptian hierarchy.' Horapollo describes the Egyptian Hermes as 'the president of the heart, or a personification of the wisdom supposed to dwell in the inward parts.' Ælian's story of the length of its intestines, ascertained by those who presided over the embalming of this bird to be 96 cubits long,[6] and its obstinate refusal to eat any food when taken out of Egypt, are among the number of idle tales respecting the ibis.[7]

I have stated that it was particularly sacred to Thoth, the

[1] M. Latreille's genus Trachyderma—so named from their thick elytra.

[2] The bill is not a tube. (Plut. de Isid. s. 75. Cicero, de Nat. Deor. lib. ii. Ælian, Nat. An. ii. 35, &c.)

[3] Horapollo, i. 10, 36. Ælian, x. 29.

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 75. The expression and the beak' is very unintelligible.

[5] 'History of Egyptian Mummies,' p. 205.

[6] Larcher says they were ascertained at the Académie des Sciences to be 4 ft. 8 in. French. (Herod. Larch. p. 231. Ælian, x. 29.)

[7] Larcher has also freed it from the imputation of a *felo de se*.

moon, or the Egyptian Hermes, and that Hermopolis was the city in which it received the greatest honours. As an emblem of Thoth it was represented standing on a perch; and the god himself was almost invariably figured with the head of this bird. There was another Hermopolis, distinguished by the adjunct Parva, where it was also revered as an emblem of the same god; and the town of Ibeum, situated, according to the Itinerary of Antoninus, 24 miles to the north of Hermopolis, was noted for the worship of the ibis. But all Egypt acknowledged its sacred character; and there is no animal of which so many mummies have been found, particularly at Thebes, Memphis, and Hermopolis Magna. In the former they are enveloped in linen bandages, and are often perfectly preserved; at Memphis they are deposited in earthenware vases of conical shape, but nearly always decomposed; and at the city of Hermes, in wooden or stone cases of an oblong form. Some have been found mummied in the human form; one of which, in the collection of Passalacqua, is made to represent the god Thoth.[1]

Both kinds of ibis mentioned by Herodotus were doubtless sacred to the Egyptian Hermes.

The ibis is rarely found in Egypt at the present day, though said sometimes to frequent the Lake Menzaleh, and occasionally to be seen in other parts of the country. Cuvier and others have made considerable researches respecting it; and that celebrated naturalist brings forward a curious proof of its having been domesticated, from the discovery of a mummied ibis, whose 'left humerus had been broken and joined again.' For, he observed, 'it is probable that a wild bird whose wing had been broken would have perished before it had healed, from being unable to pursue its prey or escape from its enemies.'[2] It is probable that many of the heron or crane tribe were looked upon with respect by the Egyptians, though they did not receive the same honours given to the ibis; and some were chosen as emblems of other gods, distinct from every connection with Thoth. Some were killed for the table and the altar; and the Egyptian chasseur is frequently represented felling them with the throw-stick[3] in the thickets of the marshes.[4]

Several occur in the hieroglyphics, and in the paintings:

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[1] Pettigrew, plate 13, fig. 6.

[2] Cuvier's 'Theory of the Earth,' p. 307.

[3] This calls to mind the boomerang of New Holland; but the peculiarity of this last, of coming back to the thrower, did not belong to the Egyptian throw-stick, which was also more straight.

[4] Woodcut No. 366.

among which we may distinguish the *Ardea cinerea* or heron,[1] the *Platalea* or spoonbill, the stork, charadrius, and others.[2] Cranes and other wading birds are found in the winter in Upper Egypt, but far more in Ethiopia, and in spring immense flights of storks (*Ciconia alba*) collect together, which, after soaring round in circles at a great height, return for the summer to the north. From the migration of cranes to Ethiopia arose the fable of the Cranes and Pygmies. The *Ardea cinerea* and *garzetta*, the *Platalea* or spoonbill, the pelican, and some others remain the whole year in Egypt. The *Grus cinerea*, a crane, winters in Ethiopia about Gebel Berkel. This last has been strangely mistaken for an ostrich at Beni-Hassan, and is probably the Grus undetermined by Pickering.[3] The ibis is rarely seen except near the Lake Menzaleh, where ducks, coots, and numerous water-fowl abound. The avocet was a native of Egypt as early as the 12th Dynasty. The Numidian demoiselle, *Anthropoïdes Virgo*, is found, but not common, in Upper Egypt. Kites remain all the winter, and swallows also, though in small numbers, even at Thebes.[4]

That which held the next rank to the ibis was the tufted Bennu,[5] one of the emblems of Osiris, who was sometimes figured with the head of this bird. It was distinguished by a tuft of two long feathers falling from the back of its head; and this peculiarity seems to point out the small white *aboogerdan*, which I have often seen with two similar plumes. Its pure white[6] colour, its custom of following the plough, and living in the cultivated fields, from which the French have given it the name of *gardebœuf*, as well as its utility in eating the worms and insects in newly-tilled lands, argue in favour of this conjecture, and suggest it to be an appropriate emblem of the beneficent Osiris. It is the *Ardea bubulcus* of Savigny.

More than one Charadrius was a native of Egypt. The *Charadrius œdicnemus*, the modern *Karawan*, the Cristatus or crested plover, and the Armatus or spur-winged plover, were very common. But the most remarkable, from the tale attached to it, was the Trochilus.[7] Sicard is right in saying that it is called

[1] Vol. ii. woodcut No. 369, *fig.* 15.

[2] Vol. ii. p. 114, and woodcuts Nos. 368, 369; also Plate LIX.

[3] Page 169.

[4] [I have, however, found a swallow at Thebes which had died of cold.—G. W.]

[5] Woodcut No. 578.

[6] I believe, however, that the Bennu is represented of a bluish grey or slate colour.

[7] Ælian, xii. 15, says there were 'several species of Trochilus (*i.e.* Charadrius), with hard names,' to which he seems always to have a great objection.

Siksak by the Arabs, though this name is also applied to the spur-winged and crested plovers. The benefit it confers on the crocodile, by apprising it of the approach of danger with its shrill voice,[1] doubtless led to the fable of the friendly offices it was said to perform for that animal, as I have already observed.

Ammianus Marcellinus calls the Trochilus a small[2] bird, which does not disagree with the dimensions of the Siksak, being only 9½ inches long. It is of a slate colour, the abdomen and neck being white. The head is black, with two white stripes running from the bill and meeting at the nape of the neck, and a black mantle extends over the shoulders to the tail. The

No. 581. The Trochilus, or *Charadrius melanocephalus*, Linn.

feet are blue, and the beak black. The wings are also black, with a broad transverse white band. It is the *Charadrius melanocephalus* of Linnæus.[3]

The Egyptian goose was an emblem of the god Seb,[4] the father of Osiris. It is not, however, among the sacred animals of Egypt which were forbidden to be eaten; as is evident from there having been a greater consumption of geese than of any

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[1] Ælian, viii. 25.

[2] Or 'short,' *brevis:* Ammian. Marcell. xxii. p. 336.

[3] Linnæus has taken the Trochilus as a generic name for the humming bird, particularly for those with curved bills.

[4] [As an emblem of Seb it was connected with the great mundane egg, in which form the chaotic mass of the world was produced. Part of the 26th chapter of the funeral Ritual translated by Dr. Hincks contains this dogma, alluded to in the Orphic Cosmogony: 'I am the Egg of the Great Cackler. I have protected the Great Egg laid by Seb in the world: I grow, it grows in turn: I live, it lives in turn: I breathe, it breathes in turn.' This Dr. Birch shows to be used on coffins of the period about the 12th Dynasty. (See Gliddon's 'Otia Egypt.' p. 83.) On the Orphic Cosmogony and the connection between the egg and Chronus (Saturn, the Seb of Egypt), see Damascius in Cory's 'Fragments,' p. 313. Aristophanes (Birds, 700) mentions the egg produced by 'black-winged Night.' (Cory, p. 293, and see Orphic Hymn to Protogonus, p. 294.) As Seb and Nut answered to Saturn and Rhea, their children Osiris and Isis, being brother and sister, answered to Jupiter and Juno, though they did not really bear any other resemblance to them. Seb and Nut were the earth and the heaven above.—G. W.]

No. 582.

other bird, even in those places where the god Seb was particularly adored. And if Herodotus[1] says 'it was sacred,' he probably refers to its having been the emblem of the husband of Nut, the Egyptian Saturn. It signified in hieroglyphics 'a child;'[2] and Horapollo says, 'It was chosen to denote a son, from its love to its young, being always ready to give itself up to the chasseur in order that they might be preserved: for which reason the Egyptians thought it right to revere this animal.'

The goose was very common in every part of Egypt, as at the present day; but few mummies have been found of it, which is the more readily accounted for from its utility as an article of food, and as an offering for the altar.

Among the minor deities or genii of the tombs a duck-headed god is sometimes represented; but this bird does not appear to have held a rank among the sacred animals of Egypt.

Horapollo says, 'The pelican was the type of a fool;'[3] and relates a ridiculous story of the reason for this unenviable distinction. But he adds, 'Since it is remarkable for the defence of its young, the priests consider it unlawful to eat it, though the rest of the Egyptians do so, alleging that it does not defend them with discretion like the goose, but with folly.' This reason, however, at once impugns the truth of a statement which leads us to infer that they abstained from eating geese, since we know they were served at the tables of the priests themselves, and constituted one of the principal articles of food throughout the country. The pelican is sometimes eaten by the modern Egyptians; but it is very coarse and strong, and requires much cooking to overcome the greasy properties of its flesh, and we cannot be surprised at the ordinance which forbade it to the Israelites.[4] Its Hebrew name is *Kath;* and it is now commonly known in Egypt as the *Gemmal el bahr*, or 'camel of the river.'

Among fabulous birds, the Phœnix[5] holds the first place; but this I have already mentioned, as well as the Baieth, and the vulture with a snake's head.

Hawks were often represented with the heads of rams and men.

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[1] Herodot. ii. 72.

[2] Horapollo, i. 53. It answered to the letter *s*, of *se*, 'a child.'

[3] Horapollo, Hierog. i. 54.

[4] Levit. xi. 18. Deut. xiv. 17. Pliny also tells a strange tale about the pelican, which he calls Platea (x. 40; and Aristot. viii. 12).

[5] [This bird I formerly supposed to be the one represented on the monuments with human hands, and often with a man's head and legs, in an attitude of prayer; but it appears to be the 'pure soul' of the king.—G. W.]

A tortoise-headed god[1] occurs as one of the genii in the tombs; but it does not appear that the tortoise held a rank among the sacred animals of Egypt.

The crocodile, as has been already shown, was peculiarly sacred to the god Sebak. Its worship did not extend to every part of Egypt: some places considering it the representative of the Evil Being, and bearing the most deadly animosity to it, which led to serious feuds between neighbouring towns. Such was the cause of the quarrel of the Ombites and Tentyrites described by Juvenal:[2] and the same animal which was worshipped at Ombos 'was killed and eaten by the inhabitants of Apollinopolis. Indeed, on a particular day, they had a solemn chase of the crocodile,[3] when they put to death as many as they could, and afterwards threw their bodies before the temple of their god; assigning this reason, that it was in the shape of a crocodile that Typho eluded the pursuit of Horus.'

It enjoyed great honours at Coptos, Ombos,[4] and Athribis or Crocodilopolis in the Thebaïd. In Lower Egypt it was particularly sacred at a place also called the City of Crocodiles, and afterwards Arsinoë, in honour of the wife and sister of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which was the capital of a nome, now the province of Fyoóm. The animals were there kept in the Lake Mœris, and were buried, according to Herodotus,[5] in the underground chambers of the famous Labyrinth. There was another Crocodilopolis in the Thebaïd, placed by Strabo on the west bank, next in order to, and on the south of, Hermonthis; which I suppose to have stood at the Gebelayn, where the vestiges of a town appear on the hill nearest the river. Judging from the numerous mummies of crocodiles in the extensive caves of Maábdeh, opposite Manfalóot, another town particularly devoted to their worship also stood in that neighbourhood.

From the account of Ælian[6] it appears that, in places where they were worshipped, their numbers increased to such an extent 'that it was not safe for anyone to wash his feet or draw water at the river; and no one could walk near the edge of the stream either in the vicinity of Ombos, Coptos, or Arsinoë, without extreme caution.'

Near one of the cities called Crocodilopolis was the place of interment of the first Asclepius, the reputed inventor of medi-

[1] Supposed to represent idleness.—S. B. 562.
[2] Juv. Sat. xviii. 36.
[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 50. Strabo, xvii. p.
[4] Ælian, x. 24.
[5] Herodot. ii. 148.
[6] Ælian, x. 24.

cine; to whom a temple was said to have been dedicated on the Libyan hills in the vicinity.[1] That city was probably Athribis, noted for the peculiar honours paid to its presiding deity Thriphis, the contemplar companion of Khem.

Strabo[2] speaks of the great respect shown to the crocodile in the nome of Arsinoë, or, as it was formerly called, Crocodilopolis. He states that one was sacred there, and kept apart in a particular lake, which was so tame that it allowed itself to be touched by the priests. They called it Souchos, or Suchus. It was fed with bread, meat, and wine, which were brought by those strangers who went to see it. Strabo's host, a man of consideration, when showing the geographer and his party the sacred curiosities of the place, conducted them to the brink of the lake, having taken with him from table a cake, some roast meat, and a cup of wine. The animal was lying on the bank; and while some of the priests opened its mouth, one put in the cake, and then the meat, after which the wine was poured into it. The crocodile, upon this, taking to the water, passed over to the other side; and another stranger, having come for the same purpose, made similar offerings to it as it lay there.

The Suchus of Strabo appears to agree with, and to be taken from, the name of the god Sebak; and it was probably applied exclusively to those which were sacred. Herodotus says the Egyptians called crocodiles *Champses;* a corruption of the Coptic or Egyptian name *msah*, or *emsooh*, from which the Arabs have derived their modern appellation *temsah*. The *crocodeilos*[3] of the Greeks was merely the Ionian term for all lizards, as our alligator is the Portuguese *o lagarto*, 'the lizard.'

Herodotus agrees with Strabo in saying they were rendered so tame as to allow themselves to be touched with the hand; their ears were decked with earrings,[4] and their fore-feet with bracelets; and as long as they lived they were fed with the flesh of victims, and other food ordained by law.

Thebes did not refuse divine honours to the crocodile, as the emblem of Sebak, who was admitted among the contemplar deities of that city; and we learn from the sculptures that many other towns acknowledged it as a sacred animal.

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[1] Mercur. Trismegistus' dialogue with Asclepius.

[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 558.

[3] κροκόδειλος.

[4] Herodot. ii. 69. We may hope they did not think themselves bound by any religious feeling to bore their ears; if so, the office of curator of the crocodiles must have been no sinecure.

Herodotus mentions the respect paid to them at Thebes and the Lake Mœris; and observes that 'some of the Egyptians consider them sacred, while others do all they can to destroy them: among which last are the people of Elephantine and its vicinity, who have no scruple in eating their flesh.' Diodorus[1] makes the same remark of their having been worshipped by some only of the Egyptians.

'Many,' says the historian, 'naturally ask how an animal which devours men can have been considered worthy of the respect shown to the gods. They answer, that not only the Nile, but the crocodiles are a defence to the country. For the robbers of Arabia and Africa, who would pillage the lands, dare not swim across the river from the number of these animals; and one great impediment would be removed if they were hunted and destroyed. An historical tale relates that Menas,[2] one of their ancient kings, being driven by his own dogs into the Lake Mœris, was miraculously taken up by a crocodile, and carried to the other shore: in commemoration of which benefit the king built the "City of the Crocodiles" in that district, ordering divine honours to be paid to them, and assigning the lake for their maintenance. Near it he built a tomb for himself, with a four-sided pyramid and a labyrinth, which are the admiration of all who behold them.'

The crocodile was supposed by some to be an emblem of the sun, its number sixty being thought to agree with that luminary;[3] and Clemens tells us[4] the sun was sometimes placed in a boat, at others on a crocodile.[5]

On the subject of the crocodile M. Pauw[6] makes a very judicious remark, 'that on his examining the topography of Egypt, he observed Coptos, Arsinoë, and Crocodilopolis, Athribis, the towns most remarkable for the adoration of crocodiles, to be all situated on canals at some distance from the Nile. Thus, by the least negligence in allowing the ditches to be filled up, those animals, from being incapable of going far on dry land, could never have arrived at the very places where they were considered as the symbols of pure water. For, as we learn from Ælian, and

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[1] Diodor. i. 35.

[2] From what follows, of his tomb and the labyrinth, he evidently means Mœris.

[3] Iamblich. de Myst. sect. 5, c. 8. Porphyr de Abstin.

[4] Clemens, Strom. lib. v.

[5] There is a curious subject at Philæ of a man's body on a crocodile's back, with other sculptures referring to the sun, moon, and stars. They are of late time.

[6] Pauw, 'Recherches Philos.' vol. ii. part 3, sect. 7, p. 122. This has been quoted by Pettigrew.

more particularly from a passage in Eusebius,[1] the crocodile signified water fit for drinking and irrigating the lands. As long as their worship was in vogue, the Government felt assured that the superstitious would not neglect to repair the canals with the greatest exactness.' Thus was their object gained by this religious artifice.

I also avail myself of this opportunity of introducing an ingenious suggestion of Mr. Salt, that in Juvenal's account of the dispute between Ombos and Tentyris, Coptos[2] should be substituted for the former; this town being much nearer, and consequently more likely to be engaged in a feud caused by the injuries done to an animal it held sacred in common with the more distant Ombos.

The towns where it was looked upon with particular execration were Tentyris,[3] Apollinopolis, Heracleopolis, and the island of Elephantine; and the same aversion was common to all places where the Evil Being was typified by the crocodile.

Of the mode of hunting the crocodile by the Tentyrites, and the skill they possessed in overcoming so powerful an animal, I have already spoken; and have mentioned the method adopted, according to Herodotus, of catching it with a hook, to which a piece of pork was attached as a bait. But I ought not to omit another mode practised at the present day. They fasten a dog upon a log of wood, to the middle of which is tied a rope of sufficient length, protected by iron wire or other substance, to prevent its being bitten through; and having put this into the stream, or on a sandbank at the edge of the water, they lie concealed near the spot, and await the arrival of the crocodile. As soon as it has swallowed the dog they pull the rope, which brings the stick across the animal's throat. It endeavours to plunge into deep water, but is soon fatigued by its exertions, and is drawn ashore; when, receiving several blows on the head with long poles and hatchets, it is easily killed.[4]

It is now seldom eaten, the flesh being bad; but its hide is used, especially by the Ethiopians, for shields and other purposes; the glands are taken from beneath the arm or fore-leg for the musk they contain; and some parts are occasionally dried and used as filters. In former times it seems rather to have

[1] Euseb. Præp. Evang. iii. 11.

[2] 'Barbara hæc Coptos.'

[3] Plin. vii. 25. Of the skill of the Tentyrites in catching this animal, see Ælian, x. 24.

[4] They were also probably harpooned, as the ends of harpoons with a single barbed hook, surmounted by a crocodile and having beneath a ring, are in collections. (Brit. Mus. Guide to Egypt. Rooms, p. 40.)—S. B.

been eaten as a mark of hatred to the Evil Being, of whom it was the emblem, than as an article of food;[1] but those who by religious scruples were forbidden to eat its flesh, were not thereby deprived of a delicacy of the table.

I have mentioned[2] the fable of the trochilus and the crocodile, and the animosity said to subsist between the latter and the ichneumon, as well as the supposed security against the crocodile to those who used a boat made of the papyrus.

Herodotus says,[3] 'Of all animals, none that we know of becomes so large, after having been so small: its eggs[4] are scarcely larger than those of the goose, but by degrees it reaches 17 cubits (25½ feet) in length, and even more.' Plutarch[5] relates other tales of this oviparous animal, to which he attributes a plausible reason for paying it divine honours. 'It has no tongue, and is therefore looked upon as an image of the Deity Himself; the divine reason needing not speech, but going through still and silent paths, whilst it administers the world with justice.' 'Another peculiar property of the crocodile is, that though in the water its eyes are covered by a thin pellucid membrane which comes down from the forehead,[6] yet it is able to see, at the same time that it cannot be perceived to do so; in which respect likewise it bears some resemblance to the first god. It is further remarked, that in whatever part of the country the female lays her eggs, so far will be the extent of the inundation for that season, ... showing that it is imbued with an accurate knowledge of what will come to pass..... Moreover the eggs it lays are sixty in number, as are the days which pass before they are hatched, and the years of those which live the longest—a number of great importance to those who occupy themselves in astronomical matters.' Ælian[7] mentions the same number of eggs, the sixty days before they are laid, and the same period before they are hatched. He also gives them sixty vertebræ in their spine, and as many nerves, a life of sixty years, a mouth with this proportion of teeth, and a period of annual torpidity and fasting during the same number of days. It is from this number that Iamblichus thinks the crocodile connected with the sun. The mummies of crocodiles are found at Thebes,

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[1] Diodor. i. 35.

[2] Herodot. ii. 68. Ælian, iii. 11, viii. 25. Ammian. Marcell. xxii. p. 336.

[3] Herodot. ii. 68.

[4] Macrob. Saturn. lib. vii. c. 16, on the eggs of Crocodiles.

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 75.

[6] From the side—the nictating, or nictitating, membrane.

[7] Ælian, x. 21. Cf. Aristot. Hist. An. v.

Maábdeh, and other places, many of which are of full size and perfectly preserved.[1]

Of the lizard tribe[2] none but the crocodile seems to have been sacred. Those which occur in the hieroglyphics are not emblematic of the gods, nor connected with religion.

I have already spoken of the choice of this serpent as an emblem of Chnoumis, and as a symbol of royalty,[3] on which account it received the name of basilisk.[4]

Diodorus says the priests of Ethiopia and Egypt had the asp coiled up in the caps they wore on religious ceremonies; but this should rather have been applied to the kings, being a royal emblem, given only to the sovereign or to the gods. Plutarch[5] states that 'the asp is worshipped on account of a certain resemblance between it and the operations of the divine power; and being in no fear of old age, and moving with great facility, though it does not seem to enjoy the proper organs for motion, it is looked upon as a proper symbol of the stars.' It was one of those creatures which were sacred throughout the country, though it enjoyed greater honours in places where the deities of whom it was the type presided, and, if we may believe Pausanias, particularly 'at Omphis,[6] in Egypt.' Phylarchus[7] relates that great honours were paid to the asp by the Egyptians, and, from the care they took of it, that it was rendered so tame as to live with their children without doing them any harm. It came from its place of retreat when called by the snapping of the fingers; and after dinner some paste mixed with honey and wine being placed upon the table, it was called to take its repast. The same signal was used when anyone walked in the dark at night to warn the reptile of his approach.

This serpent was called Thermuthis, and with it the statues of Isis were crowned as with a diadem.[8] 'Asp-formed crowns' are frequently represented on the heads of goddesses and queens

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[1] The crocodile was called in Egyptian *em suhu*, 'sprung of an egg.' They were sacred to Sebak, but also considered malevolent and personifications of evil actions, as the Egyptians had a great dread of the crocodile, which they exorcised. In the future state the deceased had to repulse the crocodiles, which had different mystical names.—S. B.

[2] Plin. viii. 25.

[3] It was called in Egyptian *ārā*, the Greek *ouraios*. It was the determinative or emblem of all goddesses, and placed on the disk or head-dresses of all the principal solar deities, probably on account of its representing *Neb.t unnu*, 'the lady of the hours,' attached to Ra or the sun.—S. B.

[4] Ælian considers it different from the asp; and thinks it so deadly that if it bit a stick it would cause the death of him who held it. (Nat. An. ii. 5.)

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 74.

[6] Pausanias (Bœot. c. 21) says, 'The asps of Ethiopia are black, like the people.'

[7] Ælian, Nat. An. xvii. 5.

[8] Ibid. x. 31.

in the Egyptian sculptures. The statues of the mother and wife of Amenophis (the vocal Memnon) in the plain of Thebes have a crown of this kind; and the Rosetta Stone mentions 'asp-formed crowns,' though this last might refer to the single asp *attached* to the front of the cap usually worn by the king. Instances sometimes occur of a fillet of asps bound round the royal crown, and I have once seen the same encircling the head-dress of Osiris. Ælian[1] mentions a custom of 'the Egyptian kings, to wear asps of different colours in their crowns, this reptile being emblematic of the invincible power of royalty.' Some, he adds, 'are of a greenish hue, but the generality black, and occasionally red.' I am however inclined to think that this idea arose from the different colours given to the asp in the paintings, rather than from any real variety in the living animal. The asp was also the emblem of the goddess Rannu. It was then supposed to protect the houses or the gardens of individuals, as well as the infancy of a royal child, in the character of guardian genius. Sometimes an asp was figured with a human head.

Ælian[2] relates many strange stories of the asp,[3] and the respect paid to it by the Egyptians; but we may suppose that in his sixteen species[4] of asps other snakes were included. He also speaks[5] of a dragon,[6] which was sacred in the Egyptian Melite (Metelis), and another kind of snake called Parias, or Paruas, dedicated to Æsculapius.[7] The serpent of Melite had priests and ministers, a table and a bowl. It was kept in a tower, and fed by the priests with cakes[8] made of flour and honey, which they placed there in the bowl. Having done this, they retired. The next day, on returning to the apartment, the food was found to be eaten, and the same quantity was again put into the bowl, for it was not lawful for anyone to see the sacred reptile. On one occasion a certain elder of the priests, being anxious to behold it, went in alone, and having deposited the cake withdrew, until the moment when he supposed the serpent had come forth to its repast.[9] He then entered, throwing open the door with great violence; upon which, the serpent withdrew in evident indignation, and the

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[1] Ælian, Nat. An. vi. 33.

[2] Ibid. iv. 54, x. 31, and xi. 32. He even makes it in love, without being complimentary to Egyptian beauty.

[3] Plin. viii. 23.

[4] Ælian, x. 31.

[5] Ælian, xi. 17.

[6] It is evident from Pausanias (Att. 21) that the dragon of the Greeks was only a large kind of snake with, as he says, 'scales like a pine-cone.'

[7] Ælian, viii. 19.

[8] Cakes seem to have been usually given to the snakes of antiquity—as to the dragon of the Hesperides. (Virg. Æn. iv. 483.)

[9] Ovid, lib. ii. Amor. Eleg. 13, to Isis.

priest shortly after became frantic, and having confessed his crime expired.

According to Juvenal,[1] the priests of Isis, in his time, contrived that the silver idols of snakes, kept in her temple, should move their heads to a supplicating votary; and extravagant notions connected with serpents are not wanting in the paintings of the tombs of the kings at Thebes, and are traced in the religions of all nations of antiquity.

The Egyptian asp is a species of Cobra da capello,[2] and is still very common in Egypt, where it is called *Náshir*, a word signifying 'spreading,' from its dilating its breast when angry. It is the same which the *Háwee*, or snake-players, the Psylli[3] of modern days,[4] use in their juggling tricks, having previously taken care to extract its fangs, or, which is a still better precaution, to burn out the poison-bag with a hot iron. They are generally about three or four feet long, but some are considerably larger, one in my possession measuring exactly six feet in length; and Ælian[5] scruples not to give them five cubits. They are easily tamed. Their food is mice, frogs, and various reptiles; and they mostly live in gardens during the warm weather,[6] where they are of great use—the reason, probably, of their having been chosen in ancient times as a protecting emblem.[7] In the winter they retire to their holes, and remain in a torpid state, being incapable of bearing cold, as I had reason to observe with two I kept in the house at Cairo, which died in one night, though wrapped up in a skin and protected from the air.

The size of the asp necessarily suggests the question, why should Cleopatra have chosen so inconvenient a serpent?[8] This name was perhaps sometimes applied, like our term viper, to many venomous serpents of different species; and another kind of poisonous snake of a much more convenient and

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[1] Juv. Sat. vi. 537.

[2] *Coluber*, or *Naja Haje*.

[3] Ælian, i. 57.

[4] Ælian, speaking of the power of the Egyptians over snakes and birds, says, 'They are said to be enabled by a certain magical art to bring down birds from heaven, and to charm serpents, so as to make them come forth from their lurking-places at their command' (lib. vi. c. 33). He thinks that no one ever recovered from the bite of an asp (vi. 38); though he modifies this opinion in another place (ii. 5).

[5] Ælian, Nat. An. vi. 38. He mentions dragons of thirteen and fourteen cubits (20 feet), brought from Ethiopia to Alexandria. This was for Æsculapius. 'Deus intersit' (xvi. 39).

[6] Ælian, v. 52.

[7] Ammian. Marcell. (xxii. 15, p. 338) says, 'The asp exceeds all others in size and beauty.' His *acontia* is perhaps the *tyar*, 'flyer,' of modern Egypt. Plin. viii. 23: 'Jaculum ex arborum ramis vibrari.'

[8] The reason assigned is that from observation or experiment she had found that the bite of the asp caused death attended by the least apparent pain. It was also more easily introduced to her.—S. B.

portable size, common in Lower Egypt,[1] may have been the one used by her, and have been miscalled by the Greeks an asp.[2] Mummies of the asp are discovered in the Necropolis of Thebes.

The harmless house-snake, from its destroying mice and various reptiles in their dwellings and outhouses, was looked upon with great respect by the Egyptians. Though used to represent Eternity, and sometimes occurring in the mysterious subjects of the tombs, it does not appear to have been sacred to any of the great deities of Egypt; and if it belonged to any, it was probably only to those of an inferior order, in the region of Amenti. It is doubtful if the snake with its tail in its mouth was really adopted by the Egyptians as the emblem[3] of Eternity. It occurs on papyri,[4] encircling the figure of Harpocrates; but there is no evidence of its having that meaning, and I do not remember to have seen it on any monuments of an early Egyptian epoch.

The snake in former times played a conspicuous part in the mysteries of religion: many of the subjects, in the tombs of the kings at Thebes in particular, show the importance it was thought to enjoy in a future state; and Ælian[5] seems to speak of a 'subterraneous chapel and closet at each corner of the Egyptian temples, in which the Thermuthis asp was kept,' as if it were the universal custom throughout the country to keep a sacred serpent. That the asp was universally honoured appears to be highly probable; but other serpents did not enjoy the same distinction, and one was looked upon by the Egyptians as a type of the evil being, under the name of Aphôphis, 'the giant.' It was represented to have been killed by Horus; and in this fable may be traced that of Apollo and Pytho, as well as the war of the giants against the gods, in Greek mythology.

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[1] The *Echis pavo*.

[2] [That is, if Cleopatra's death had been caused by any serpent, but the story is disproved by her having decked herself in 'the royal ornaments,' and being found dead 'without any mark of suspicion of poison on her body.' Death from a serpent's bite could not be mistaken; and her vanity would not have allowed her to choose one which would have disfigured her in so frightful a manner. Other poisons were well understood and easy of access, and no boy would have ventured to carry an asp in a basket of figs, some of which he even offered to the guards as he passed, and Plutarch (Vit. Anton.) shows that the story of the asp was doubted. Nor is the statue carried in Augustus' triumph, which had an asp upon it, any proof of his belief in it, since that snake was the emblem of Egyptian royalty: the statue (or the crown) of Cleopatra could not have been without one, and this was probably the origin of the whole story.—G. W.]

[3] Macrobius (Sat. i. 5) says it was a Phœnician mode of representing the world.

[4] A papyrus in the Berlin Museum has this emblem.

[5] Ælian, x. 31.

By the serpent the Jews also typified the enemy of mankind. And such is the aversion entertained for snakes by the Moslems, that they hold in abhorrence everything which bears a resemblance to them; and a superstitious fancy induces them to break in two every hair that accidentally falls from their beards, lest it should turn to one of these hateful reptiles.

The notion mentioned by Pliny,[1] of snakes being produced from the marrow of the human spine, is not less ridiculous and unaccountable; and no animal has enjoyed so large a share of the marvellous as the snake, which, from the earliest times, excited the wonder, the respect, or the abhorrence of mankind.

Some venerated it with unbounded horrors: it was an emblem of the world, which Eusebius says was sometimes described by a circle intersected by a serpent passing horizontally through it: some gods were accompanied by it as a type of wisdom; and several religions considered it emblematic both of a good and bad deity. The Hindoo serpent Caliya, slain by Vishnoo, in his incarnation of Crishna (which corresponded to the Python and Aphôphis of the Greek and Egyptian mythologies), was the enemy of the gods, though still looked upon with a religious feeling; the Mexicans and Scandinavians considered the snake the type of an evil deity; and the Tempter of mankind was represented under the same form. Gods and heroes obtained credit for ridding the world of these hateful creatures; and humble individuals were sometimes made to partake of this honour. Ælian[2] speaks of snakes expelled by Helen from the isle of Pharos, on planting a herb, called after her Helenium,[3] which she had received from Polydamna, the wife of Thonis; and a similar kind office is attributed to some Christian saints.[4]

A remnant of superstitious feeling in favour of the serpent still exists in Egypt in the respect paid to the snake of Sheikh Hereedee, which is supposed to perform cures for the credulous and devout, when propitiated through the pockets of its keepers.

The winged serpents of Herodotus have been already mentioned,[5] whose existence was believed by Aristotle[6] and many other writers of antiquity. Those introduced into the paintings

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[1] Plin. x. 66; Ælian, i. 52. Ælian seems to consider snakes the food of the stag, as asses of the wolf, bees of the merops, cicadas of the swallow (viii. 6, and ii. 9).

[2] Ælian, ix. 21.

[3] Ibid. ix. 20, where he mentions a stone of similar efficacy.

[4] Possibly the horned snake is the emblem of the goddess Nahab or Nahab-qa. —S. B.

[5] Herodot. ii. 75, iii. 107. Cicero brings them from Libya (de Nat. Deor. lib. i.), Herodotus from Arabia.

[6] Aristot. Anim. i. 5.

of Egypt are of a different kind, and merely emblematic representations connected with the mysterious rites of the dead, or the fables of Amenti.

'In the environs of Thebes,' says Herodotus,[1] 'is a species of sacred snake of a very small size, on whose head are two horns. They do no harm to man; and when they die, they are buried in the temple of Jupiter, to whom they are reputed to be sacred.' These horned snakes (*Cerastes*) are very common in Upper Egypt, but are seldom found as far north as Cairo. I have, however, seen one in the Fyoóm, even in the island in the middle of Lake Mœris, which is very remarkable, as they are not in the habit of entering the water, like the asp and some other serpents. The female alone has horns, the male resembling it in every other respect. They are both exceedingly venomous; and from their habit of burying themselves in the sand, which is of their own colour, they are extremely dangerous. It is perhaps to these that Strabo[2] alludes when he says that the desert between Pelusium and Heroöpolis is infested by numerous reptiles, which bury themselves in the sand; unless, indeed, he refers to the Lacerta monitor and other lizards, which live in holes in the sandy soil, and which still abound in that part of the country. But Pliny[3] distinctly points out their habit of burying themselves, when he says, 'The cerastes have small horns rising from their bodies (heads), often in two pairs, by which they entice birds to them, the rest of their body being concealed.' It is fortunate that Herodotus was not convinced of his error, respecting their harmless nature, by personal experience; and Diodorus[4] properly ranks them among reptiles particularly destructive to man. They are called by the Arabs *Hye bil Ḳoroón*, or the horned snake; *Cerastes* by Pliny; and *Viper* (or *Coluber*) *cerastes* by Linnæus. There is no evidence from the sculptures of their having been sacred to the god of Thebes; and Diodorus thinks the hawk was esteemed from its hostility to these as well as to other noxious reptiles. They were, however, honoured with sepulture there, as the Father of History tells us; and, on his authority, I have ranked them among the sacred animals of Egypt.[5]

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[1] Herodot. ii. 74.

[2] Strabo, xvii. p. 552.

[3] Plin. viii. 23. Aristotle also mentions the cerastes (Anim. ii. 1). The snake-catchers often bring the cerastes with four horns, the extra pair being cleverly put in beneath the scales. Some are offered for sale with long flowing hair.

[4] Diodor. i. 87.

[5] The Egyptian name was *Hfi*, and they were used in hieroglyphics for the masculine affixed pronoun *f*. They do not

The frog was an emblem of man in embryo, as we are informed by Horapollo.[1] There are also a frog-headed god and goddess;[2] the former, probably, a form of Ptah, the Creative Power, though in some inferior capacity. The importance attached to the frog, in some parts of Egypt, is shown by its having been embalmed and honoured with sepulture in the tombs of Thebes.

The fabulous reptiles mostly consist of snakes with the head of a man, a lion, or a hawk, frequently with legs, or with wings; and the head of a snake is sometimes attached to the body of a lion, or a vulture.

Of the sacred fish[3] the most noted were the Oxyrhynchus, the Phagrus, and the Lepidotus. They, however, appear not to have been worshipped throughout the country, if we may judge from the war between the Oxyrhynchites and the people of Cynopolis.[4] Plutarch[5] tells us these three fish were unlawful food to the Egyptians, in consequence of their having devoured a part of the body of Osiris, which Isis was unable to recover when she collected the scattered members of her husband. They were therefore particularly avoided. In another place he says, 'The Egyptians, in general, do not abstain from all fish, but some from one sort and some from another. Thus, for instance, the Oxyrhynchites will not touch any taken by a hook; for as they pay an especial reverence to the Oxyrhynchus, from which they borrow their name, they are afraid the hook may be defiled by having, at some time or other, been employed in catching their favourite fish. The people of Syene, in like manner, abstain from the Phagrus; for, as it is observed by them to make its first appearance just as the Nile begins to overflow, they pay especial regard to the voluntary messenger of such joyful news. The priests, indeed, abstain entirely[6] from all sorts; and therefore on the ninth day of the first month, when all the rest of the Egyptians are obliged by their religion

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appear to have been worshipped, but sometimes were sculptured. The other snakes were the viper, used as the consonant *t;* the *mehen*, a very long snake; and the Apap or Aphôphis, also of large size.—S. B.

[1] Horapollo, i. 25; Diodor. i. 10; and Ælian, ii. 56, who 'was once caught in a shower of *rain* mixed with imperfect frogs, near Naples, on his way to Dicæarchia.' He was an eye-witness of it; but, as Gibbon says of Abu-Rafe, 'who will be witness for' Ælian? (Ælian, vi. 41, of Mice.)

[2] Nu or Nun, and Nut, the male and female principle of water and the celestial water or abyss. Another frog-headed goddess, Heqa, the wife of Num or Khnum, also presided over the same element.—S. B.

[3] For the fish of the Nile, see Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 566.

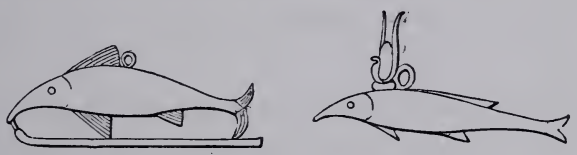
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 72.

[5] Ibid. s. 18.

[6] Clemens Alex. Strom. vii. p. 240.

to eat a fried fish, before the door of their houses, they only burn them, without tasting them at all. They assign two reasons for this: one connected with the sacred account of Osiris and Typho (already mentioned); the second, that fish is neither a dainty, nor even a necessary kind of food. And this seems to be confirmed by the writings of Homer, who never mentions either his delicate Phæacians, or the people of Ithaca, though both islanders, feeding upon them; nor even Ulysses' companions themselves, during their long and tedious voyage, till reduced to it by extreme necessity.'[1]

I have already stated my belief that the Oxyrhynchus was the *Mizdeh* of modern Egypt, a species of *Mormyrus*. It was remarkable for its pointed nose, whence its name, a peculiarity easily recognised in one of those represented in the sculptures; though, from the fins (if really intended to be a faithful representation), it would appear that several kinds were comprehended under the same denomination by the Egyptians.[2]



No. 583. The Oxyrhynchus fish, in bronze.

It is singular that the Oxyrhynchus should be commonly figured amongst the fish caught by the Egyptians, in the paintings of Thebes, of Beni-Hassan, and of Memphis. This would seem to confine its worship to the nome and city of Oxyrhynchus, where, as already stated, the people were so scrupulous, that they could not be induced to eat any other fish which had been taken by a hook,[3] lest it should at any time have been defiled by catching their favourite. 'Even when many different kinds were taken by them in a net, they looked most carefully for any Oxyrhynchus that might accidentally be caught, preferring to have none rather than the most abundant draught, if a single one were found in it.' But it is probable

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 7.

[2] That with a pointed nose curved downwards is the *Mormyrus oxyrhynchus*. Its dorsal fin extends nearly along the whole back, which is the case with the *M. caschive*, whose nose is much less prominent. Other *Mormyri*, as the *Labiatus*, *Anguilloïdes*, and *Dorsalis*, have not the dorsal fin like that of the *M. oxyrhynchus*, and a less pointed nose; which last in the *M. cyprinoïdes* is abrupt or round.

[3] Ælian, Nat. An. x. 46. Plut. de Isid. s. 7.

that many other places extended to this fish a feeling of veneration; small bronze figures of it being often discovered in Egypt, some of which have the horns, globe, and uræus of Athor.

In the temple of the Great Oasis is also a representation of this fish, accompanied by the name of the goddess, which leaves no doubt of its having been her emblem; and this is the more remarkable, as it coincides with the metamorphosis of Venus, who was said to have changed herself into a fish, and shows the Egyptian origin of that fable.

At the Oasis. 'Hathor mistress of Sen (or Esneh).' No. 584.

Its reputed sanctity was perhaps owing to its being thought less wholesome than other kinds; for it is still an opinion in Egypt that smooth-bodied fish are less proper for food than those with scales [and the Oxyrhynchus, from the smallness of its scales, may have been reckoned among the former.—G. W.]. It is, however, probable that the prejudice in its favour was in some way connected with the careful maintenance of the canal which took the water from the river to the city where it was particularly worshipped.

The Phagrus or eel was sacred at Syene[1] and the Cataracts. It also gave its name to the nome and city of Phagroriopolis, near to Heroöpolis; where its worship was doubtless introduced with a view to secure the preservation of the canal[2] of *fresh water*, which passed from the Nile to the Red Sea. The eel is once represented at Beni-Hassan among the fish of the Nile; but I have not seen it in the sculptures as a sacred fish.[3] There is, however, no reason to doubt the assertion of Plutarch and other writers; and it is probable that the Egyptians generally abstained from eating it on account of its unwholesome qualities.

The name of Lepidotus (which, from the meaning of the word, is shown to have been 'a scaly fish') has been given to the Kelb el Bahr, *Salmo dentex*,[4] the Kisher or Gisher, *Perca Nilotica*, and the Binny, *Cyprinus lepidotus*. I have previously stated the probability of the first of these having been the Lepidotus; yet the

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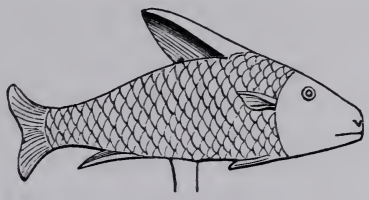
[1] Clemens, Orat. Adhort. p. 17. Euenitæ should evidently be Suenitæ. (Ælian, Nat. An. x. 19.)

[2] Strabo, lib. xvii. pp. 533 and 566.

[3] It was, however, deified and apparently embalmed, as bronze boxes for holding the mummies, surmounted by the figure of the head of a goddess wearing the *pshent* and the body of an eel, are found in collections. (British Museum, Guide to Egyptian Gall., p. 62, No. 6880*a*.) They should from the head-attire represent the goddess Mut. The eel was sacred to Hapi or the Nile.—S. B.

[4] Or *Characinus dentex* of Savigny.

form of what I believe to be this sacred fish, represented in bronzes found at Thebes, accords rather with the last; though the modern name *kisher*, signifying 'scaly,' may tend to strengthen the claim of the second of the three. But the indefinite name of *kisher* appears to be often applied to other fish, besides the *Perca Nilotica;* and it is evident that the Binny is also called by the Arabs *kisher*.



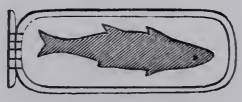
Bronze Lepidotus.
No. 585.

The Binny is the *Cyprinus lepidotus* of the 'Description de l'Égypte,' and the same as represented in the bronze of the preceding woodcut.

De Pauw[1] supposes the Latus to be the *Perca Nilotica*, but I do not know on what authority. Were it not for the circumstance of the bronze fish bearing a stronger resemblance to the Binny than to any other with which I am acquainted, I should not suppose it to have been a forbidden fish, since it is one of the best and most wholesome the Nile produces, and should still have preferred giving the name of Lepidotus to the Kelb el Bahr, whose appearance might serve to prejudice them against it.

The uncertainty respecting the sacred fish of Egypt necessarily leads to many doubtful conjectures; but the appearance of the bronzes induces me to renounce the opinion I had formed respecting the Kelb el Bahr, and to give to the Binny, or Cyprinus, the name of Lepidotus.

Another fish, the Latus, was worshipped at Latopolis,[2] now Esneh. In the sculptures several representations occur of fish, particularly one kind, which may possibly be the peculiar species held sacred in that city, as it is surrounded by an oval usually given to the names of kings and gods.



A fish at Esneh.
No. 586.

The Mæotes is said by Clemens of Alexandria to have been sacred at Elephantine;[3] but I am ignorant of its species and general character. It is possible that it may have been the *karmoot*, a species of Silurus,[4] which, if not worshipped in the Thebaïd, was connected with one of the genii of the Egyptian

[1] Vol. i. sect. 3, p. 136.
[2] Strabo, lib. xvii. p. 559.
[3] Clemens Alex. Orat. Adhort. p. 17.
[4] *Silurus carmuth*, or *Heterobranchus bidorsalis*.

Pantheon, who appears under a human form, with the head of this fish, in the sculptures of the Diospolite tombs. In Lower Egypt the karmoot was caught for the table; but there is no evidence of its having been eaten in the Thebaïd, and this may be an argument in favour of its having held a place among the sacred animals in that part of the country. Ælian,[1] however, states that the Phagrus, the sacred fish of Syene, was the same as that called by the people of Elephantine Mæotes. The reason assigned by him for the veneration there paid to it, is the intimation it gave of the rising Nile;[2] and he gives it the additional credit of being exempt from the cannibal propensity common to other fish, of eating those of its own kind. Several fish have been found embalmed in the tombs; but their forms are not easily distinguished, and it is difficult to ascertain the species to which they belong.[3]

The scorpion was an emblem of the goddess Selk; though we should rather expect it to have been chosen as a type of the Evil Being.[4] Ælian[5] mentions scorpions of Coptos, which, though inflicting a deadly sting and dreaded by the people, so far respected the goddess Isis, who was particularly worshipped in that city, that women, in going to express their grief before her, walked with bare feet, or lay upon the ground, without receiving any injury from them.[6] Many extravagant fables are reported by the same author of these as of other animals, and he even furnishes scorpions and pigs with wings.[7]

No representation has yet been found of the Solpuga spider,[8] which is common in Upper Egypt, and which from its venomous qualities is looked upon as a noxious reptile; though some think it of great use, from its enmity to scorpions, which it is said to destroy. To its power of doing so I can bear ample testimony, having witnessed more than one contest between them, in which the Solpuga was victorious; though, when stung by its adversary,

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[1] Ælian, Nat. An. x. 19.

[2] Plutarch applies the same to the Phagrus.

[3] Besides the first mentioned, there are some others described in the papyri, some of which are foreign and were introduced into the country; as the *ut*, the *baka* or *fahaka* of the Nile of the Arabs, the *ra*, two sorts of *barui* or mullets, the *amesku* (conjectured to be a kind of mormyrus or oxyrhynchus), the *hauana* and the *khep-nen* of the Euphrates, the *at* and *khept-pennu*, 'rat's tail,' perhaps eel of the ditches of the inundation. ('Select Papyri,' Plate xcvi. 6–9; Birch, 'Patère Égyptienne,' p. 39.) The *Synodontis Sehal* was the sacred fish of the goddess Hathor.—S. B.

[4] Ælian, vi. 23: he even produces them from a dead crocodile (ii. 33).

[5] Ælian, x. 23.

[6] A bronze figure of a scorpion in the British Museum (No. 6680*a*) with a human head surmounted by a female head with head-dress, unfortunately broken, has on the pedestal the name of the goddess Isis. —S. B.

[7] Ælian, xvi. 41, and xii. 38.

[8] The *Solpuga araneoïdes*, Plin. viii. 29, xix. 4, and xxii. 25.

it generally dies on the spot. But this seldom happens, owing to the great quickness of its movements; and whenever the place in which the contest takes place is sufficiently spacious, the rapidity with which it runs round its adversary and seizes it by the head (when the sting of the scorpion can only reach the hard shelly head of the Solpuga) always ensures its success.

The frequent occurrence of the scarabæus in the sculptures, no less than the authority of numerous ancient writers, shows the great consequence attached by the Egyptians to this insect. 'A great portion of Egypt,' says Pliny,[1] 'worship the scarabæus as one of the gods of the country; a curious reason for which is given by Apion, as an excuse for the religious rites of his nation—that in this insect there is some resemblance to the operations of the sun.'

It was an emblem of the sun, to which deity it was particularly sacred; and it often occurs in a boat with extended wings, holding the globe of the sun in its claws, or elevated in the firmament as a type of that luminary in the meridian.[2] Figures of other deities are often seen praying to it when in this character. [The Nubians, transferring the idea of the worshipper to the thing worshipped, call the scarabæus 'infidel.'—G. W.]

It was also a symbol of the world, which it was chosen to signify in the hieroglyphics; and it was probably in connection with this idea that Ptah, the Creative Power, claimed it as his emblem, being the demiurge, or maker of the world. By Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, the pigmy deity of Memphis, it was adopted as a distinctive mark, being placed on his head; and Ptah was even represented under the figure of this insect. It belonged likewise to Ptah-Tore, another character of the Creative Power.

Plutarch supposes that, from being emblematic of virility and manly force, it was engraved upon the signets[3] of the Egyptian soldiers, their opinion being 'that no females existed of this species, but all males;' and some have supposed that its position upon the female figure of the heavens, which encircles the zodiacs, refers to the same idea of its generative influence mentioned by Plutarch.

It has always been a matter of doubt to what purpose the numerous scarabæi of all sizes and qualities found in Egypt were applied. Some suppose them to have been money; but

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[1] Plin. xxx. c. 11.

[2] With the Hindoos the sun is called Brahma in the east or morning; Siva from noon to evening; and Vishnoo in the west and at night.

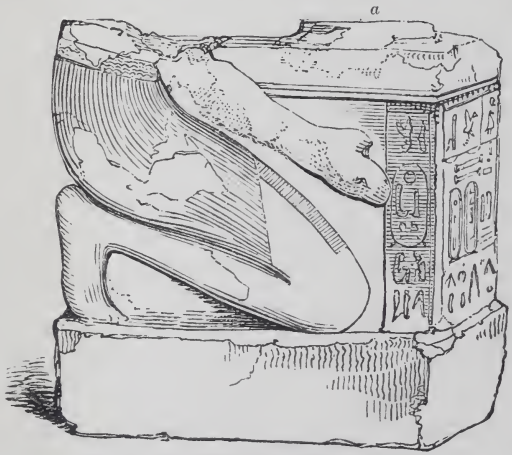
[3] Plut. de Isid. ss. 10 and 73.

this conjecture is not supported by fact, nor indeed by probability, in consequence of their great dissimilarity in size, weight, and many particulars required for establishing the value of a coin. They were principally used for rings, necklaces, and other ornamental trinkets, as well as for funeral purposes. Some of a larger size frequently had a prayer, or legend connected with the dead, engraved upon them; and a winged scarabæus was generally placed on those bodies which were embalmed according to the most expensive process.

It is probably to their being worn as rings that Plutarch alludes, in speaking of 'the beetle engraved upon the signets of the soldiers.' The custom is mentioned by Ælian;[1] and some have been found perfect, set in gold with the ring attached.

The scarabæus may then be considered, 1, an emblem of the sun;[2] 2, of Ptah, the Creative Power, and of Ptah-χeper; 3, of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris; 4, of the world; 5, connected with astronomical subjects;[3] and 6, with funeral rites.

The scarabæus was not only venerated when alive, but embalmed after death, and some have been found in that state at Thebes. But the cities where it received the greatest honours were probably Memphis and Heliopolis, of which Ptah and the sun were the chief deities.



Rameses II. holding a shrine with scarabæus (*a*).
No. 587. *British Museum.*

Considerable ingenuity has been exercised in order to discover the real sacred beetle of Egypt, and to ascertain to what extent other species partook of the honours paid to that insect. I do not intend to detain the reader by any examination of this intricate question, which I leave to naturalists more capable than myself to settle,[4]

[1] Ælian, x. 15.

[2] A winged scarabæus bearing the disk of Ra was also put for the winged globe of Har-Hat; but this was only in lieu of the sun.

[3] It occurs in some zodiacs in the place of Cancer.

[4] Pettigrew's 'History of Mummies,' pp. 223–225.

and shall only observe that the one so frequently represented in the sculptures appears to be the beetle still common in every part of Egypt.[1] And if Horapollo mentions a beetle 'with two horns,' the *Copris Isidis*, consecrated to the moon, his statement is not confirmed by the sculptures, where it is never introduced.[2]

Horapollo[3] says, 'There are three species of beetles. One has the form of a cat, and is radiated, which from supposed analogy they have dedicated to the sun (the statue of the deity of Heliopolis having the form of a cat); and, from its having thirty fingers, corresponding to the thirty days of a solar month. The second species has two horns, and the character of a bull, which is consecrated to the moon; whence the Egyptians say that the bull in the heavens is the elevation of this goddess. The third has one horn,[4] and a peculiar form, and is supposed, like the ibis, to refer to Mercury.'

The mode of representing the scarabæi[5] on the monuments is frequently very arbitrary, and some are figured with or without the *scutellum*. But I do not believe they denoted a different genus; and the characteristic of another kind of beetle appears rather to be introduced to show that they were all comprehended under one general denomination, and was intended rather to combine than to distinguish separate genera. That it was not with a view to indicate a distinct division of this class of insects is shown by their sometimes introducing two scutella, one on either clypeus, no example of which occurs in nature;[6] and it seems that the scarabæus, Buprestis, Ateuchus, and Copris, were all used by the Egyptians as synonymous emblems of the same deities. This is further confirmed by the fact of Passalacqua having found a species of Buprestis embalmed in a tomb at Thebes. But the scarabæus, or *Ateuchus sacer*, is the beetle most commonly represented, and the type of the whole class.

Fabulous insects did not hold a less conspicuous place on the

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[1] The *Scarabæus sacer* (Linn.), or *Ateuchus sacer* (Oliv.), which is black, like that of the monuments. The green *Ateuchus Ægyptiorum* is not the one there represented.

[2] In the British Museum is the bronze figure of a scarabæus with two horns. ('Guides to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms,' p. 20, 2042*a*.)—S. B.

[3] Horapollo, i. 10.

[4] Small figures of the one-horned scarabæus occasionally occur.—S. B.

[5] The principal varieties on the monuments are as follow: scarabæi with plain elytra, indicated by a single division; scarabæi with plain elytra and a double division or line between the elytra; scarabæi with striated elytra and single or double divisions. These varieties occur in all materials and sizes.—S. B.

[6] An instance of this occurs in the large scarabæus of the British Museum.

Egyptian monuments than fanciful animals and birds; and beetles with the heads of hawks, rams, cows, and even men,[1] are represented in the sculptures. This change of form did not make them less fit emblems of the gods: the scarabæus of the sun appears with the head of a ram as well as of a hawk; and a scarabæus with the head and legs of a man was equally emblematic of the god Ptah.[2]

Of other insects I shall only observe, that flies are said to have been preserved in the same tombs; but doubtless without any idea of sanctity being attached to so odious and troublesome an insect.[3] Indeed they still continue to be one of the plagues of Egypt; and the character of a *tormenter*, applied to the Evil Being, seems to have been aptly designated by the title Beelzebub,[4] or 'the lord of flies.'

The ant is also one of the plagues of the country, as in most hot climates. Horapollo[5] says it represented in hieroglyphics 'knowledge;' but the consideration of its wisdom did not prevent the Egyptians from being fully sensible of the inconvenience it caused them, 'having the art of discovering whatever is most carefully concealed;' and the origanum plant was used in order to drive away this industrious and tiresome insect.

Few insects of ancient Egypt have come down to us either in the paintings of the monuments, or preserved by accident: the former being confined to the butterfly, beetle, wasp, dragon-fly, locust, and housefly; and the latter, to those which have been found in the bodies or heads of mummies.[6]

I have stated that the Persea was sacred to Athor, as the

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[1] The principal varieties are as follow: scarabæi with human heads; scarabæi with the heads of rams, emblems of the god Khnum or Chnoumis; scarabæi with the heads of hawks, always of lapis-lazuli, emblems of the god Ra; and hæmatite scarabæi with the head of a bull, probably emblematic of Apis. These were probably sepulchral amulets.—S. B.

[2] The scarabæus was called *kheprar* or *kheprer*, and was the emblem of type, shape, or metamorphosis. It was also named *ab* or *af*, 'fly.'—S. B.

[3] The fly was used as a honorary emblem and applied to certain decorations bestowed for the reward of military honour, apparently as the order of the fly: it was then made of gold. Small flies of steatite glazed were used for necklaces.—S. B.

[4] The *zebub* or *dthebáb* of the Arabs is the noted fly of the desert, which causes a disease to camels called by the same name.

[5] Horapollo, i. 52, and ii. 34.

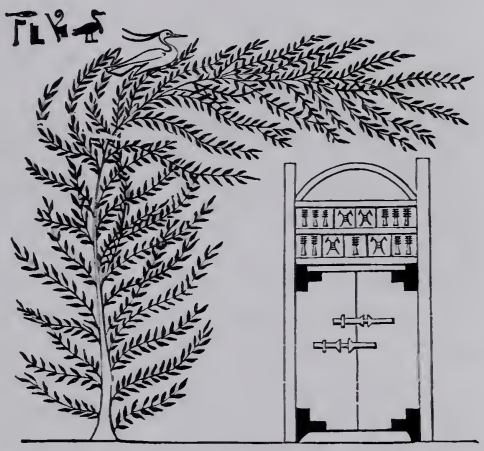
[6] Pettigrew has enumerated all that have been ascertained by Mr. Hope, to whom those in one of the heads brought by me from Thebes were submitted for examination:—

1. Corynetes violaceus, *Fab.*
2. Necrobia mumiarum, *Hope.*
3. Dermestes vulpinus, *Fab.*
4. ——— pollinctus, } *Hope.*
5. ——— roei, }
6. ——— elongatus, }
7. Pimelia spinulosa, *Klug?*
8. Copris sabæus? 'found by Passalacqua; so named on the testimony of Latreille.' [9.

sycamore to Nut. I have also observed that Plutarch supposes the peach to have been sacred to Harpocrates;[1] though there is reason to believe that his opinion is erroneous, and that he has confounded it with the tree of Athor.

Athenæus, on the authority of Hellanicus,[2] mentions some acanthus (acacia) trees, which blossomed all the year, at a place called Tindium, where certain celebrated assemblies were held; and this town had a large temple, surrounded with black and white acanthus-trees, on which chaplets made of their flowers, and pomegranate-blossoms entwined with vine-leaves, were placed. But this seems rather to indicate a local respect for the acanthus of Tindium than any adoration generally paid to those trees by the Egyptians.

The acanthus[3] was the *sont*, or *Mimosa Nilotica*, of modern Egypt. Its flowers were frequently used for chaplets; and its pod, which represented a letter in hieroglyphics, was, we find, sometimes placed among the offerings on the altars of the gods. There is no evidence of its having been sacred.



No. 588. Sacred tamarisk of Osiris. *Tomb at How.*
The hieroglyphics refer to the bird 'Ben (Bennu) of Osiris.'

The tamarisk was a holy tree, from having been chosen to overshadow the sepulchre of Osiris, in commemoration of the fable of the chest containing his body having lodged in the branches of one of those trees on the coast of Byblus, where, driven ashore by the waves of the sea, it was discovered by Isis.[4] The tree is represented in the sacred chamber dedicated to that god at Philæ, and in a small sepulchre at How (Diospolis Parva).

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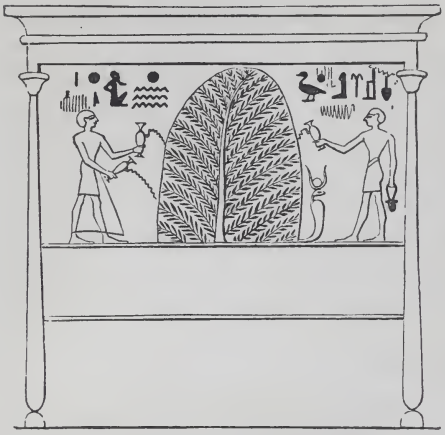
9. Midas, *Fab.*
10. Pithecius, *Fab.*
11. A species of cantharis in Passalacqua's Collection, No. 442. (Pettigrew, p. 55, whose work is replete with valuable information on the subject of mummies.)

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 68.
[2] Athen. xv. pp. 679, 680.
[3] It probably included others of the Mimosa or Acacia genus which grew in Egypt.
[4] Plut. de Isid. ss. 15 and 21.

In the latter the bird Bennu is seated in its branches, accompanied by the name of Osiris, of whom it was an emblem; and in the former two priests are represented watering the tree, as it grows beneath a canopy. This confirms in a remarkable manner the account of Plutarch,[1] who, in describing 'the tomb of Osiris at Philæ, crowned with flowers at the solemnisation of his funeral rites by the priests,' says, 'it is overshadowed by the branches of a tamarisk-tree, whose size exceeds that of an olive.'



No. 589. Priest watering the sacred tamarisk.
From the sculptures representing the mysterious history of Osiris at Philæ.

Of the lotus I have already spoken, as also of the papyrus and other plants of the country. The *agrostis*, alluded to by Diodorus, was not related to the grass called *agrostis* by modern botanists, but seems rather to be a name applied to the lotus, which was so commonly held in the hands of guests in the convivial meetings of the Egyptians.

Proclus pretends that the lotus was peculiarly typical of the sun, 'which it appeared to honour by the expansion and contraction of its leaves.' It was an emblem of Nefer-Atum, and introduced with the infant deity Ahi.

'Garlic and onions,' according to Pliny,[2] 'were treated as gods by the Egyptians when taking an oath;' and Juvenal[3] derides them for their veneration of these garden-born deities. Plutarch says, being held in abhorrence, the priests abstained from them[4] as unlawful food; the reason of which was probably derived from a sanitary precaution, as in the case of beans and 'other kinds of pulse.'[5] But there is no direct evidence from the monuments of their having been sacred; and they were admitted as common offerings on every altar. Onions and other vegetables were not forbidden to the generality of the people, to whom they were a principal article of food: for,

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 21. [2] Plin. xix. 6. [3] Juv. Sat. 15.
[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 8. [5] Ibid. s. 5.

whatever religious feeling prohibited their use on certain occasions, this was confined to the initiated, who were required to keep themselves more especially pure for the service of the gods.

The palm-branch I have shown to have been adopted to represent a year, as Horapollo also states;[1] and Clemens[2] considers it the symbol of astrology. Plutarch tells us[3] the ivy was styled by the Egyptians Chenosiris; that is, as some interpret it, 'the plant of Osiris;' and Diodorus,[4] after saying 'it was consecrated to that god, and called in the Egyptian tongue the plant of Osiris,' affirms that 'it was carried before the vine in consecrations, because, while this loses its leaves, the ivy continues to retain them.' Many instances occur of the preference shown by the ancients for evergreen plants; and for a similar reason they dedicated the myrtle to Venus, the laurel (bay-tree) to Apollo, and the olive to Minerva.

But we may doubt if the ivy was at any time a native[5] of Egypt. The *Periploca secamone* may have been mistaken for that plant in the representations given of it in the paintings, both from its climbing nature and even the form of its leaves; though it must be confessed that a plant having so acrid a juice could scarcely have been used for garlands, if even it were tolerated in the hand.

Plutarch mentions a garland of the melilotus,[6] which fell from the head of Osiris. This plant may therefore have been deemed sacred by the Egyptians. Clemens mentions thirty-six plants, dedicated to the thirty-six decans or genii, who presided over portions of the twelve signs of the zodiac;[7] but the symbols of those mysterious beings had no claim to sanctity.

The most remarkable emblems, independent of the types of the deities, were the signs of life, of goodness, of purity, of majesty and dominion (the flail and crook of Osiris), of royalty, of stability, and of power, which were principally connected with the gods and kings.

Many others belonged to religious ceremonies, a long list of which may be seen in the chamber of Osiris at Philæ, and in the Coronation Ceremony at Medeenet Haboo.

The sign of life, *tau*, or *crux ansata*,[8] I have mentioned elsewhere. The sign of goodness is the initial of the word *nefer*,

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[1] Horapollo, i. 4.
[2] Clemens Alex. Strom. vi.
[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 37. [4] Diodor. i. 17.
[5] [That is to say, indigenous. It may have been introduced there. The ivy of the Greeks and Romans is supposed to be that with *yellow* berries, common now in Italy.—G. W.]
[6] Plut. de Isid. s. 36. This signified the plants produced by the inundation at the edge of the desert. [7] Prichard, p. 329.
[8] Called *ankh*, perhaps an earring.

'good,' a guitar; and the sceptre with the head of a harrier, *uas* or *t'am*, which the gods hold in their hands, has been shown to enter into one of the groups signifying 'Thebes.' This has been styled the upupa-headed sceptre; but I have shown the head to

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11

No. 590. Emblems of Life (1), Goodness (2, 3), Purity (4), Royalty (5–10), and Stability (11).

be that of an animal, and not of a bird, as usually supposed. The lower end is forked; and this, as well as the head itself, has been found in the excavations at Thebes. A similar staff seems to have been used by the Egyptian peasant, perhaps as a crook; and the Arabs to the present day make their *máhgin* of this form, for the purpose of recovering the fallen bridle of their dromedaries.[1] It is even represented in the hands of labourers engaged in the corn-fields; an instance of which occurs in one of the ancient paintings from Thebes preserved in the British Museum.[2] This, with the *tau*, are the principal gifts of the gods to man, in the hieroglyphic legends where the deity thus addresses the kings: 'We give you life and purity,' or 'a pure life,' with 'stability,' 'power,' 'victory,' 'majesty,' 'dominion,' 'and other good things,' similar to which are the favours said to be bestowed by the deity on King Rameses, in the inscription of the obelisk translated by Hermapion.

1 2 3 4 5

The gifts of, 1, life and purity; 2, with stability; 3, power; 4, victory; and 5, royal majesty, or dominion of the world. No. 591.

The flagellum[3] and crook[4] of Osiris, the emblems of majesty and dominion, were presented by the gods to the king, sometimes with the falchion of victory or vengeance, when he was about to undertake an expedition against the enemies of his country; and in some instances the monarch is represented holding the phœnix in his hand, emblematic of his long absence from Egypt in a foreign land. In the following woodcut we observe a singular proof of a flagellum of Osiris being really a handle and thong, and not, as it usually appears, both in the hands of statues and in the sculptures, with the two limbs of a hard substance.[5]

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[1] It is so called from *hégin*, the name of a dromedary.

[2] In the Egyptian Room, marked No. 176.

[3] *nexex* or *xexx*.

[4] *hat* or *at*.

[5] The whip of Osiris is three-thonged, or else represents a flail.—S. B.

The sign of royalty is a reed; which is also the emblem of Upper Egypt, and the initial of the word *suten*, 'king.' But this, and the *pshent*, or cap of the Upper and Lower Country, which is the union of the two crowns, the symbol of stability, the palm-branch of Thoth, and the sign of the great assemblies over which the king presided, have been already noticed. The eye of Osiris—or symbolic eye, *uta*—was one of the most important emblems. It was generally given to that deity, and to Ptah when under the form of the emblem of stability. It was placed on boats (but originally and properly only on the boats of the dead), on coffins, and in other conspicuous positions, as if to indicate the all-seeing presence of the divinity, and it was a symbol of the land of Egypt.

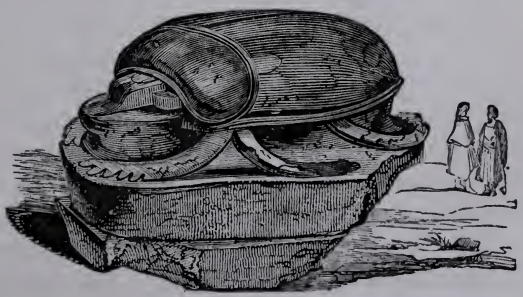
A king receiving from Amen the emblems of majesty and dominion. In his left hand is a pure soul, and in his right is the mystic 'vannus.' The god holds the palm-branch and the type of the great assemblies.

No. 592.

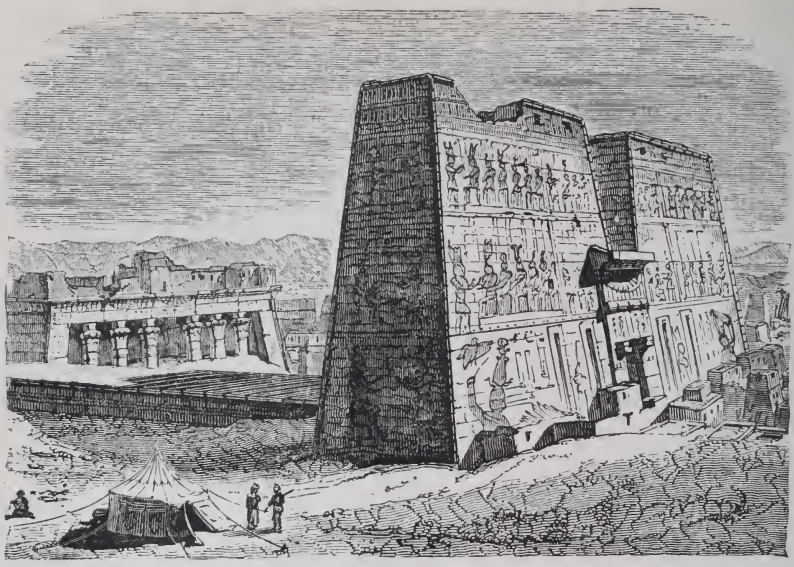
The frog was the symbol of *hefnu*, 100,000, or an immense number. It sat on a ring, or seal, a sign occasionally used in lieu of the *tau*, or 'life;' and from its back rose a palm-branch, which sometimes appeared in the state of a tender leaf rising from the date-stone.

No. 592*a*.

The lotus was introduced into all subjects, particularly as an ornament, and as the favourite flower of the country, but not with the holy character usually attributed to it, though adopted as an emblem of the god Nefer-Atum.



No. 593. Sacred scarabæus. *British Museum.*



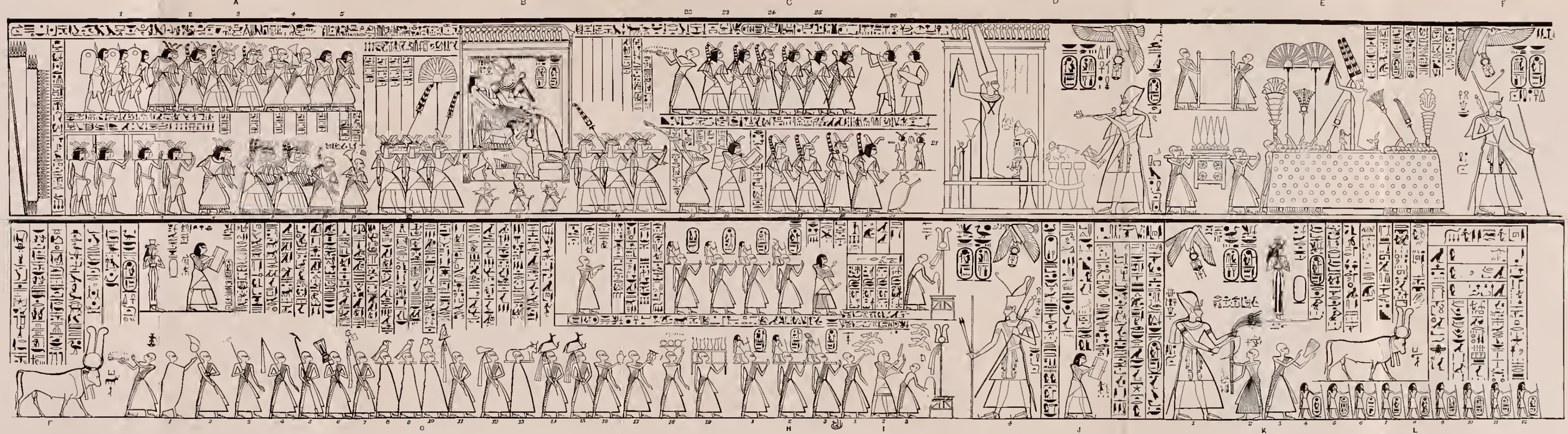
VIGNETTE O.—Temple at Edfou.

CHAPTER XV.

FESTIVALS—SACRIFICES.

Processions—Coronation and other Ceremonies—Triumphs—Holydays—Fêtes, &c.

No nation took greater delight in the pomp of ceremonies than the Egyptians—a partiality which the priests did not fail to encourage, as it tended to increase their own consequence, and to give them a great moral ascendency over all classes. Grand processions constantly took place to commemorate some fanciful legendary event; the public mind was entertained by the splendour of impressive and striking ceremonies; and a variety of exhibitions connected with religion were repeated, to amuse that lively and restless people. Respect for the priesthood was also induced by the importance of the post they held on those occasions; and the superior abilities of that powerful body had ample means of establishing its authority over credulous and superstitious minds. The priesthood took a prominent part in everything; there was no ceremony in which they did not participate, and even military regulations were subject to the influence of the sacerdotal caste. Nothing was beyond their jurisdiction: the king himself was subject to the laws established by them for his conduct, and even for his mode of living; and, independently



PROCESSION AND MANIFESTATION OF THE GOD KHEM OR AMSI, AND OF THE WHITE BULL.

(Line I.) F. Rameses III. conducting the festival of Amen-ka-mutef or the god Amsi. E. Statue of Khem, carried by priests, and accompanied by ark and sceptre. D. Statue of the god in his temple: Rameses III. offering. C. Standard-bearers and priests (*figs.* 15–26). B. Rameses III. in his palanquin, carried by his sons and standard-bearers (*figs.* 12–14). A. Officers and troops carrying the steps (*figs.* 1–11).

(Line II.) F. The white bull preceding the king. G. Procession of priests with standards (*figs.* 1–15); priests with offerings (*figs.* 16–19). H. Statues of the ancestors of the king carried in procession (*figs.* 1–3). I. Giving flight to the four pigeons representing the four genii (*figs.* 1–3). Rameses III. (*fig.* 4). J. Minister reading hymn. K. Rameses III. (*fig.* 1) reaping the harvest, attended by priests and queen (*figs.* 2, 3). L. The white bull and statues of the ancestors of the king (*figs.* 4–12).

of being bound by duty to obey these ordinances, he was obliged on ascending the throne to become a member of their body.

One of the most important ceremonies was 'the procession of shrines,' which is mentioned on the Rosetta Stone, and is frequently represented on the walls of the temples. The shrines were of two kinds; the one a sort of canopy, the other an ark or sacred boat, which may be termed the great shrine. This was carried with grand pomp by the priests, a certain number being selected for that duty, who, supporting it on their shoulders by means of long staves passing through metal rings at the side of the sledge [1] on which it stood, brought it into the temple, where it was placed upon a stand or table, in order that the prescribed ceremonies might be performed before it.

The stand was also carried in the procession by another set of priests, following the shrine by means of similar staves; a method usually adopted for transporting large statues and sacred emblems, too heavy or too important to be borne by one person. The same is stated to have been the custom of the Jews in some of their religious processions,[2] as in carrying the ark 'to its place, into the oracle of the house, to the most holy place,' when the temple was built by Solomon.[3]

The number of shrines in these processions, and the splendour of the ceremony performed on the occasion, depended on the particular festival they intended to commemorate. In many instances the shrine of the deity of the temple was carried alone, sometimes that of other deities accompanied it, and sometimes that of the king was added—a privilege granted as a peculiar mark of esteem for some great benefit conferred by him upon his country, or for his piety in having beautified the temples of the gods. Such is the motive mentioned in the inscription of the Rosetta Stone; which, after enumerating the benefits conferred upon the country by Ptolemy, decrees, as a return for them, 'that a statue of the king shall be erected in every temple in the most conspicuous place; that it shall be called the statue of Ptolemy, the defender of Egypt; and that near it shall be placed the presiding deity presenting to him the weapon of victory. Moreover, that the priests shall minister three times every day to the statues, and prepare for them the sacred dress, and perform

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 35.

[2] ['The Levites bare the ark on their shoulders.' (1 Chron. xv. 2 and 15; 2 Sam. xv. 24; Joshua iii. 12; 1 Esdras i. 4.) The gods of Babylon, as well as those of Egypt, were borne and 'set in their place' in a similar manner. (Is. xlvi. 7; Baruch vi. 4–26.)—G. W.]

[3] 1 Kings viii. 6.

the accustomed ceremonies, as in honour of other gods at feasts and festivals: that there shall be erected an image and *golden shrine* of King Ptolemy in the most honourable of the temples, to be set up in the sanctuary among the other shrines: and that on the great festivals, when the *procession of shrines* takes place, that of the god Epiphanes shall accompany them; ten royal golden crowns being deposited upon the shrine, with an asp attached to each, and the double crown, *pshent*, which he wore at his coronation, placed in the midst.'

It was also usual to carry the statue of the principal deity in whose honour the procession took place, together with that of the king and the figures of his ancestors, borne in the same manner on men's shoulders, like the gods of Babylon mentioned by Jeremiah.[1]

Diodorus[2] speaks of an Ethiopian festival of Jupiter, when his statue was carried in procession, probably to commemorate the supposed refuge of the gods in that country: which may have been a memorial of the flight of the Egyptians with their gods at the time of the Shepherd invasion, mentioned by Josephus[3] on the authority of Manetho. This does not, however, appear to be the reason assigned by Diodorus, who says, 'Homer derived from Egypt his story of the embraces of Jupiter and Juno, and their travelling into Ethiopia,[4] because the Egyptians every year carry Jupiter's shrine over the river into Africa, and a few days after bring it back again, as if the gods had returned out of Ethiopia. The fiction of their nuptials was taken from the solemnisation of these festivals; at which time both their shrines, adorned with all sorts of flowers, are carried by the priests to the top of a mountain.'

The usual number of priests who performed the duty of bearers was generally twelve or sixteen to each shrine. They were accompanied by another of a superior grade, distinguished by a lock of hair pendent on one side of his head, and clad in a leopard-skin, the peculiar badge of his rank, who, walking near them, gave directions respecting the procession, its position in the temple, and whatever else was required during the ceremony; which agrees well with the remark of Herodotus,[5] that 'each deity had many priests, and one high priest.' Sometimes two priests of the same peculiar grade attended, both during the

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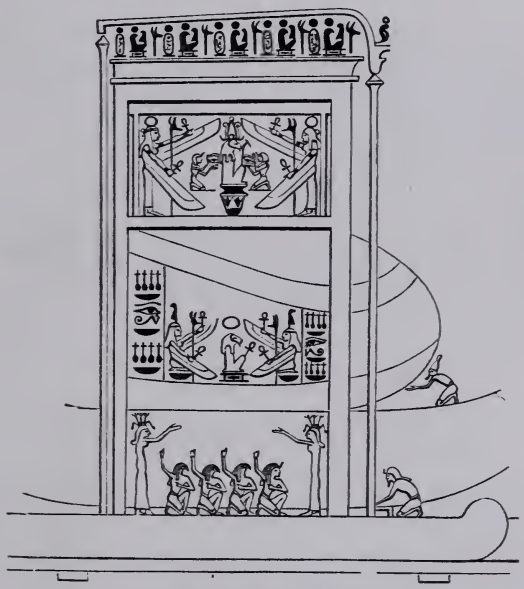
[1] Epistle of Jeremiah in Baruch vi. 4, 26. Isaiah xlvi. 7. [2] Diodor. i. 97. [3] Joseph. contr. Ap. i. 27. [4] Hom. Il. A, 423. [5] Herodot. ii. 73.

procession, and after the shrine had been deposited in the temple. These were the pontiffs, or highest order of priests: they had the title of 'Sem,' and enjoyed the privilege of offering sacrifices on all grand occasions.

When the shrine reached the temple, it was received with every demonstration of respect by the officiating priest, who was appointed to do duty upon the day of the festival; and if the king happened to be there, it was his privilege to perform the appointed ceremonies. These consisted of sacrifices and prayers; and the shrine was decked with fresh-gathered flowers and rich



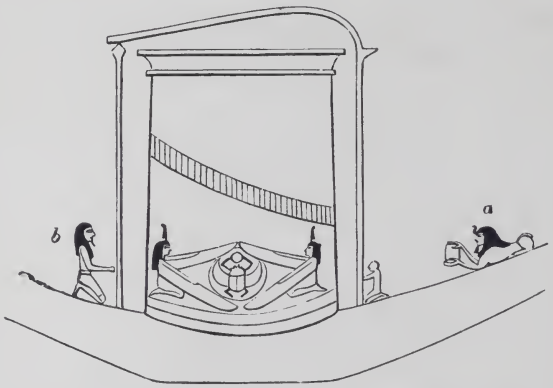
No. 593*a*. Shrine with decorations on a sledge.

garlands. An endless profusion of offerings was placed before it on several separate altars; and the king, frequently accompanied by his queen, who held a sistrum in one hand, and in the other a bouquet of flowers made up into the particular form required for these religious ceremonies, presented incense and libation. This part of the ceremony being finished, the king proceeded to the presence of the god, represented by his statue, from whom he was supposed to receive a blessing, typified by the sacred *tau*, the sign of life. Sometimes the principal contemplar deity was also present, usually the second member of the triad of the place; and it is probable that the position of the statue was

near to the shrine alluded to in the inscription of the Rosetta Stone.

Some of the sacred boats or arks contained the emblems of life and stability, which, when the veil was drawn aside, were partially seen; and others presented the sacred beetle of the sun, overshadowed by the wings of two figures of the goddess Ma or Truth, which call to mind the cherubim of the Jews.[1]

The dedication of the whole or part of a temple was, as may be reasonably supposed, one of the most remarkable solemnities at which it was 'the prince's part' to preside. And if the actual celebration of the rites practised on the occasion, the laying of



No. 594. One of the sacred boats or arks, with two figures resembling cherubim. *a* and *b* represent the king; the former under the shape of a sphinx.

the foundation stone, or other ceremonies connected with it, are not represented on the monuments,[2] the importance attached to it is shown by the conspicuous manner in which it is recorded in the sculptures, the ostentation with which it is announced in the dedicatory inscriptions of the monuments themselves, and the answer returned by the god in whose honour it was erected.

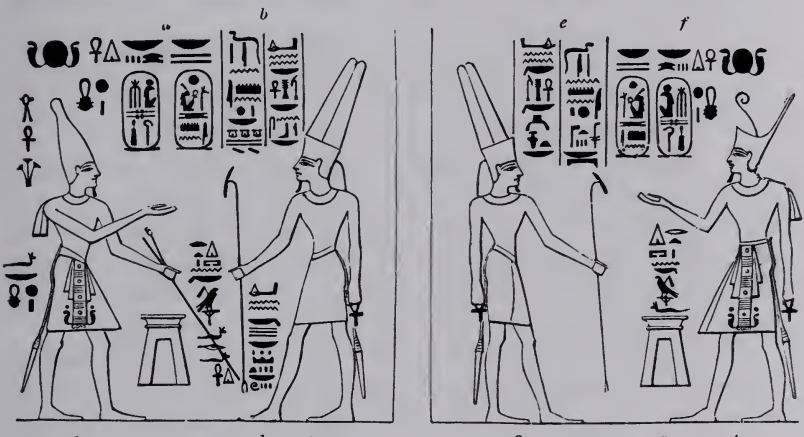
Another striking ceremony was the transport of the dedicatory offerings made by the king to the gods, which were carried in great pomp to their respective temples. The king and all the priests attended the procession, clad in their robes of ceremony; and the flag-staffs attached to the propylæa of the vestibules were decked, as on other grand festivals, with banners.

[1] Clemens, Strom. v. p. 243, on the Ark of the Hebrews and the Adytum of the Egyptians.

[2] It is singular that the mace and rod in the king's hand on these occasions are the same as those used in the chase of the hippopotamus.

The coronation of the king was a peculiarly imposing ceremony. It was one of the principal subjects represented in the court of the temples;[1] and some idea may be formed of the pomp displayed on the occasion even from the limited scale on which the monuments are capable of describing it. I have already mentioned the remarkable manner in which this subject is treated in the temple of Medeenet Haboo, and therefore refer the reader to a previous part of this work, where I have described the procession given in Plate LX.

Clemens introduces an account of an Egyptian procession,



No. 595. Dedication of the pylon of a temple to Amen by Rameses III., who wears on one side the crown of Upper, on the other that of Lower Egypt.

1, 4. Rameses III. 2, 3. Amen-ra. *a*, *b*. Titles of Rameses. *c*. Speech of Amen-ra, 'lord of heaven and seats of earth: I give thee life, health established, *d*, 'all countries and lands.' The king 'makes a gift of the house to thee, his god.' *e*. Same speech. *f*. King's titles. *g*. 'Gives a house to thee, his god.'

which, as it throws some light on similar ceremonies, and may be of interest from having some points of resemblance with the one before us, I here transcribe.

'In the solemn pomps of Egypt the singer usually goes first, bearing one of the symbols of music. They say it is his duty to carry two of the books of Hermes; one of which contains hymns of the gods, the other precepts relating to the life of the king. The singer is followed by the horoscopus, bearing in his hand the measure of time, hour-glass, and the palm-branch,[2] the symbols of astrology, astronomy, whose duty it is to be versed in or recite the four books of Hermes, which treat of that science.

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[1] It occurs in the same part of the Memnonium or Ramesseum as of Medeenet Haboo.

[2] Φοινικὰ. It is a question whether this should be translated the palm or the phœnix.

Of these one describes the position of the fixed stars, another the conjunctions, eclipses, and illuminations of the sun and moon, and the others their risings. Next comes the hierogrammateus, or sacred scribe, having feathers[1] on his head, and in his hands a book, papyrus, with a ruler[2] (palette) in which is ink and a reed for writing. It is his duty to understand what are called hieroglyphics, the description of the world, geography, the course of the sun, moon, and planets, the condition of the land of Egypt and the Nile, the nature of the instruments or sacred ornaments, and the places appointed for them, as well as weights and measures, and the things used in holy rites. Then follows the *stolistes*, bearing the cubit of justice and the cup of libation. He knows all subjects relating to education, and the choice of calves for victims, which are comprehended in ten books. These treat of the honours paid to the gods and of the Egyptian religion, including sacrifice, first-fruits, hymns, prayers, processions, holydays, and the like. Last of all comes the prophet, who carries in his bosom a water-jar, followed by persons bearing loaves of bread. He presides over all sacred things, and is obliged to know the contents of the ten books called sacerdotal, relating to the gods, the laws, and all the discipline of the priests.'[3]

One of the principal solemnities connected with the coronation was the anointing of the king, and his receiving the emblems of majesty from the gods. The sculptures represent deities themselves officiating on this as on other similar occasions, in order to convey to the Egyptian people, who beheld these records, a more exalted notion of the special favours bestowed on their monarch.

We, however, who at this distant period are less interested in the direct intercourse between the Pharaohs and the gods, may be satisfied with a more simple interpretation of such subjects, and conclude that it was the priests who performed the ceremony, and bestowed upon the prince the title of 'the anointed of the gods.'

With the Egyptians, as with the Jews,[4] the investiture to any sacred office, as that of king or priest, was confirmed by this external sign; and as the Jewish lawgiver mentions[5] the ceremony

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[1] The feathers are of the ostrich, not of the hawk, as already observed.

[2] The usual palette represented in the hands of scribes.

[3] Clemens Alex. Strom. vi. p. 196.

[4] Exod. xxviii. 41.

[5] 'Thou shalt take the garments, and put upon Aaron the coat, and the robe of the ephod, and the ephod, and the breastplate, and gird him with the curious girdle of the ephod; and thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and put the holy

Set | Rameses II | Horus

Set and Horus placing the crown on the head-dress of Rameses II., called 'the son of the Sun, Rameses beloved of Amen, lord of the scimitar, approved of the Sun' Horus, lord of Maha, says, 'I give thee the time of the years of Tum.' Set of Nubit or Ombos says, 'I set up thy head-dress on thy head like thy father Ateumra.'

of pouring oil upon the head of the high priest *after* he had put on his entire dress, with the mitre and crown, the Egyptians represent the anointing of their priests and kings *after* they were attired in their full robes, with the cap and crown upon their head. Some of the sculptures introduce a priest pouring oil over the monarch,[1] in the presence of Thoth, Har-Hat, or Nilus; which may be considered a representation of the ceremony before the statues of those gods. The functionary who officiated was the high priest of the king. He was clad in a leopard-skin, and was the same who attended on all occasions which required him to assist, or assume the duties of, the monarch in the temple. This leopard-skin dress was worn by the high priests on all the most important solemnities, and the king himself adopted it when engaged in the same duties.

They also anointed the statues of the gods;[2] which was done with the little finger of the right hand.

The ceremony of pouring from two vases alternate emblems of life and purity over the king, in token of purification, previous to his admittance into the presence of the god of the temple, was performed by Thoth on one side and the hawk-headed Har-Hat on the other; sometimes by Har-Hat and Nubti, or by two hawk-headed deities, or by one of these last and the god Nilus. The deities Nubti and Horus are also represented placing the crown of the Two Countries upon the head of the king, saying, 'Put this cap upon your head like your father Amen-ra:' and the palm-branches they hold in their hands allude to the long series of years they grant him to rule over his country. The emblems of dominion and majesty, the crook and flagellum of Osiris, have been already given him, and the asp-formed fillet is bound upon his head.

Another mode of investing the sovereign with the diadem is figured on the apex of some obelisks, and on other monuments, where the god in whose honour they were raised puts the crown upon his head as he kneels before him, with the announcement that he 'grants him dominion over the whole world.'[3] Goddesses in like manner placed upon the heads of the queens the peculiar

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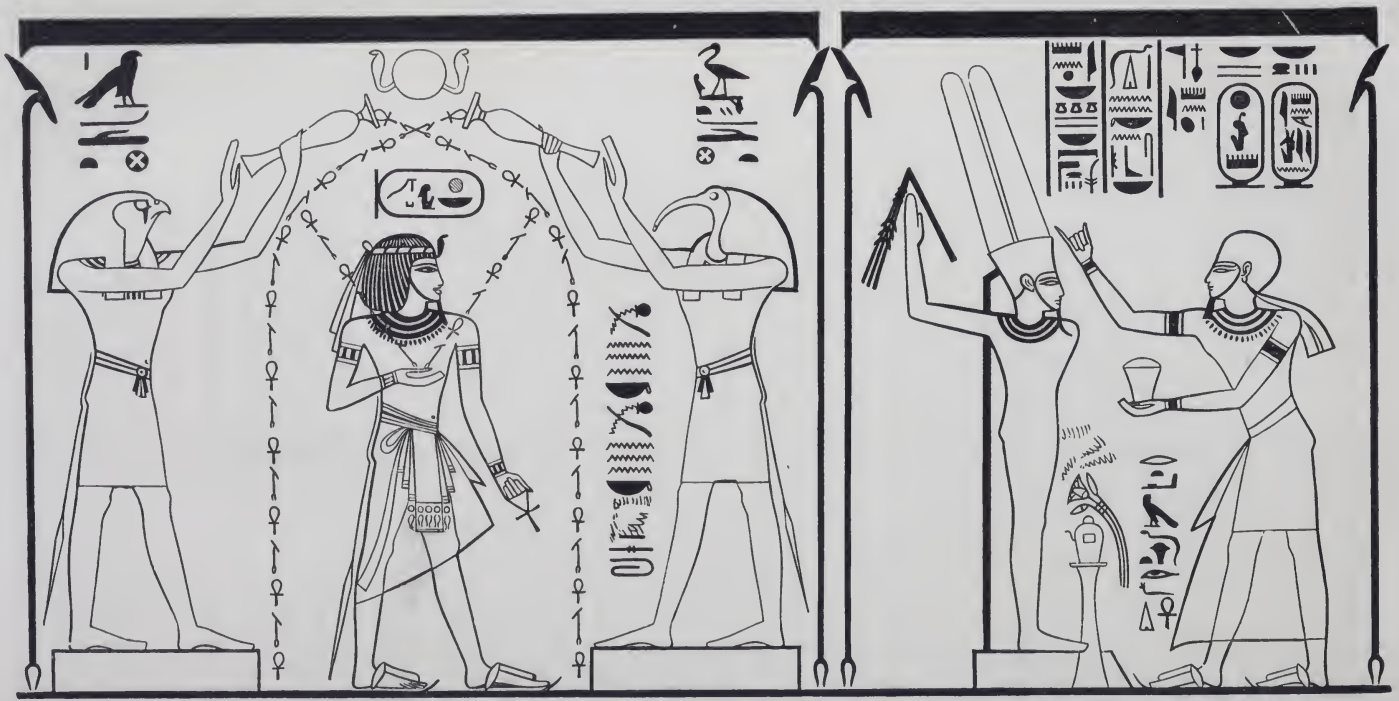
crown upon the mitre. *Then* shalt thou take the anointing oil, and pour it upon his head.' (Exod. xxix. 5–7.)

[1] 2 Kings ix. 3.

[2] The king was anointed: Amenophis II. was anointed king. ('Records of the Past,' ii. p. 63.)—S. B.

[3] Obelisk of Karnak and others, and the translation of Hermapion, in Ammian. Marcellin. xvii. s. 4, p. 108, ed. Gronov.: δεδώρηταί σοι ἀνὰ πάσην οἰκουμένην μετὰ χαρᾶς βασιλεύειν.



Horus and Thoth of Hat purifying Amenophis II. 'Thou art pure; thou art pure again, again.'

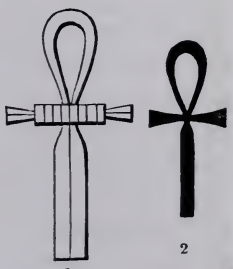
Seti I. anointing Khem or Amsi. It states, 'He places oil that he may be made a giver of life.'

insignia they wore; which were two long feathers, with the globe and horns of Athor; and they presented them their peculiar sceptre.

Sceptre of a queen. No. 596.

The custom of anointing was not confined to the appointment of kings and priests to the sacred offices they held: it was the ordinary token of welcome to guests in every party at the house of a friend; and in Egypt, no less than in Judæa, the metaphorical expression, 'anointed with the oil of gladness,' was fully understood, and applied to the ordinary occurrences of life. It was not confined to the living: the dead were made to participate in it, as if sensible of the token of esteem thus bestowed upon them; and a grateful survivor, in giving an affectionate token of gratitude to a regretted friend, neglected not this last unction of his mortal remains. Even the head of the bandaged mummy, and the case which contained it, were anointed with oils and the most precious ointments.

Another ceremony represented in the temples was the blessing bestowed by the gods on the king, at the moment of his assuming the reins of government. They laid their hands upon him; and presenting him with the symbol of life, they promised that his reign should be long and glorious, and that he should enjoy tranquillity, with certain victory over his enemies. If about to undertake an expedition against foreign nations, they gave him the falchion of victory, to secure the defeat of the people whose country he was about to invade, saying, 'Take this weapon, and smite with it the heads of the impure Gentiles.'



Tau, or sign of life. No. 597.

To show the special favour he enjoyed from heaven, the gods were even represented admitting him into their company, and communing with him; and sometimes Thoth, with other deities, taking him by the hand, led him into the presence of the great triad, or of the presiding divinity, of the temple. He was welcomed with suitable expressions of approbation; and on this, as on other occasions, the sacred *tau*, or sign of life, was presented to him—a symbol which, with the sceptre of purity, was usually placed in the hands of the gods. These two were deemed the greatest gifts bestowed by the deity on man.

The origin of the *tau* I cannot precisely determine; nor is it more intelligible when given in the sculptures on a large scale. A remarkable fact may be mentioned respecting this hieroglyphic character—that the early Christians of Egypt adopted it in lieu of the cross, which was afterwards substituted for it, prefixing it to inscriptions in the same manner as the cross in later times.

The triumph of the king was a grand solemnity. Flattering to the national pride of the Egyptians, it awakened those feelings of enthusiasm which the celebration of victory naturally inspires, and led them to commemorate it with the greatest pomp. When the victorious monarch, returning to Egypt after a glorious campaign, approached the cities which lay on his way from the confines of the country to the capital, the inhabitants flocked to meet him, and with welcome acclamations greeted his arrival and the success of his arms. The priests and chief people of each place advanced with garlands and bouquets of flowers; the principal person present addressed him in an appropriate speech; and as the troops defiled through the streets, or passed without the walls, the people followed with acclamations, uttering earnest thanksgivings to the gods, the protectors of Egypt, and praying them for ever to continue the same marks of favour to their monarch and their nation.

Arrived at the capital, they went immediately to the temple, where they returned thanks to the gods, and performed the customary sacrifices on this important occasion. The whole army attended, and the order of march continued the same as on entering the city. A corps of Egyptians, consisting of chariots and infantry, led the van in close column, followed by the allies of the different nations who had shared the dangers of the field and the honour of victory. In the centre marched the body-guards, the king's sons, the military scribes, the royal arm-bearers, and the staff corps, in the midst of whom was the monarch himself, mounted in a splendid car, attended by his fan-bearers on foot, bearing over him the state flabella. Next followed other regiments of infantry, with their respective banners, and the rear was closed by a body of chariots. The prisoners, tied together with ropes, were conducted by some of the king's sons, or by the chief officers of the staff, at the side of the royal car. The king himself frequently held the cord which bound them, as he drove slowly in the procession; and two or more chiefs were sometimes suspended beneath the axle of his chariot, contrary to the usual

humane principles of the Egyptians, who seem to have refrained from unnecessary cruelty to their captives, extending this feeling so far as to rescue, even in the heat of battle, a defenceless enemy from a watery grave.

Having reached the precincts of the temple, the guards and royal attendants selected to be the representatives of the whole army entered the courts, the rest of the troops, too numerous for admission, being drawn up before the entrance; and the king, alighting from his car, prepared to lead his captives to the shrine of the god. Military bands played the favourite airs of the country; and the numerous standards of the different regiments, the banners floating in the wind, the bright lustre of arms, the immense concourse of people, and the imposing majesty of the lofty towers of the propylæa, decked with their bright-coloured flags streaming above the cornice, presented a scene seldom, we may say, equalled on any occasion in any country. But the most striking feature of this pompous ceremony was the brilliant *cortége* of the monarch, who was either borne in his chair of state by the principal officers of state under a rich canopy, or walked on foot, overshadowed with rich flabella and fans of waving plumes. As he approached the inner pylon, a long procession of priests advanced to meet him, dressed in their robes of office; censers full of incense were burnt before him; and a hierogrammateus read from a papyrus roll the glorious deeds of the victorious monarch, and the tokens he had received of the divine favour. They then accompanied him into the presence of the presiding deity of the place; and having performed sacrifice and offered suitable thanksgivings, he dedicated the spoil of the conquered enemy, and expressed his gratitude for the privilege of laying before the feet of the god, the giver of victory, those prisoners he had brought to the vestibule of the divine abode.[1]

In the meantime, the troops without the sacred precincts were summoned, by sound of trumpet, to attend the sacrifice prepared by the priests, in the name of the whole army, for the benefits they had received from the gods, the success of their arms, and their own preservation in the hour of danger. Each regiment marched up by turn to the altar temporarily raised for the occasion, to the sound of the drum,[2] the soldiers carrying in their hand a twig of olive,[3] with the arms of their respective

[1] The impure foreigners were not taken into the interior of the temple, to which the king and the priests were alone admitted.

[2] Clem. Pædag. ii. 4.

[3] Or of the bay-tree. This may be an illustration of the remark of Clemens

corps; but the heavy-armed soldier laid aside his shield on this occasion, as if to show the security he enjoyed in the presence of the deity. An ox was then killed, and wine, incense, and the customary offerings of cakes, fruit, vegetables, joints of meat, and birds, were presented to the god they invoked. Every soldier deposited the twig of olive he carried at the altar; and as the trumpet summoned them, so also it gave the signal for each regiment to withdraw and cede its place to another. The ceremony being over, the king went in state to his palace, accompanied by the troops; and having distributed rewards to them, and eulogised their conduct in the field, he gave his orders to the commanders of the different corps, and they withdrew to their cantonments, or to the duties to which they were appointed.

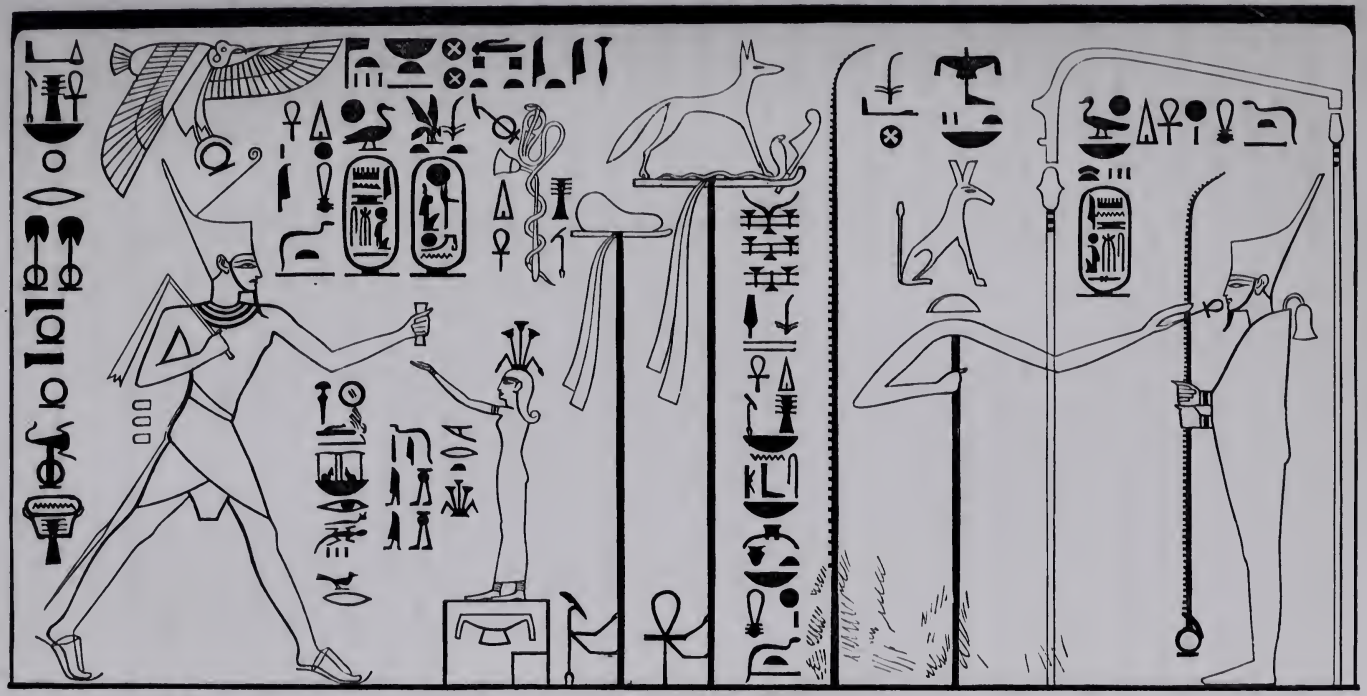
1. *Neb hebs ma ra.*
2. *Neb set ma tefef Ptah.*
No. 598.

Of the fixed festivals, one of the most remarkable was the celebration of the grand assemblies, or panegyries, held in the great halls of the principal temples, at which the king presided in person. Of their precise nature, and of the periods when they were held, we are still ignorant; but that they were of the greatest importance is abundantly proved by the frequent mention of them in the sculptures. And that the post of president of the assemblies was the highest possible honour may be inferred, as well from its being enjoyed by the sovereign alone of all men, as from its being assigned to the deity himself in these legends: 'Phrah (Pharaoh), lord of the panegyries, like Ra,' or 'like his father Ptah,'[1] which so frequently occur on the monuments of Thebes and Memphis.

From these assemblies being connected with the palm-branch, the emblem of a year, and frequently attached to it when in the hands of the god Thoth, we may conclude that their celebration was fixed to certain periods of the year; and the title 'Lord of Triacontaeterides, like the great Ptah,' applied to Ptolemy Epiphanes in the Rosetta Stone, is doubtless related to these meetings, which, from the Greek word, some suppose to have taken place every thirty years. But this period is evidently too long, since few sovereigns could have enjoyed the

(Strom. v. p. 243), that 'twigs were given to those who came to worship.' He mentions in the same place 'the wheel turned in the sacred groves.'

[1] See woodcut No. 598, *figs.* 1 and 2.



Rameses II. celebrating a festival.

Above his head is the vulture Uat, or Buto, lady of Tep, and Pe [Butos]. Before the king is the goddess Mert, who says, 'Come, king.' The inscription before Rameses is, 'The first time of celebrating the Triakontaeterides and making very many of them.' The standard is of the god Ap-heru, a form of Anubis, guardian of the South. In the other scene, Set, as Nubti, lord of the South, gives life to the deified Rameses, holding the emblem of an infinite number of years.

honour. It more probably refers to the festivals of the new moons,[1] or to those recorded in the great calendar sculptured on the exterior of the S.W. wall of Medeenet Haboo, which took place during several successive days of each month, and were even repeated in honour of different deities every day during some months, and attended by the king in person.

Another important religious ceremony is often alluded to in the sculptures, which appears to be connected with the assemblies just mentioned. In this the king is represented running, with a vase or some emblem in one hand, and the flagellum of Osiris, a type of majesty, in the other, as if hastening to enter the hall where the panegyries were held; and two figures of him are frequently introduced, one crowned with the cap of the Upper, the other with that of the Lower Country, as they stand beneath a canopy indicative of the hall of assembly. The same deities who usually preside on the anointing of the king present him with the sign of life, and bear before him the palm-branch, on which the years of the assemblies are noted. Before him stands the goddess Mert, bearing on her head the water-plants, her emblem; and around are numerous emblems appropriated to this subject. The monarch sometimes runs into the presence of the god bearing two vases, which appears to be the commencement of, or connected with, this ceremony; and the whole may be the anniversary of the foundation of the temple, or of the sovereign's reign. An ox or cow is in some instances represented running with the king on the same occasion.

The birthdays of the kings were celebrated[2] with great pomp. They were looked upon as holy: no business was done upon them, and all classes indulged in the festivities[3] suitable to the occasion. Every Egyptian attached much importance to the day and even to the hour of his birth; and it is probable that, as in Persia,[4] each individual kept his birthday with great rejoicings, welcoming his friends with all the amusements of society, and a more than usual profusion of the delicacies of the table.

They had many other public holydays, when the court of the king and all public offices were closed. This was sometimes

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[1] Isaiah i. 13, 14: 'The *new moons* and sabbaths, the calling of *assemblies*, I cannot away with; it is iniquity, even the solemn meeting. Your new moons and your appointed feasts my soul hateth.'

[2] Rosetta Stone.

[3] Gen. xl. 20.

[4] Herodot. i. 133.

owing to a superstitious belief of their being unlucky; and such was the prejudice against the 'third day of the Epact,[1] or the birthday of Typho, that the sovereign neither transacted any business upon it, nor even suffered himself to take any refreshment till the evening.'[2] Other fasts were also observed by the king and the priesthood, out of respect to certain solemn purifications they deemed it their duty to undergo for the service of religion.

Among the ordinary rites the most noted, because the most frequent, were the daily sacrifices offered in the temple by the sovereign pontiff. It was customary for him to attend there early every morning, after he had examined and settled his epistolary correspondence relative to the affairs of state. The service began by the high priest reading a prayer for the welfare of the monarch, in the presence of the people. He extolled his virtues, his piety towards the gods, and his clemency and affable demeanour towards men, and he then proceeded to pass in review the general conduct of kings, and to point out those virtues which most adorn, as well as the vices which most degrade, the character of a monarch. But I need not enter into the details of this ceremony, having already noticed it in treating of the duties of the Egyptian Pharaohs.

Of the anniversary festivals one of the most remarkable was the Niloa, or invocation of the blessings of the inundation, offered to the tutelary deity of the Nile. According to Heliodorus,[3] it was one of the principal festivals of the Egyptians. It took place about the summer solstice, when the river began to rise; and the anxiety with which they looked forward to a plentiful inundation induced them to celebrate it with more than usual honour. Libanius asserts that these rites were deemed of so much importance by the Egyptians, that unless they were performed at the proper season, and in a becoming manner, by the persons appointed to this duty, they felt persuaded that the Nile would refuse to rise and inundate the land. Their full belief in the efficacy of the ceremony secured its annual performance on a grand scale. Men and women assembled from all parts of the country in the towns of their respective nomes, grand festivities were proclaimed, and all the enjoyments of the table were united with the solemnity of a holy festival. Music, the

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[1] The five days added at the end of Mesoré.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 11.

[3] Heliodor. Æthiopic. lib. xi.

dance, and appropriate hymns marked the respect they felt for the deity; and a wooden statue of the river god was carried by the priests through the villages in solemn procession, that all might appear to be honoured by his presence and aid, while invoking the blessings he was about to confer.

Another festival, particularly welcomed by the Egyptian peasants, and looked upon as a day of great rejoicing, was (if it may so be called) the harvest home, or the close of the labours of the year, and the preparation of the land for its future crops by the inundation; when, as Diodorus tells us, the husbandmen indulged in recreation of every kind, and showed their gratitude for the benefits the deity had conferred upon them by the blessings of the inundation. This and other festivals of the peasantry I have already noticed in treating of the agriculture of Egypt.

Games were celebrated in honour of certain gods, in which wrestling and other gymnastic exercises were practised. 'But of all their games,' says Herodotus,[1] 'the most distinguished are those held at Chemmis in honour of Perseus; in which the rewards for the conquerors are cattle, cloaks, and skins.' The form and attributes of this Perseus I have been unable to discover; and unfortunately the imperfect remains at Chemmis afford no accurate information respecting the deities of the place. It is, however, probable that he was not the only god in whose honour gymnastic exercises were performed; and the fondness of the Egyptians for such amusements is fully proved by the monuments they have left us, on which wrestling and other games are portrayed with great minuteness. Wrestling, indeed, was a very favourite amusement in Egypt. Hercules was there reported to have overcome Antæus by wrestling; and it is highly probable that games similar to those mentioned by Herodotus were celebrated in the nome of Heracleopolis, as well as in honour of other Egyptian gods.

The investiture of a chief was a ceremony of considerable importance, when the post conferred was connected with any high dignity about the person of the monarch, in the army, or the priesthood. It took place in the presence of the sovereign seated on his throne; and two priests, having arrayed the candidate in a long loose vesture, placed necklaces round the neck of the person thus honoured by the royal favour. One of these ceremonies frequently occurs in the monuments, which was

[1] Herodot. ii. 91.

Seti I. investing Paur or Paser, a High-priest, Governor, and Magistrate, with Insignia of Office.

1. Seti I. 2. Goddess Ma or Truth. 3. Paser. 4, 5. Investing priests. Before the king in the area are the spirits of Butos and Syene.
The long inscription above the head is the speech of Paser to the king.

sometimes performed immediately after a victory; in which case we may conclude that the honour was granted in return for distinguished services in the field; and as the individual on all occasions holds the flabella, crook, and other insignia of the office of fan-bearer, it appears to have been either the appointment to that post, or to some high command in the army. On receiving this honourable distinction, he held forth his hands in token of respect; and raising the emblems of his newly-acquired office above his head, he expressed his fidelity to his king, and his desire to prove himself worthy of the favour he had received.

A similar mode of investiture appears to have been adopted in all appointments to the high offices of state, both of a civil and military kind. In this, as in many customs detailed in the sculptures, we find an interesting illustration of a ceremony mentioned in the Bible, which describes Pharaoh taking a ring from his hand and putting it on Joseph's hand, arraying him in vestures of fine linen, and putting a gold chain about his neck.[1]

In a tomb opened at Thebes by Hoskins, another instance occurs of this investiture to the post of fan-bearer, in which the two attendants or inferior priests are engaged in clothing him with the robes of his new office. One puts on the necklace, the other arranges his dress, a fillet being already bound round his head, and he appears to wear *gloves* upon his uplifted hands. In the next part of the same picture—for, as is often the case, it presents two actions and two periods of time—the individual, holding the insignia of fan-bearer and followed by the two priests, presents himself before the king, who holds forth his hand to him to touch,[2] or perhaps to kiss. A stand bearing necklaces is placed before him, and by his side a table, upon which is a bag, probably the treasure for paying the troops, and behind are the officers of his household bearing the emblems of their office.

The office of fan-bearer to the king was a highly honourable post, which none but the royal princes, or the sons of the first nobility, were permitted to hold. These constituted a principal part of his staff, and in the field they either attended on the monarch to receive his orders, or were despatched to take the command of a division; some having the rank of generals of cavalry, others of heavy infantry or archers, according to the

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[1] Gen. xli. 42.

[2] In the East an inferior merely touches the hand of one to whom he would show great respect, and then kisses his own.

service to which they belonged. They had the privilege of presenting the prisoners to the king, after the victory had been gained, announcing at the same time the amount of the enemy's slain, and the booty that had been taken; and those whose turn it was to attend upon the king's person as soon as the enemy had been vanquished resigned their command to the next in rank, and returned to their post of fan-bearers. The office was divided into two grades—those who served on the right and left hand of the king, the most honourable post being given to those of the highest rank, or to those most esteemed for their services. A certain number were always on duty, and they were required to attend during the grand solemnities of the temple, and on every occasion when the monarch went out in state, or transacted public business at home.

At Medeenet Haboo is a remarkable instance of the ceremony of carrying the sacred boat of Ptah-Socharis-Osiris, which I conjecture to represent the funeral of Osiris. It is frequently introduced in the sculptures; and in one of the tombs of Thebes this solemnity occurs, which, though on a smaller scale than on the walls of Medeenet Haboo, offers some interesting peculiarities. First comes the boat, carried as usual by several priests, superintended by the pontiff clad in a leopard-skin; after which two *hieraphori*, each bearing a long staff surmounted by a hawk; then a man beating the tambourine, behind whom is a flower with the stalk bound round with ivy (or the periploca, which so much resembles it). These are followed by two *hieraphori*, carrying each a staff with a jackal on the top, and another bearing a flower, behind whom is a priest turning round to offer incense to the emblem of Nefer-Atum. The latter is placed horizontally upon six columns, between each of which stands a human figure with uplifted arms, either in the act of adoration or aiding to support the sacred emblem, and behind it is an image of the king kneeling, the whole borne on the usual staves by several priests, attended by a pontiff in his leopard-skin dress. In this ceremony, as in some of the tales related of Osiris, we may trace those analogies which led the Greeks to suggest the resemblance between that deity and their Bacchus; as the tambourine, the ivy-bound flower or thyrsus, and the leopard-skin, recall the leopards which drew his car. The spotted skin of the *nebris* or fawn may also be traced in the leopard-skin suspended near Osiris in the region of Amenti.

At Medeenet Haboo the procession is on a more splendid scale: the ark of Socharis is borne by sixteen priests, accompanied by two pontiffs, one clad in the usual leopard-skin, and Rameses himself officiates on the occasion. The king also performs the singular ceremony of holding a rope at its centre, the two ends being supported by four priests, eight of his sons, and four other chiefs, before whom two priests turn round to offer incense, while a hierogrammateus reads the contents of a papyrus he holds in his hands. These are preceded by one of the *hierophori* bearing the hawk on a staff decked with banners (the standard of the king or of Horus), and by the emblem of Nefer-Atum, borne by eighteen priests, the figures standing between the columns over which it is laid being of kings, and the columns themselves being surmounted by the heads of hawks. Another peculiarity is observable in this procession, that the ark of Socharis follows, instead of preceding, the emblem of Nefer-Atum, and the hawks are crowned with the *pshent* or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt, usually worn by the Pharaohs and by the god Horus, the prototype of royalty.

In the same ceremony at Medeenet Haboo it appears that the king, when holding the rope, has the cubit in his hand, and, when following the ark, the cup of libation; which calls to mind the office of the *stolistes* mentioned by Clemens, 'having in his hand the cubit of justice and the cup of libation;' and he, in like manner, was preceded by the sacred scribe.

The mode of carrying the sacred arks on poles borne by priests or by the nobles of the land was extended to the statues of the gods and other sacred objects belonging to the temples.[1] The former, as Macrobius states,[2] were frequently placed in a case or canopy; and the same writer is correct in stating that the chief people of the nome assisted in this service, even the sons of the king being proud of so honourable an employment. What he afterwards says of their 'being carried forward according to divine inspiration, whithersoever the deity urges them, and not by their own will,' cannot fail to call to mind the supposed dictation of a secret influence, by which the bearers of the dead in the funeral processions of modern Egypt pretend to be actuated. To such an extent do they carry this superstitious

[1] It appears from some inscriptions that the ark was carried round the walls.—S. B.
[2] Macrob. Saturn. i. 30.

belief of their ancestors, that I have seen them in their solemn march suddenly stop, and then run violently through the streets, at the risk of throwing the body off the bier, pretending that they were obliged by the irresistible will of the deceased to visit a certain mosque, or seek the blessing of a particular saint.

Few other processions of any great importance are represented in the sculptures; nor can it be expected that the monuments would give more than a small proportion of the numerous festivals or ceremonies which took place in the country.

[At Denderah the following scenes are represented:—1. The king gives the goddess Athor a heart-shaped urn, the goddess confers happiness and joy; 2. He then gives two sistra, Athor and Horus permits him to govern Egypt and conquer foreigners, and to be beloved of women; 3. The king gives incense and water to Osiris and Isis, the gods give an inundation and Arabia; 4. The king gives two vases of wine, the gods give vineyards; 5. The king brings flowers, the goddess promises verdure; 6. The king gives fields, the gods corn; 7. The king and queen give sistra, the gods the love of his subjects; 8. The king gives a variety of objects, the gods produce. It will be seen that the gifts had reference to the things required.[1] Before penetrating into the adytum he appears to have entered the temple with his sandals off, preceded by five banners, and then to have been purified to receive the two crowns and to enter the presence of the gods. Before the first stone of the temple was laid, he traced the area with a furrow, made with his own hands the first brick of the peribolos wall, and on the opening or completion of the temple decapitated a bird.—S. B.]

Many of the religious festivals were indicative of some peculiar attribute or supposed property of the deity in whose honour they were celebrated. One, mentioned by Herodotus,[2] was emblematic of the generative principle, and the same that appears to be alluded to by Plutarch[3] under the name of Paamylia, which he says bore a resemblance to one of the Greek ceremonies. The assertion, however, of these writers, that such figures belonged to Osiris, is contradicted by the sculptures, which show them to have been emblematic of the god Khem, or Pan; and this is confirmed by another observation of the latter writer, that the leaf of the fig-tree represented the deity of that

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[1] Mariette, 'The Monuments of Upper Egypt,' London, 1877, p. 35 and foll.
[2] Herodot. ii. 48. [3] Plut. de Isid. s. 11.

festival, as well as the land of Egypt.[1] The tree does indeed represent Egypt, and always occurs on the altar of Khem; but it is not in any way connected with Osiris, and the statues mentioned by Plutarch[2] evidently refer to the Egyptian Pan.

According to Herodotus,[3] the only two festivals in which it was lawful to sacrifice pigs were those of the moon and Bacchus, or Osiris: the object of which restriction he attributes to a sacred reason, which he does not think it right to mention. 'In sacrificing a pig to the moon, they killed it, and when they had put together the end of the tail, the spleen, and the caul, and covered them with all the fat from the inside of the animal, they burnt them, the rest of the victim being eaten on the day of the full moon, which was the same on which the sacrifice was offered, for on no other day were they allowed to eat the flesh of the pig. Poor people who had barely the means of subsistence made a paste figure of a pig, which, being baked, they offered as a sacrifice.' The same kind of substitute was doubtless made for other victims by those who could not afford to purchase them; and some of the small clay figures of animals found in the tombs have probably served for this purpose. 'On the fête of Bacchus every one immolated a pig before the door of his house at the hour of dinner; he then gave it back to the person of whom it had been bought.' 'The Egyptians,' adds the historian, 'celebrate the rest of this fête nearly in the same manner as the Greeks, with the exception of the sacrifice of pigs.'

The procession on this occasion was headed, as usual, by music,[4] a flute-player, according to Herodotus, leading the van; and the first sacred emblem they carried was a *hydria*, or water-pitcher.[5] A festival was also held on the 17th of Athor and three succeeding days, in honour of Osiris, during which they exposed to view a gilded ox, the emblem of that deity, and commemorated what they called the *loss of Osiris*. Another followed in honour of the same deity after an interval of six months or 179 days, 'upon the 19th of Pachons,[6] when they marched in procession towards the sea-side, whither likewise the priests and other proper officers carried the sacred chest, enclosing a small boat or vessel of gold, into which they first

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 36. According to the literal translation, it is 'by the fig-leaf they describe their king and the south climate of the world.'

[2] Ibid. ss. 36 and 51.

[3] Herodot. ii. 48.

[4] Clem. Strom. vi. p. 196, and the sculptures.

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 36.

[6] Ibid. s. 39.

poured some fresh water, and then all present cried out with a loud voice, "Osiris is found." This ceremony being ended, they threw a little fresh mould, together with rich odours and spices, into the water, mixing the whole mass together, and working it up into a little image in the shape of a crescent. The image was afterwards dressed and adorned with a proper habit, and the whole was intended to intimate that they looked upon these gods as the essence and power of earth and water.'

Another festival in honour of Osiris was held 'on the new moon of the month Phamenoth,[1] which fell in the beginning of spring,[2] called the entrance of Osiris into the moon;' and on the 11th of Tybi (or the beginning of January[3]) was celebrated the fête of Isis' return from Phœnicia, when cakes having a hippopotamus bound stamped upon them were offered in her honour to commemorate the victory over Typho. A certain rite was also performed in connection with the fabulous history of Osiris, in which it was customary to throw a cord in the midst of the assembly,[4] and then chop it into pieces; the supposed purport of which was to record the desertion of Thoueris, the concubine of Typho, and her delivery from a serpent, which the soldiers killed with their swords as it pursued her in her flight to join the army of Horus.

Among the ceremonies connected with Osiris the fête of Apis holds a conspicuous place: but this I have already noticed, as well as the grand solemnities performed at his funeral.

Clemens[5] mentions the custom of carrying four golden figures, or standards, in the festivals of the gods. They were two dogs, a hawk, and an ibis; which, like the number *four*, had a mystical meaning. The dogs represented the two hemispheres, the hawk the sun, and the ibis the moon; but he does not state if this was usual at all festivals, or confined to those in honour of particular deities.

Many fêtes were held at different seasons of the year; for, as Herodotus observes,[6] 'far from being contented with one festival, the Egyptians celebrate annually a very great number, of which that of Diana, Bast,[7] kept at the city of Bubastis, holds the

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[1] Phamenoth began on Feb. 25 (O. S.).

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 43. Macrobius and others say that the Egyptian fêtes in spring were all of rejoicing.

[3] Jan. 6th (O. S.).

[4] Plut. de Isid. s. 19.

[5] Clem. Strom. v. p. 242.

[6] Herodot. ii. 59 *et seq.*, 82.

[7] Bubastis or Bast corresponded to the Greek Diana.

first rank, and is performed with the greatest pomp. Next to it is that of Isis, at Busiris, a city situated in the middle of the Delta, with a very large temple consecrated to that goddess, the Ceres of the Greeks. The third in importance is the fête of Minerva (Neith), held at Saïs; the fourth, of the sun at Heliopolis; the fifth, of Latona in the city of Buto; and the sixth is that performed at Papremis in honour of Mars.'

In going to celebrate the festival of Diana at Bubastis it was customary to repair thither by water; and parties of men and women were crowded together on that occasion in numerous boats, without distinction of age or sex. During the whole of the journey several women played on *crotala*, and some men on the flute; others accompanying them with the voice and the clapping of hands, as was usual at musical parties in Egypt. Whenever they approached a town the boats were brought near to it, and, while the singing continued, some of the women in the most abusive manner scoffed at those on the shore as they passed by them. [The fête of the Kikellia, an unknown festival, is mentioned in the tablet of Canopus.—S. B.]

Arrived at Bubastis, they performed the rites of the festival by the sacrifice of a great number of victims; and the quantity of wine consumed on the occasion was said to be more than during all the rest of the year. The number of persons present was reckoned by the inhabitants of the place to be 700,000, without including children; and it is probable that the appearance presented by this concourse of people, the scenes which occurred, and the picturesque groups they presented, were not altogether unlike those witnessed at the modern fêtes of Tanta and Dessook in the Delta, in honour of the Sayd el Beddawee and Sheikh Ibrahim e' Dessookee.

The number stated by the historian is beyond all probability, notwithstanding the population of ancient Egypt, and cannot fail to call to mind the 70,000 pilgrims reported by the Moslems to be annually present at Mekkeh. The mode adopted (as they believe) for keeping up that exact number is very ingenious, every deficiency being supplied by a mysterious complement of angels, who obligingly present themselves for the purpose; and some contrivance of the kind may have suggested itself to the ancient Egyptians at the festival of Bubastis.

The fête of Isis was performed with great magnificence. The votaries of the goddess prepared themselves beforehand by fasting and prayers, after which they proceeded to sacrifice an ox.

When slain, the thighs and upper part of the haunches, the shoulders, and neck were cut off, and the body was filled with unleavened cakes of pure flour, with honey, dried raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other odorific substances. It was then burnt, and a quantity of oil was poured on the fire during the process. In the meantime those present scourged themselves in honour of Osiris, uttering lamentations[1] around the burnt offering; and this part of the ceremony being concluded, they partook of the remains of the sacrifice.

This festival was celebrated at Busiris to commemorate the death of Osiris, who was reported to have been buried there in common with other places, and whose tomb gave the name to the city. It was probably on this occasion that the branch of absinthium, mentioned by Pliny,[2] was carried by the priests of Isis; and dogs were made to head the procession, to commemorate the recovery of his body.

Another festival of Isis was held at harvest time, when the Egyptians throughout the country offered the first-fruits of the earth, and with doleful lamentations presented them at her altar. On this occasion she seems to answer to the Ceres of the Greeks, as has been observed by Herodotus;[3] and the multiplicity of names she bore may account for the different capacities in which she was worshipped, and remove the difficulty any change appears to present in the wife and sister of Osiris. One similarity is observable between this last and the fête celebrated at Busiris—that the votaries presented their offerings in the guise of mourners;[4] and the first-fruits had probably a direct reference to Osiris, in connection with one of those allegories which represented him as the beneficent property of the Nile.[5]

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 14. Coptos, the city of mourning.

[2] Plin. xxvii. 7. He says the best kind grew at Taposiris.

[3] Herodot. ii. 59.

[4] Conf. Deut. xxvi. 14: 'I have eaten thereof in my mourning.'

[5] The Eponymous Festivals of the thirty days of the Egyptian month, and the god who presided or named the day, were as follow:—1. Festival of the Neomenia—Thoth. 2. Festival of the day of the month—Horus, avenger of his father. 3. First *mesper*, day of Osiris. 4. First of appearance of *smat*, Amset. 5. Sacrifice—god Hapu. 6. Tuautmutf. 7. Of separation—Qabhsenuf. 8. Beginning of Sop—Artitefef. 9. Of Sekau—Arθef. 10. Of violation—Arrantesef. 11. Of the giver-out of sunbeams—Netnut. 12. Of Herher—Annet. 13. Of eyes giving out sunbeams—Teken. 14. Of Sa—Henba. 15. Of the 15th—Armau. 16. 2nd *mesper*—Mehχeruf. 17. Of Sa—Horus on the column. 18. Of the moon—Ahi. 19. Of Setemχeruf—Anmutef. 20. [*lost*]—Anubis. 21. . . .—Anubis. 22. Of Pehutet—the serpent Na. 23. . . .—Anubis. 24. Kerh, darkness—the red serpent Na. 25. Of the pourer out—Sema. 26. Of apparition—Maameref. 27. Of Useb—Untab. 28. Of celestial abyss—Chnoumis. 29. Of Hasa—Utet tefef. 30. Of the grasshopper—Netas. (Brugsch, 'Matériaux,' p. 57.) Several festivals are also given in the Sallier Calendar. Khonsu was conceived on the

I will not pretend to decide whether the festivals mentioned by Greek writers in honour of Isis or Osiris really appertained to them. It is highly probable that the Greeks and Romans who visited Egypt, having little acquaintance with the deities of that country, ascribed to those two many of the festivals which were celebrated in honour of Khem and other gods; and it is evident that the Egyptians themselves often aided in confirming strangers in the erroneous notions they entertained, especially on the subject of religion. And so confirmed were the Greeks in their mistaken opinions, that they would with difficulty have listened to anyone who informed them that Anubis had not the head of a dog, and Amen that of a ram, or that the cow was the emblem of Athor rather than of Isis.

In the absence, however, of such authority as that which has satisfied us respecting the last-mentioned points, we must for the present content ourselves with the statements of Plutarch and other writers respecting the festivals of Isis and Osiris. We must conclude that they were solemnised at the periods they mention, and for the reasons assigned by them, connected with the seasons of the year, or the relation supposed to subsist between the allegorical history of his adventures and natural phenomena.

But we cannot believe that the Paamylia mentioned by Plutarch was a festival in honour of Osiris, which, he says, resembled the Phallophoria, or Priapeia of the Greeks.[1] And though a plausible reason seems to be assigned for its institution, it is evident that the phallic figures of the Egyptian temples represent Khem, the generative principle, who bore no analogy to Osiris; and there is no appearance of these two deities having been confounded, even in the latest times, on the monuments of Egypt. Such opinions seem to have been introduced by the Greeks, who were ignorant of the religion of the Egyptians, and who endeavoured to account for all they heard or saw represented by some reference to the works of nature, compelling

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15th day of the month and born on the 16th, which god was also lord of the eponymous festival of the 2nd and 15th day of the month, also of the 6th. The festival of Khem or Amsi in the reign of Rameses III. was on the 26th of Pachons. A list of the local festivals of Amen is also given by the same author from the 8th Thoth to Pachons. Each principal town had a local calendar. Under the earlier dynasties the calendar was as follows:—1. First of year. 2. Thoth. 3. New Year. 4. Uaka. 5. Socharis. 6. Greater and less burning. 7. Holocausts. 8. Manifestation of Khem. 9. Sat. 10. First of month. 11. First of half-month. Under the 12th Dynasty were added:—12. Festival of Osiris. 13. Epagomenæ. (Brugsch, Ibid. p. 26.)—S. B.

[1] Plut. de Isid. ss. 12 and 18.

every thing to form part of their favourite explanation of a fanciful fable. But in justice to Plutarch it must be observed, that he gives those statements as the vulgar interpretations of the fabulous story of Isis and Osiris, without the sanction of his own authority or belief; and he distinctly tells us that they are mere idle tales, directly at variance with the nature of the gods.

The festival of Minerva at Saïs was performed on a particular night, when everyone who intended to be present at the sacrifice was required to light a number of lamps in the open air around his house. They were small vases filled with salt and oil,[1] on which a wick floated, and, being lighted, continued to burn all night. They called it the Festival of Burning Lamps. It was not observed at Saïs alone: every Egyptian who could not attend in person was required to observe the ceremony of lighting lamps, in whatever part of the country he happened to be; and it was considered of the greatest consequence to do honour to the deity by the proper performance of this rite.

On the sacred lake of Saïs they represented, probably on the same occasion,[2] the allegorical history of Osiris, which the Egyptians deemed the most solemn mystery of their religion. Herodotus always mentions it with great caution. It was the record of the misfortunes which had happened to one whose name he never ventures to utter; and his cautious behaviour with regard to everything connected with Osiris shows that he had been initiated into the mysteries, and was fearful of divulging any of the secrets he had solemnly bound himself to keep. It is also obvious that the fêtes he describes with the greatest reverence were connected with that deity, as those of Isis and of the burning lamps at Saïs; which may be accounted for by the same reason—his admission to the mysteries of Osiris. And though it is not probable that a Greek who had remained so short a time in the country had advanced beyond the lowest grades in the scale of the initiated, and that too of the lesser mysteries alone, he was probably permitted to attend during the celebration of the rites in honour of that deity, like the natives of the country.

The lake of Saïs still exists near the modern town of Sa el Hagar.[3] The walls and ruins of the town stand high above the level of the plain; and the site of the temple of Neith might be

[1] Perhaps water, salt, and oil. The offering mentioned towards the end of this chapter is probably of a lamp.

[2] Herodot. ii. 171.

[3] Or 'Sa of the Stone,' from the ruins there.

ascertained, and the interesting remains of that splendid city might, with careful investigation and the labour of some weeks' excavation, be yet restored to view.

There is some resemblance between the fête of lamps at Saïs and one kept in China, which has been known in that country from the earliest times; and some might even be disposed to trace an analogy between it and the custom still prevalent in Switzerland, Ireland, and other countries, of lighting fires on the summits of the hills upon the fête of St. John. But such accidental similarities in customs are too often considered of importance, when we ought, on the contrary, to be surprised at so few being similar in different parts of the world.

Those who went to Heliopolis and to Buto merely offered sacrifices. At Papremis the rites were much the same as in other places; but when the sun went down, a body of priests made certain gestures about the statue of Mars, while others in greater numbers, armed with sticks, took up a position at the entrance of the temple. A numerous crowd of persons, amounting to upwards of 1000 men, each armed with a stick, then presented themselves with a view of performing their vows; but no sooner did the priests proceed to draw forward the statue, which had been placed in a small wooden gilded shrine upon a four-wheeled car, than they were opposed by those in the vestibule, who endeavoured to prevent their entrance into the temple. Each party attacked its opponents with sticks; when an affray ensued which, as Herodotus observes, must, in spite of all the assertions of the Egyptians to the contrary, have been frequently attended with serious consequences, and even the loss of life.

Another festival mentioned by Herodotus[1] is said to have been founded on a mysterious story of King Rhampsinitus, of which he witnessed the celebration.

On that occasion the priests chose one of their number, whom they dressed in a peculiar robe, made for the purpose on the very day of the ceremony, and then conducted him, with his eyes bound, to a road leading to the temple of Ceres. Having left him there, they all retired; and two wolves were said to direct his steps to the temple, a distance of twenty stades, and afterwards to reconduct him to the same spot.

On the 19th of the first month was celebrated the fête of Thoth, from whom that month took its name. It was usual for

[1] Herodot. ii. 122.

those who attended 'to eat honey and eggs, saying to each other, *How sweet a thing is truth!*'[1] And a similar allegorical custom was observed in Mesoré, the last month of the Egyptian year,[2] when, on 'offering the first-fruits of their lentils, they exclaimed, "The tongue is fortune, the tongue is God!"' Most of their fêtes appear to have been celebrated at the new or the full moon, as we learn from Plutarch and Herodotus, the former being also chosen by the Israelites for the same purpose; and this may, perhaps, be used as an argument in favour of the opinion that the months of the Egyptians were originally lunar, as in many countries even to the present day.

The historian of Halicarnassus speaks of an annual ceremony which the Egyptians informed him was performed in memorial of the daughter of Mycerinus.[3] The body of that princess had been deposited within the wooden figure of a heifer, and was still preserved, in the time of Herodotus, in a richly ornamented chamber of the royal palace at Saïs. Every kind of perfume was burnt before it during the day, and at night a lamp was kept constantly lighted. In an adjoining apartment were about twenty colossal statues of wood, representing naked women, in a standing position, said by the priests of Saïs to be the concubines of Mycerinus. 'But of this,' adds the historian, 'I can only repeat what was told me; and I believe all they relate of the love of the king, and the hands of the statues, to be a fable. The heifer is covered with a crimson housing, except the head and neck, which are laid over with a thick coat of gold; and between the horns is a golden disk of the sun. It is not standing on its feet, but kneeling; and in size it is equal to a large cow. Every year they take it out of this chamber, at the time when the Egyptians beat themselves and lament a certain god (Osiris), whom I must not mention: on which occasion they expose the heifer to the light, the daughter of Mycerinus having made this dying request to her father, that he would permit her to see the sun once a year.'[4]

The ceremony was evidently connected with the rites of Osiris; and if Herodotus is correct in stating that it was a heifer (and not an ox), it may have been the emblem of Athor, in the

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 68. This answered to the 16th September (O. S.).

[2] Ibid. s. 68. Mesoré began on the 29th August (O. S.).

[3] Herodotus very properly doubts the story of the love of Mycerinus, and of his concubines having their hands cut off. (Euterpe, s. 131.)

[4] Herodot. ii. 132.

capacity she held in the regions of the dead. The honours paid to it on such an occasion could not have referred solely to a princess whose body was deposited within it: they were evidently intended for the deity of whom it was the emblem; and the introduction of Athor into the mysterious rites of Osiris may be explained by the fact of her frequently assuming the character of Isis.

Plutarch,[1] who seems to have in view the same ceremony, states this animal exposed to public view on this occasion to be an ox, in commemoration of the misfortunes reported to have happened to Osiris. 'About this time (the month of Athor, when the Etesian winds have ceased to blow, and the Nile, returning to its own channel, has left the country everywhere bare and naked), in consequence of the increasing length of the nights, the power of darkness appears to prevail, whilst that of light is diminished and overcome. The priests, therefore, practise certain doleful rites; one of which is to expose to public view, as a proper representation of the present grief of the goddess Isis, an ox covered with a pall of the finest black linen, that animal being looked upon as the living image of Osiris.[2] The ceremony is performed four days successively, beginning on the 17th of the above-mentioned month. They represent thereby four things which they mourn:—1. The falling of the Nile and its retiring within its own channel; 2. The ceasing of the northern winds, which are now quite suppressed by the prevailing strength of those from the south; 3. The length of the nights and the decrease of the days; 4. The destitute condition in which the land now appears, naked and desolate, its trees despoiled of their leaves. Thus they commemorate what they call the "loss of Osiris;" and on the 19th of the month Pachons another festival represents the "finding of Osiris,"' which has been already mentioned.

The statement of Plutarch argues very strongly in favour of the opinion that the gilded figure annually exposed at Saïs appertained to the mysterious rites of Osiris; and the priests doubtless deviated as far from the truth in what they related respecting the burial of the daughter of Mycerinus within it, as

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[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 39.

[2] Diodorus says, 'The reason of the worship of this *bull* (Apis) is, that the soul of Osiris was thought to have passed into it; others say because Isis deposited the members of Osiris in a wooden *cow*, enveloped in cloths of fine linen (*byssine*), whence the name of the city *Bus*iris' (i. 85).

in the fable, readily rejected by Herodotus, of the cause of her death. Indeed no one who considers the care taken by the Egyptians to conceal with masonry and every other means the spot where the bodies of ordinary individuals were deposited, can for a moment believe that the daughter of a Pharaoh would be left in that exposed situation, unburied, and deprived of that privilege, so ardently coveted by the meanest Egyptian, of reposing within the sacred bosom of the grave, removed from all that is connected with this life, and free from contact with the impurities of the world.

Small tablets in the tombs sometimes represent a black bull bearing the corpse of a man to its final abode in the regions of the dead. The name of this bull is shown by the sculptures in the Oasis to be Apis, the type of Osiris: it is therefore not unreasonable to suppose it in some way related to this fable.

There were several festivals in honour of the sun. Plutarch[1] states that a sacrifice was performed to it on the fourth day of every month, as related in the books of the genealogy of Horus, by whom that custom was said to have been instituted. So great was the veneration paid to this luminary, that in order to propitiate it they burnt incense three times a day—resin at its first rising, myrrh when in the meridian, and a mixture called Kuphi at the time of setting. The principal worship of Ra was at Heliopolis and other cities of which he was the presiding deity; and every city had its holy days peculiarly consecrated to its patron, as well as those common to the whole country. Another festival in honour of the sun was held on the 30th day of Epiphi, called the birthday of Horus's eyes,[2] when the sun and moon were supposed to be in the same right line with the earth; and on the 22nd day of Phaophi, after the autumnal equinox, was a similar one, to which, according to Plutarch, they gave the name of 'the nativity of the staves of the sun;' intimating that the sun was then removing from the earth, and as its light became weaker and weaker that it stood in need of a staff to support it. In reference to which notion, he adds, 'about the winter solstice they lead the sacred cow seven times in procession around her temple, calling this the searching after Osiris, that season of the year standing most in need of the sun's warmth.'

In their religious solemnities music was permitted, and even required, as acceptable to the gods; except, if we may believe

[1] Plut. de Isid. ss. 52 and 80. [2] Ibid. s. 52.

Strabo, in the temple of Osiris, at Abydus. It probably differed much from that used on ordinary festive occasions, and was, according to Apuleius, of a lugubrious character.[1] But this I have already mentioned in treating of the music of the Egyptians.

The greater part of the fêtes and religious rites of the Egyptians are totally unknown to us; nor are we acquainted with the ceremonies they adopted at births, weddings, and other occasions connected with their domestic life. But some little insight may be obtained into their funeral ceremonies from the accounts of Greek writers, as well as from the sculptures; which last show that they were performed with all the pomp a solemnity of so much importance required.

Circumcision was a rite practised by them from the earliest times. 'Its origin,' says Herodotus,[2] 'both among the Egyptians and Ethiopians,[3] may be traced to the most remote antiquity; but I do not know which of those two people borrowed it from the other, though several nations derived it from Egypt during their intercourse with that country. The strongest proof of this is, that all the Phœnicians who frequent Greece have lost the habit they took from Egypt of circumcising their children.' The same rite is practised to the present day by the Moslems of all countries, and by the Christians of Abyssinia, as a salutary precaution well suited to a hot climate.

We are ignorant of the exact time or age fixed for its performance by the ancient Egyptians. St. Ambrose says the 14th year: but this seems improbable, and it was perhaps left to the option of the individual, or of his parents, as with the Moslems.[4] Though very generally adopted, no one was compelled to conform to this ordinance unless initiated into the mysteries or belonging to the priestly order; and it is said that Pythagoras submitted to it in order to obtain the privileges it conferred, by entitling him to a greater participation of the mysteries he

[1] Apuleius says, 'Ægyptia numina fermè plangoribus, Græca plerumque choreis, gaudent.'

[2] Herodot. ii. 37, 104.

[3] Diodor. iii. 31, of the Troglodytæ.

[4] It is evident from an inspection of the monuments that the Egyptians were circumcised, and this explains why the phalli of their uncircumcised enemies were brought into the camp to verify the number of the slain. The rite of circumcision is represented on the bas-relief of the temple of Chons at Karnak, where a lad, supposed to be a son of Rameses II., and about ten or more years of age, is represented standing assisted by two matrons. (Chabas, 'Rev. Arch.,' 1861.) The rite probably arose from some physical defect, as in Europe individuals require to be circumcised for reasons not religious. In ancient times necessity was sanctioned by a religious observance. Ideas curious if not absurd prevail amongst all the African races.—S. B.

sought to study. But if the law did not peremptorily require it for every individual, custom and public opinion tended to make it universal. The omission was a 'reproach;' the uncircumcised Egyptian subjected himself to one of the stigmas attached to the 'impure race of foreigners;' and we may readily understand how anxious every one was to remove this 'reproach' from him, which even the Jews feared to hear from the mouth of an Egyptian.[1]

By the Jewish law a stated time[2] was appointed for it, which was the eighth day after the birth of the child. It was peremptorily required; and the divine displeasure was threatened to the uncircumcised. His 'soul' was doomed to be 'cut off' from God's people as the breaker of a covenant; and even the stranger bought with money as a slave was obliged to conform to this sacred rite.[3]

The antiquity of its institution in Egypt is fully established by the monuments of the Upper and Lower Country, at a period long antecedent to the Exodus and the arrival of Joseph; and Strabo tells us that 'a similar rite[4] was practised in Egypt[5] which was customary also among the Jews,'[6] and the same as adopted by the Moslems and Abyssinians at the present day.[7]

Some have supposed that it was done by the simple implement used by Zipporah,[8] 'a sharp stone,' and that certain stone knives found in the tombs of Thebes were intended for the purpose; but it is more probable that these were used in other rites connected with sacrifice, in which the employment of so rude an instrument would not subject the victim to unnecessary inconvenience, and often to unlooked-for results. We may conclude that the means adopted by the Egyptians were more nearly related to the 'sharp knives' of Joshua[9] than the primitive implement used by Zipporah in 'the wilderness.'

They were particular at all times to observe omens connected with everything they undertook, whether it related to contracting a matrimonial alliance, building a house, or any event over which they had or had not control. They even watched the day

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[1] Josh. v. 9: 'This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you.'

[2] Gen. xvii. 12. Luke ii. 21. Philip. iii. 5.

[3] Calmet, on the circumcision of Foreigners. He is wrong in supposing the Egyptians were contented with this; but it is sometimes practised by the Moslems, who also circumcise at any age. Of the Idumeans, see Josephus, Antiq. xiii. 9.

[4] τὰ θηλέα ἐκτεμνειν.

[5] Strabo, xvii. p. 556. The covenant with Abraham ordained that every *male child* should be circumcised. (Gen. xvii. 10.)

[6] Strabo, xvi. p. 524.

[7] This is described by Sonnini.

[8] Exod. iv. 25.

[9] Josh. v. 2.

when anyone was born;[1] and, predicting the lot that awaited him, they determined what he would become, the kind of death he would die, and other particulars relative to his fate in this world. With the same scrupulous care they examined the entrails of animals, or other omens, when about to commence a war, or any other undertaking which involved the interests of the State.[2]

Of the ceremonies performed at the initiation into the mysteries we must necessarily remain ignorant. Indeed, the only means of forming any opinion respecting them are to be derived from our imperfect acquaintance with those of Greece, which were doubtless imitative of the rites practised in Egypt.

With the Egyptians great care was taken to preserve them from the profanation which some secret rites underwent among the Greeks and Romans, and they excluded all persons who were considered unfit to participate in solemnities of so sacred a nature. And 'not only,' says Clemens, 'did they scruple to entrust their secrets to every one, and prevent all unholy persons from becoming acquainted with divine matters, but confined them to those who were invested with the office of king, and to such of the priesthood who, from their worth, learning, and station, were deemed worthy of so great a privilege.'

Many rites and ceremonies were borrowed by Greece from Egypt; of which the next in importance to the mysteries of Eleusis, and the institution of oracles, was the Thesmophoria—a festival in honour of Ceres, celebrated in many Greek cities, and particularly at Athens. 'These rites,' says Herodotus,[3] 'were brought from Egypt into Greece by the daughters of Danaus, who taught them to the Pelasgic women; but in the course of time, the Dorians having driven out the ancient inhabitants of Peloponnesus, they fell into disuse, except amongst the Arcadians, who, having remained in the country, continued to preserve them.' He states that they resembled the ceremonies, or, as the Egyptians called them, the mysteries, performed on the sacred lake of Saïs, in allusion to the accidents which had befallen Osiris, whose tomb was in that city.

In Athens the worshippers at the Thesmophoria 'were free-

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[1] Herodot. ii. 82.

[2] The existence of omens is proved by the expression in the calendar of the Papyrus Sallier, of the age of Meneptah, 'Do not look at a rat on that day.' (Chabas, 'Le Calendrier,' p. 69.)—S. B.

[3] Herodot. ii. 171. Such appears to be the meaning of the historian.

born women,[1] it being unlawful for any of servile condition to be present, whose husbands defrayed the charges of the solemnity, which they were obliged to do if their wives' portion amounted to three talents. These women were assisted by a priest called *Stephanophoros*, because his head was adorned with a crown whilst he executed his office; as also by certain virgins, who were strictly confined, and kept under severe discipline, being maintained at the public charge in a place called *Thesmophoreion*. The women were clad in white apparel, to intimate their spotless innocence, and were obliged to observe the strictest chastity for two or three days before and during the whole time of the solemnity, which lasted four days. For which end they used to strew upon their beds such herbs as were thought to calm the passions, such as *Agnus castus*, fleabane, and vine-branches.[2] It was held unlawful to eat pomegranates, or to adorn themselves with garlands. Everything was carried on with the greatest appearance of seriousness and gravity, and nothing was tolerated that bore the least show of wantonness and immodesty, or even of mirth, the custom of jesting upon one another excepted, which was constantly done in memory of Iambe, who by a taunting jest extorted a smile from Ceres when in a pensive and melancholy humour. Three days at least were spent in making preparations for the festival. Upon the 11th of Pyanepsion, the women, carrying books containing the laws upon their heads, in memory of Ceres' invention,[3] went to Eleusis, where the solemnity was kept. This day was hence called *Anodos*, "the ascent." Upon the 14th the festival began, and lasted till the 17th. Upon the 16th they kept a fast, sitting upon the ground, in token of humiliation; whence the day was called *Nêsteia*, "the fast."

'It was usual at this solemnity to pray to Ceres, Proserpine, Pluto, and Calligenia; though some will have this Calligenia to have been the nurse of Ceres, others her priestess, others her waiting-maid, and some suppose her the same as Ceres.[4] The custom was omitted by the Eretrians alone of all the Grecians. There was also a mysterious sacrifice called *Diôgma*, or *Apodiôgma*, either because all men were excluded and *banished* from it, or because in a dangerous war the women's prayers were so prevalent

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[1] Potter, 'Antiq.,' vol. i. p. 463.

[2] These last were used by the Milesian women.

[3] Diod. i. 14, where Ceres was called Thesmophoros.

[4] This is refuted by the testimony of Aristophanes. (Potter, p. 464.)

with the gods, that their enemies were defeated and put to flight as far as Chalcis; whence it was sometimes called *Chalcidicon diógma*. Another sacrifice, called *Zémia*, "the mulct," was offered as an expiation of any irregularities which happened during the solemnity. At the beginning of the festival all prisoners committed to gaol for smaller faults—that is, such as did not render them incapable of communicating in the sacrifices and other parts of divine worship—were released.'

The Eleusinian mysteries, the most noted solemnity of any in Greece, were also instituted in honour of Ceres; and from their being derived from Egypt, it may not be foreign to the present subject to introduce some account of their mode of celebration in Greece.[1] 'They were often called by way of eminence, *Mystêria*, "the mysteries," without any other note of distinction; and so superstitiously careful were they to conceal these sacred rites, that if any person divulged any part of them,[2] he was thought to have called down the divine judgment upon his head, and it was accounted unsafe to abide in the same house with him. He was even apprehended as a public offender, and put to death. Everything contained a mystery: Ceres herself (to whom, with her daughter Proserpine, this solemnity was sacred) was not called by her own name, but by the unusual title of *Achtheia*, which seems to be derived from *Achthos*, grief or heaviness, because of her sorrow for the loss of her daughter when stolen by Pluto. The same secrecy was strictly enjoined not only in Attica, but in all other places of Greece where the festival was observed, except Crete; and if any person, not lawfully initiated, did even through ignorance or mistake chance to be present at the mysterious rites, he forfeited his life. . . . Persons of both sexes and all ages were initiated. Indeed, it was not a matter of indifference whether they would be so or not; for the neglect of it was looked upon as a crime, insomuch that it was one part of the accusation for which Socrates was condemned to death. All persons initiated were thought to live in a state of greater happiness and security than other men, being under the more immediate care and protection of the goddess. Nor did the benefit of it extend only to this life: even after death they enjoyed (as was believed) far greater degrees of felicity than others, and were honoured with the first places in the Elysian shades. But since the benefits of initiation were so great, no

[1] Potter, 'Antiq.,' vol. i. p. 449. [2] Cf. Herodot. ii. 171. Hor. Od. iii. 2, 26.

wonder they were very cautious what persons they admitted to it. Such, therefore, as were convicted of witchcraft, or any other heinous crime, or had committed murder, though against their will, were debarred from these mysteries; and though in later ages all persons, barbarians excepted, were admitted to them, yet in the primitive times the Athenians excluded all strangers, that is, all who were not members of their own commonwealth. Hence, when Hercules, Castor, and Pollux desired to be initiated, they were first made citizens of Athens.[1] Nor were they admitted to the *greater mysteries*, but only to the *less*, which were sacred to Proserpine, and were instituted for this purpose, in order that the laws might not be violated by the admission of Hercules.' They were not celebrated, like the former, in the month Boëdromion, at Eleusis, an Attic borough, from which Ceres was called Eleusinia, but at Agræ, a place near the river Ilissus, in the month Anthesterion. 'In later times, the lesser festival was used as a preparative to the greater; for no persons were initiated in the greater unless they had been purified at the lesser. The manner of the purification was this:—Having kept themselves chaste and unpolluted nine days, they came and offered sacrifices and prayers, wearing crowns and garlands of flowers, which were called *ismera*, or *imera*. They had also, under their feet, *Dios kôdion*, "Jupiter's skin," which was the skin of a victim offered to that god. The person that assisted them herein was called *hydranos*, from *hydôr*, "water," which was used at most purifications; and they themselves were named *mystai*, or persons "initiated."

'About a year after, having sacrificed a sow to Ceres, they were admitted to the greater mysteries, the secret rites of which, some few excepted being reserved for the priests alone, were frankly revealed to them; whence they were called *ephoroi*, and *epoptai*, "inspectors." The manner of initiation was thus:—The candidates, being crowned with myrtle, had admittance by night into a place called *mystikos sêkos*, "the mystical temple," which was an edifice so vast and capacious that the most ample theatre did scarce exceed it. At their entrance they purified themselves by washing their hands in holy water, and at the same time were admonished to present themselves with minds pure and undefiled, without which the external cleanness of the body would by no means be accepted. After this the holy mysteries

[1] Plut. in Thes.

were read to them out of a book called *petrôma;* which word is derived from *petra*, "a stone," because the book consisted of two stones fitly cemented together. Then the priest who initiated them, called *hierophantês*, proposed certain questions, as whether they were fasting, &c., to which they returned answers in a set form.[1] This done, strange and amazing objects presented themselves. Sometimes the place they were in seemed to shake round them; sometimes it appeared bright and resplendent with light and radiant fire, and then again was covered with black darkness. Sometimes thunder and lightning, sometimes frightful noises and bellowings, sometimes terrible apparitions astonished the trembling spectators. The being present at these sights was called *autopsia*, "intuition."[2] After this they were dismissed with these words, *konx ompax*.'[3]

During that part of the ceremony called *epopteia*, 'inspection,' the gods themselves were supposed to appear to the initiated; and it was in order to discover if the candidates were sufficiently prepared for such a mark of their favour that these terrific preludes were instituted. Proclus thus describes them in his Commentary on Plato's Republic: 'In all initiations and mysteries the gods exhibit themselves under many forms, and appear in a variety of shapes. Sometimes their unfigured light is held forth to the view; sometimes this light appears under a human form, and it sometimes assumes a different shape.' In his Commentary on the first Alcibiades he also says: 'In the most holy of the mysteries, before the god appears, the impulsions of certain terrestrial dæmons become visible, alluring the initiated from undefiled goods to matter.'

Apuleius[4] mentions the same extraordinary illusions, 'The sun being made to appear at midnight, glittering with white light;' and it is supposed that Ezekiel alludes to similar scenes when speaking of the abominations committed by the idolatrous 'ancients of the house of Israel in the dark, every man in the *chambers of his imagery*.'[5]

The preliminary ordeals through which candidates were obliged to pass previous to admission into the Egyptian mysteries were equally if not more severe; and it frequently happened that their lives were exposed to great danger, as is said to have been the case with Pythagoras. But the reluctance

[1] Meursius's treatise on this festival.
[2] Rather, 'inspection by oneself.'
[3] Some have supposed these words to answer to the 'Procul, O procul este *profani*,' and to have that meaning in Sanscrit. If so, they were misapplied.
[4] Metam. lib. ii. 256.
[5] Ezek. viii. 12.

of the Egyptians, particularly in the time of the Pharaohs, to admit strangers to these holy secrets probably rendered his trial more severe even than that to which the Egyptians themselves were subjected; and it appears that, notwithstanding the earnest request made by Polycrates to Amasis to obtain this favour for the philosopher, many difficulties were thrown in the way by the priests on his arrival in Egypt. Those of Heliopolis,[1] to whom he first presented the letters given him by Amasis, referred him to the college of Memphis, under the pretext of their seniority; and these again, on the same plea, recommended him to the priests of Thebes. Respect for the king forbade them to give a direct refusal; but they hoped, says Porphyry, to alarm him by representing the arduous task he had to perform, and the repugnance of the previous ceremonies to the feelings of the Greeks. It was not, therefore, without surprise that they beheld his willingness to submit to the trials they proposed; for though many foreigners were, in after-times, admitted to the mysteries of Egypt, few had then obtained the indulgence, except Thales and Eumolpus. This prejudice of the Egyptians against the Greeks is perfectly consistent with the statement of Herodotus, and is shown by other writers to have continued even after the accession of the Ptolemies and the Roman conquest.

'The garments[2] of those initiated into the Eleusinian mysteries were accounted sacred, and of no less efficacy to avert evils than charms and incantations. They were therefore never cast off till completely worn out. Nor was it then usual to throw them away, but they were made into swaddling clothes for children, or consecrated to Ceres and Proserpine.

'The chief person who attended at the initiation was called *hierophantês*, "the revealer of holy things." He was a citizen of Athens, and held his office during life; though amongst the Celeans and Phliasians it was customary for him to resign his place every fourth year, at the time of the festival. He was obliged to devote himself wholly to divine service, and to live a chaste and simple life; to which end it was usual for him to anoint himself with the juice of hemlock, which by its extreme coldness is said to extinguish in a great measure the natural heat. The *hierophantês* had three assistants; the first of whom was called, from his office, *dadouchos*, "torch-bearer,"[3] and to

[1] Porphyr. de Vitâ Pythag.

[2] Potter, 'Antiq.' vol. i. p. 452.

[3] An inscription on one of the tombs of the kings at Thebes was written by a δαδούχος τῶν ἁλιωτάτων Ἐλευσίνων μυστηρίων, in the time of Constantine. This was about sixty years before those mysteries were abolished by Theodosius.

him it was permitted to marry; the second was the *kêryx*, or "herald;" the third ministered "at the altar," and was for that reason named *ho epi tôi bômôi*. The *hierophantês* is said to have been a type of the great Creator of all things, the *dadouchos* of the sun, the *kêryx* of Mercury, and *ho epi tôi bômôi* of the moon.

'There were also certain public officers whose business it was to take care that all things were performed according to custom. First, *basileus*, "the king," who was one of the Archons, and was obliged at this solemnity to offer prayers and sacrifices, to see that no irregularity was committed, and the day following the mysteries to assemble the senate to take cognizance of all the offenders. Besides the king were four *epimelêtai*, "curators," elected by the people; one of whom was appointed out of the sacred family of the Eumolpidæ, another out of the Ceryces, and the remaining two from the other citizens. There were also ten persons who assisted at this and some other solemnities, who were called *hieropoioi*, because it was their business to *offer sacrifices*.

'This festival was celebrated in the month Boëdromion, and continued nine days, beginning upon the fifteenth and ending upon the twenty-third day of that month, during which time it was unlawful to arrest any man, or present a petition, under a penalty of 1000 drachms, or (as others report) under pain of death. It was also unlawful for those who were initiated to sit upon the covering of a well, or to eat beans, mullets, or weasels. If any woman went in a chariot to Eleusis, she was, by an edict of Lycurgus, obliged to pay 6000 drachms; the design of which was to prevent the richer women distinguishing themselves from those who were poor.

'1. The first day was called *Agyrmos*, "assembly," because then the worshippers first met together.

'2. The second was named *Alade Mystai*, that is, "to the sea, you that are initiated," because (I suppose) they were commanded to purify themselves by washing in the sea.

'3. Upon the third they offered sacrifices, consisting chiefly of an Æxonian mullet, in Greek *triglê*,[1] and barley out of Rharium, a field of Eleusis in which that sort of corn was first sown. These oblations were called *thya*, and accounted so sacred that the priests themselves were not allowed (as in other offerings) to partake of them.

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[1] The Triglia of the modern Italians.

'4. Upon the fourth they made a solemn procession, wherein the *kalathion*, or holy *basket* of Ceres, was carried in a consecrated cart; crowds of people shouting as they went along, *Chaire Dêmêtêr*, "Hail, Ceres." After these followed certain women, called *kistophoroi*, who (as the name implies) *carried baskets*, containing sesamun, carded wool, some grains of salt, a serpent, pomegranates, reeds, ivy-boughs, a sort of cake called *phthois*, poppies, and other things.

'5. The fifth was called *Hê tôn lampadôn hêmera*, "the torch day," because at night the men and women ran about with torches in their hands. It was also customary to dedicate torches to Ceres, and to contend who should present the largest; which was done in memory of Ceres' journey when she sought Proserpine, being conducted by the light of a torch kindled in the flames of Etna.

'6. The sixth was called *Iakchos*, from Iacchus, the son of Jupiter and Ceres, who accompanied the goddess in her search for Proserpine with a torch in her hand; whence it was that his statue held a torch. This statue was carried from the Ceramicus to Eleusis in solemn procession, called after the hero's name *Iakchos*. The statue and the persons that accompanied it had their heads crowned with myrtle. They were named *Iakchagôgoi*, and all the way danced and sang and beat brazen kettles. The road by which they issued out of the city was called *hiera hodos*, "the sacred way"—the resting-place, *hiera sykê*, from a *fig-tree* which grew there, and was (like all other things concerned in this ceremony) accounted sacred. It was also customary to rest upon a bridge built over the river Cephissus, where they made themselves merry by jesting on those who passed by. Having crossed this bridge, they went to Eleusis, the way into which was called the mystical entrance.

'7. Upon the seventh day were sports, in which the victors were rewarded with a measure of barley, that grain being the first sown in Eleusis.

'8. The eighth was called "the Epidaurian day," because it once happened that Æsculapius, coming from Epidaurus to Athens, and desiring to be initiated, had the lesser mysteries repeated. Whence it became customary to celebrate them a second time upon this day, and to admit to initiation such persons as had not before enjoyed that privilege.

'9. The ninth and last day of the festival was called "the earthen vessels," because it was usual to fill two such vessels with

wine, one of which was placed towards the east, and the other towards the west. These, after the repetition of certain mystical words, were both thrown down, and the wine being spilt upon the ground, was offered as a libation.'[1]

During 'the feasts and festivals,' the statues of the gods were dressed in 'the sacred vestments;'[2] and the priests ministered to them 'three times' in the course of the day, according to certain regulations 'ordained by law.'[3] The ceremony of clothing them was the peculiar office of a class of priests called Hierostoli by Greek writers, who had the privilege of entering the sanctuary for this purpose, like the chief priests and prophets. Each deity had its particular emblems, and a proper dress, of a form and character prescribed in the sacred books. Thus the vestments of Osiris were of a uniform shadowless white, as we learn from Plutarch and the sculptures of the temples; those of Isis were dyed with a variety of colours, and frequently imitated the complicated hue and arrangement of feather work, as if she were enveloped in the wings of the sacred vulture.[4] 'For,' says the same author,[5] 'as Osiris is the First Principle, prior to all beings, and purely intelligent, he must ever remain unmixed and undefiled; consequently, when his vestments are once taken off his statues, they are ever afterwards put by, and carefully preserved untouched; while those of Isis, whose power is totally conversant about matter, which becomes and admits all things, are frequently made use of, and that too without the same scrupulous attention.' This ceremony of dressing the statues is still retained in the religious rites of some people at the present day, who clothe the images of gods or saints on particular festivals, and carry them in procession, like

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[1] That many of the Egyptian doctrines were mysteries, is evident from the rubrics of certain chapters, in which it is stated that the thing affirmed was the greatest of mysteries, and also that the deceased *knew* certain things necessary to his passage in the future state, as the mystical names of the bark of Acheron, those of the door and its parts of the Hall of the Two Truths, and the appellations of certain deities. According to Clemens, the knowledge of mysteries was kept by the priests. It is not improbable that they were communicated by certain secret rites and ceremonies, to which the word mystery may be applied. One of the initiations was no doubt seeing the figure of the god, as the Ethiopian monarch Pianchi did at Heliopolis. An inscription of a high priest at Memphis states that he knew the arrangements of earth and those of Heliopolis and Memphis, that he had penetrated the mysteries of every sanctuary, that nothing was concealed from him, that he adored God and glorified Him in all His works, and that he hid in his breast all that he had seen.—S. B.

[2] Jerem. x. 9; and Baruch vi. 15, 58, 72, where also the custom of gilding the wooden idols of Babylon is mentioned (v. 8, 39, &c.), and of making 'crowns for the heads of their gods' (v. 9), and 'lighting them candles' (v. 19).

[3] Rosetta Stone, lines 7 and 40.

[4] Like the figure of Mut, in woodcut No. 505.

[5] Plut. de Isid. s. 78.

the ancient Egyptians and Greeks. Nor can the custom of putting the *kisweh*, or sacred covering, upon the tomb of a Moslem sheikh fail to remind us of the *hieros kosmos* (holy ornament or covering) of antiquity; as the 'crowning the tomb of Osiris with flowers,'[1] which was done on stated occasions by the priests of that deity at Philæ, recalls that of carrying flowers and palm-branches to the grave of a departed friend in the cemeteries of modern Egypt. The same was done to individuals as well as in honour of Osiris, and sarcophagi are frequently found in the tombs of Thebes with flowers and garlands placed in or near them, either by the priests, or the relations of the deceased who attended at the funeral.

In the time of the Ptolemies the religious societies[2] were obliged to perform an annual voyage to Alexandria, the royal residence at that period, to present themselves at the palace. This was doubtless in conformity with a custom established in the olden times of the Pharaohs, when the seat of government was at Thebes or Memphis; and it continued to be observed until dispensed with by Epiphanes.

Besides the feasts and ceremonies of public rejoicing or of general abstinence, many fasts were enjoined on each individual, either as occasional voluntary expiations of secret offences which were dependent upon their own conscience, or in compliance with certain regulations at fixed periods. They were then required to abstain from the enjoyment of luxuries, as of the bath, the table, and perfumes, and, above all, from the gratification of the passions. Some of these, as Apuleius[3] informs us, lasted ten days, during which time the latter prohibition[4] was strictly enforced—a measure which appears in Italy to have called forth great complaints from the votaries of Isis, when her worship was established in that country. [It is doubtful if fasting, as a sacred rite, was practised by the Egyptians. Some have thought it alluded to in the negative confession of the Ritual.—S. B.] It is to this Propertius[5] alludes.

In the time of the Greeks and Romans they had some fêtes of a wanton character, in which the object was to seek amusement and indulgences of every kind; but it does not appear whether they were instituted in early times, or were a Greek innovation. Strabo mentions one of these, 'during which a

[1] Plut. de Isid. s. 21.
[2] Rosetta Stone, line 17.
[3] Metam. ii. p. 1000.
[4] Juven. Sat. vi. 535.
[5] Propert. lib. ii. Eleg. 33, lines 1 and 15. Ovid. Amor. iii. 10, 1.

dense crowd of people hurried down the canal from Alexandria to Canopus to join the festive meeting. Day and night it was covered with boats bringing men and women, singing and dancing with the greatest licentiousness; and at Canopus itself inns were opened upon the canal purposely for the convenience of indulging in these amusements.'[1]

Athenæus mentions a grand procession in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, the splendour of which was surprising. The most rare and curious animals from all countries were conducted in it, and the statues of the gods, as well as everything which could give dignity and interest to the spectacle, were brought together on the occasion. There is reason to suppose that it resembled in many respects similar pomps of the early Pharaohs; I therefore refer the curious reader to the full account of it in the work of that author.[2]

I have already mentioned, in a preceding chapter, the nature of sacrifices offered in early ages, and have shown at how remote an era the mode of addressing prayers to the deity, the adoption of the peculiar forms and attributes of the gods, the establishment of oracles, and other matters connected with religion, were introduced among the Egyptians. If at the earliest periods of their history they were contented with herbs and incense, they afterwards admitted animals[3] into their sacrifices, and victims were bound and slain on the altar, and either offered entire or divided into portions before the statue of the god, together with cakes, fruit, and other offerings prescribed by law. To some deities oblations of a peculiar kind were made, being deemed more particularly suited to their worship; and some festivals required an observance on this head which differed greatly from ordinary custom, as the burning of the body of the victim at the fête of Isis[4] and the offering of a pig at the festivals of Bacchus[5] and the moon. For though many ceremonies, as the libations of wine, and certain formulæ, were common to all or most of the Egyptian sacrifices, the inspection of entrails and the manner of burning the victims required a particular method in the rites of some deities,[6] and peculiar offerings were reserved for remarkable occasions.

Incense [called *sen neter*, 'divine incense' or 'frankincense']

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[1] Strabo, xxii. p. 551.

[2] Athen. Deipn. v. p. 196, *et seq.*

[3] See Pausanias (lib. i. c. 24) on the remains of a prejudice against slaughtering oxen; and Varro, de Re Rustica, ii. 5.

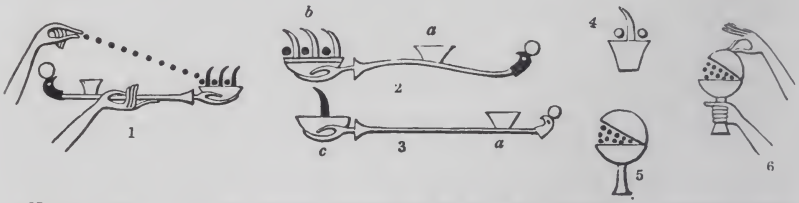
[4] Herodot. ii. 40.

[5] Ibid. ii. 48.

[6] Ibid. ii. 39.

was offered to all the gods, and introduced on every grand occasion whenever a *complete* offering was made: for the Egyptians, like the Jews and other people, frequently presented a simple oblation of wine, oil, or other liquid, or any single gift, as a necklace, a bouquet of flowers, ointment, or whatever they had vowed, or the occasion required.

Incense was sometimes presented alone, though more usually accompanied by a libation of wine. It consisted of various qualities or ingredients, according to circumstances, as I have stated in the offerings made to the sun,[1] when resin, myrrh, and *kuphi* were adapted to different times of the day. Myrrh, says Plutarch, is supposed to be called *Bal*[2] by the Egyptians, signifying the dissipation of melancholy; and the 'Kuphi is a mixture composed of the sixteen following ingredients: honey, wine, raisins, cyprus, resin, myrrh, aspalathus, seselis, sthœnanthus, asphaltus, saffron, and dock,[3] the greater and lesser juniper, cardamums, and aromatic reed.'



No. 599. *Fig.* 1. Throwing the balls of incense into the fire. 2, 3. Censers. *a*, *a*. Cups for holding the incense balls. *b*, *c*. The cup in which was the fire. In *b* are three flames of fire, in *c* only one. 4. A censer without a handle. 5, 6. Other censers, with incense balls or pastilles within. These last two are from the tombs near the Pyramids.

Some resinous substances have been found in the tombs at Thebes, but it does not appear if they were used for incense, or other purposes; and one of those brought to England by Lord Claud Hamilton is probably mastic, used by women in the East at the present day, and probably also in former times, to sweeten their breath.[4] According to the chemical examination made of it by Ure, 'it has a specific gravity of 1·067, and dissolves both in alcohol and oil of turpentine, which circumstance, with its topaz yellow colour,' leads him 'to believe it to be mastic,' a gum resin that exudes from the Lentiscus, well known to be

[1] Plut. de Isid. ss. 52, 80.

[2] *Bal* signifies 'the eye,' or 'the end,' in Coptic; ⲂⲀⲖ is 'myrrh.'

[3] The Greek name is λάπαθος. Democrates substitutes for 'seselis, asphaltus, saffron, θρύον, and *lapathus*,' 'bdellium, spikenard, crocus and cassia,' and for 'cardamum,' 'cinnamon.' (Squire, translation of Plutarch, de Isid. s. 81.)

[4] In the medical papyrus Ebers is a receipt for pastilles for the breath.—S. B.

common in the island of Scio. The other is thus described by Dr. Ure: 'It has a ruby red colour and the remarkable density of 1·204, being much more than any resinous substance known at the present day. It intumesces when heated over a lamp, and burns much like amber. Like it, also, it affords a musky odour when heated with nitric acid. It dissolves in alcohol and wood spirit, in which respect it differs from amber. It is insoluble in oil of turpentine or caustic lye.'

The incense burnt in the temples before the altar was made into small balls, or pastilles,[1] which were thrown by the hand into the censer. The latter generally consisted of an open cup of bronze (sometimes two), holding the fire, supported by a long handle, whose opposite extremity was ornamented with the head

No. 600. Incense burnt at the festival of the inundation of the Nile.

of a hawk, surmounted by a disk representing the god Ra or the sun; and in the centre of this was another cup, from which the pastilles were taken with the finger and thumb to be thrown upon the fire. Sometimes the incense was burnt in a cup without the handle, and some censers appear to have been made with a cover, probably pierced with holes to allow the smoke to escape, like those now employed in the churches of Italy.

When a victim was sought for the altar, it was carefully examined by one of the *Sphragistai*,[2] an order of priests to whom this peculiar office belonged. According to Plutarch,[3] red oxen were alone selected for the purpose; 'and so scrupulous,' he adds,

[1] Called *tsa*.—S. B.

[2] Herodot. ii. 38. Plut. de Isid. s. 31.

[3] Plut. de Isid. s. 31.

were they on this point, that a single black or white hair rendered them unfit for sacrifice, in consequence of the notion that Typho was of that colour. For in their opinion sacrifices ought not to be made of such things as are in themselves agreeable to the gods, but rather of those creatures into which the souls of wicked men have been confined during the course of their transmigration.'

The same remark is made by Diodorus,[1] who not only states that it was lawful to offer red oxen, because Typho was supposed to be of that colour, but that red, or red-haired *men*, were formerly sacrificed by the Egyptian kings at the altar of Osiris. This story is repeated by Athenæus, and by Plutarch,[2] who states, on the authority of Manetho, that 'formerly in the city of Idithya[3] they were wont to burn even men alive, giving them the name of Typhos, and winnowing their ashes through a sieve to scatter and disperse them in the air, which human sacrifices were performed in public, at a stated season of the year, during dog-days.' But from its being directly contrary to the usages of the Egyptians, and totally inconsistent with the feelings of a civilised people, it is scarcely necessary to attempt a refutation of so improbable a tale; and Herodotus justly blames the Greeks[4] for supposing that 'a people to whom it was forbidden to sacrifice any animal except pigs, geese, oxen, and calves, and this only provided they were clean, should ever think of immolating a human being.'[5]

Some have felt disposed to believe that in the earliest times (to which indeed Manetho and Diodorus confine those sacrifices), and long before they had arrived at that state of civilisation in which they are represented by the Bible history and the monuments, the Egyptians may have been guilty of these cruel practices and have sacrificed their captives at the altars of the gods. The abolition of the custom was said to have taken place in the reign of Amosis,[6] and De Pauw, who is disposed to believe the statement, endeavours to excuse them by observing,[7] that 'the famous Act for burning heretics alive was only abrogated in England under the reign of Charles II.,' as though it were

[1] Diodor. i. 88.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 73. Athen. iv. p. 172.

[3] Eileithyia.

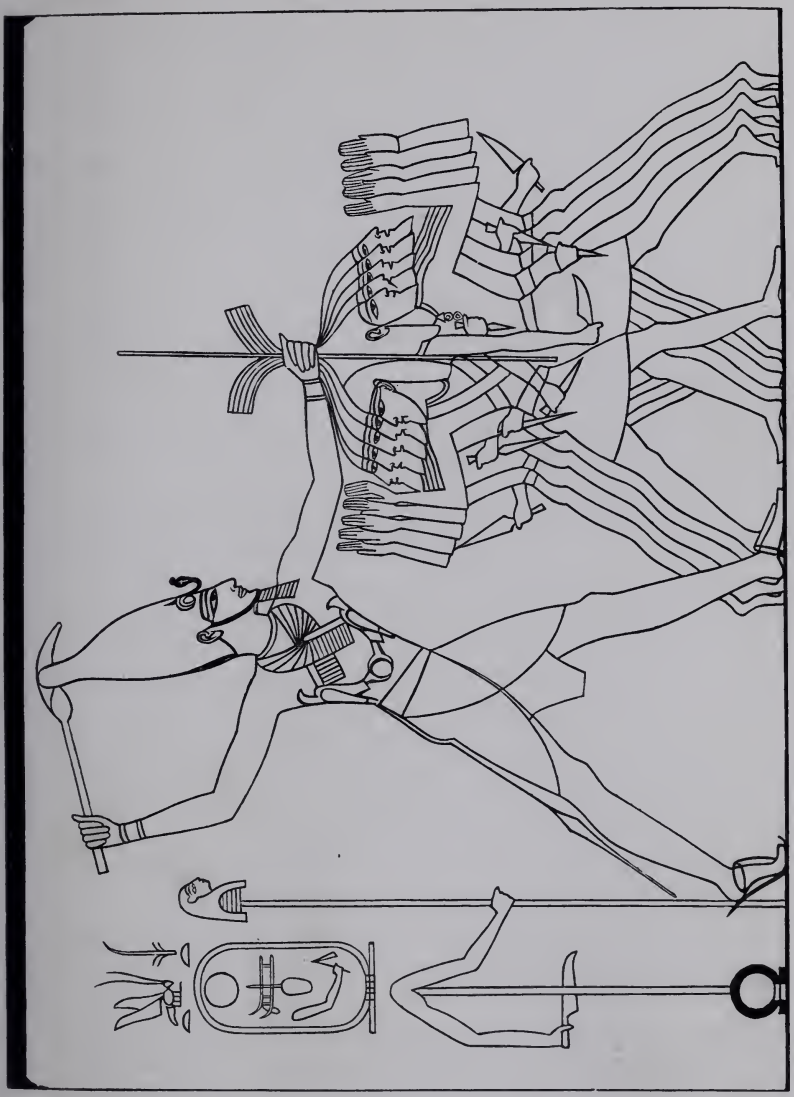
[4] It was a Greek custom in early times. *Twelve* Trojan captives were killed at the funeral of Patroclus: Homer's Iliad, Λ, 33. Menelaus was seized by the Egyptians for sacrificing young children in accordance with the Greek notion of appeasing the winds. (Herodot. ii. 119; and Virg. Æn. ii. 116.)

[5] Herodot. ii. 45.

[6] Certainly not the Amosis of the 18th Dynasty.

[7] 'Sur les Égyptiens et les Chinois,' vol. ii. p. 113.

analogous to a human sacrifice. Many even suppose the record of this ancient custom may be traced in the groups represented [1]



Tabarka, or Tirhakah, conquering the Assyrians.

No. 601.

on the façades of Egyptian temples, where the king occurs as if in the act of slaying his prisoners in the presence of the god.

[1] The men put to death in the ceremonies represented in the tombs of the kings appear to be either *Neophytes*, who were required to 'pass under the knife of the priest,' previous to initiation and a *new life*, or those condemned to a particular fate hereafter.

But a strong argument against this being commemorative of a human sacrifice is derived from the fact of the foreigners he holds in his hand not being bound, but with their hands free, and even holding their drawn swords, plainly showing that it refers to them in a state of war, not as captives. It is therefore an allegorical picture, illustrative of the power of the king in his contest with the enemies of his country.

Indeed, if from this anyone were disposed to infer the existence of such a custom in former times, he must admit that it was abandoned long before the erection of any existing monument,[1] consequently ages prior to the accession of the Amosis whose name occurs in the sculptures—long before the Egyptians are mentioned in sacred history, and long before they were that people we call Egyptians. For it is quite incompatible with the character of a nation whose artists thought acts of clemency towards a foe worthy of record, and whose laws were distinguished by that humanity which punished with death the murder even of a slave.

I have, therefore, no scruple in doubting this statement altogether, and in agreeing with the historian of Halicarnassus respecting the improbability of such a custom among a civilised people. And when we consider how solemnly the Moslems declare the pillar of clay, now left at the mouths of the canals when opened to receive the water of the inundation, to have been the substitute which the humanity of Amer adopted in lieu of the virgin annually sacrificed to the Nile at that season previous to the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs, we may learn how much reliance is to be placed on tradition, and what is stated to be *recorded* fact. For though Arab historians lived very near to the time when that sacrifice is said to have been abolished, though the pillar of earth is still retained to commemorate it, and though it bears the name of Haróoset e' Neel, 'the bride of the Nile'—all far stronger arguments than any brought forward respecting the human sacrifices of early Egypt—we are under the necessity of disbelieving the existence of such sacrifices in a *Christian* country, at the late period of

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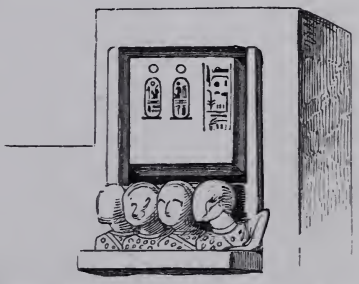
[1] The learned Prichard (p. 363) thinks that a subject described from the temple of Tentyra proves this custom to have existed in Egypt. But that temple is of late Ptolemaic and Roman date, and '*the figure of a man with the head and ears of an ass*, kneeling, and bound to a tree, with two knives stuck into his forehead, two in his shoulders, one in his thigh, and another in his body,' can scarcely be an argument in favour of a human sacrifice, unless *men of that description* were proved to have lived in those days.

A.D. 638, when the religion of Islam supplanted that of the Cross on the banks of the Nile.

That red-haired men were treated with great contempt by the Egyptians is perfectly true. But however much their prejudices were excited against them, it is too much to suppose they thought them unworthy to live; and they were probably contented to express their dislike to foreigners, who were noted for that peculiarity, by applying to them some reproachful name; as the Chinese contemptuously designate us 'red-haired barbarians.' 'In Egypt,' says Diodorus, 'few are found with red hair, among foreigners many.'[1] Such, indeed, was the prejudice against them, that 'they would not willingly converse with people of that complexion;'[2] and whenever they wished to show their contempt for a northern race, they represented them on their sandals, and in other humiliating positions, with red hair, and of a yellow colour. This contempt for strangers induced the Egyptian architects to introduce them supporting on their heads portions of buildings, as in the pavilion of King Rameses at Thebes, where they occupy the same uncomfortable positions generally given to men and monsters on our old churches. The idea of 'making his enemies his footstool' is also shown from the sculptures to have been common in Egypt, as in other Eastern countries.



Heads of foreigners which once supported part of the ornamental architecture at Medeenet Haboo in Thebes.

No. 602.

Enemies as the footstool of a king.

'All countries and lands under thy sandals.'

No. 603. *Thebes.*

The sacrifice of red oxen cannot fail to call to mind the law of the Israelites, which commanded them to 'bring a red heifer without spot, wherein was no blemish, and upon which never came yoke.'[3] According to Maimonides, they were so particular in the choice of it, that 'if only two white or black hairs were found lying upon

[1] Diodor. i. 88. Plut. de Isid. s. 33. [3] Numb. xix. 2.

each other, the animal was considered unfit for sacrifice;'[1] and Herodotus[2] says, that if the Egyptians 'found a single black hair upon the ox they were examining for that purpose, they immediately rejected it as unclean.' 'They believe,' says the historian, 'that all clean oxen belong to Epaphus, and this is the reason they examine them with so much care. There is a particular priest for that office, who, when the animal is brought, examines it in every position, standing, and lying on its back; and having drawn out its tongue, he ascertains if it is free from certain marks described in the sacred books, which I shall mention elsewhere.[3] He even looks if the hairs of its tail are such as they ought to be naturally; and when all the requisite signs are found for pronouncing it clean, the priest marks it with his seal, after which it is taken to the altar; but it is forbidden under pain of death to slay a victim which has not this mark.'

His statement differs in some respects from that of Plutarch, nor does the historian consider the red colour necessary to render it fit for sacrifice. The principal point seems to be the absence of those marks which characterise Apis, or Epaphus, the sacred bull of Memphis; and the sculptures, as I shall presently show, abundantly prove that oxen with black and red spots were usually killed in Egypt, both for the altar and the table.

It was lawful to slay all oxen answering to a particular description in the sacred books; but the sacrifice of heifers was strictly forbidden, and in order to enforce this prohibition they were held sacred.[4] So great was their respect for this law, that the 'cow was esteemed more highly among the Egyptians than any other animal;'[5] and their consequent horror of those persons whose religion permitted them to slay and eat it was carried so far 'that no Egyptian of either sex could be induced to kiss a Greek on the mouth, to make use of his knife, his spit, or his cooking utensils, nor even to taste the meat of a clean beast which had been slaughtered by his hand.'

Aware of this prejudice, and of the consequent displeasure of the Egyptians in the event of their sacrificing a heifer,[6] the Israelites proposed to withdraw into the desert a distance of three days' journey, where they might perform the ceremony without openly offending against the laws of Egypt. And when told by Pharaoh 'to go and sacrifice,' the answer of Moses was,

[1] Maimon. in lib. de Vaccâ rufâ, c. i.
[2] Herodot. ii. 38.
[3] In lib. iii. 28.
[4] To Isis, or rather to Athor.
[5] Herodot. ii. 41.
[6] Exod. viii. 26.

'It is not meet so to do; for we shall sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians to the Lord our God: lo, shall we sacrifice the abomination of the Egyptians before their eyes, and will they not stone us? We will go three days' journey into the wilderness, and sacrifice to the Lord our God, as He shall command us.'[1]

It does not appear that in this instance they were ordered to offer a red heifer, as described in a subsequent ordinance;[2] and indeed victims of that peculiar description, according to Maimonides, were reserved for certain occasions, nine only having been sacrificed from the time of Moses to 'the desolation of the Second Temple.'[3] At other times the Israelites made no distinction between those of different colour, and their apprehensions from the anger of the Egyptians proceeded solely from their infringing a law which forbade the slaughter of any but male cattle. Though they were then[4] commanded to slay a heifer, it is evident that they too, on most occasions, were restricted to male victims,[5] a wise regulation for the preservation of the species, which the legislators of Eastern nations seldom overlooked. 'In Egypt and Palestine,' says St. Jerome,[6] 'in consequence of the great scarcity of cattle, no one eats the meat of cows;' and Porphyry[7] asserts that 'the scruples of the Egyptians and Phœnicians were so strong on this point, that they would rather have lived on the flesh of man than of the cow.' That the Egyptians abstained from the meat of heifers is attested by the authority of ancient authors and by the sculptures themselves; but we find from these last that the restriction to animals of a red colour, if really in force at any time, was not generally maintained either in sacrifices or when required for the table. A black and white ox is represented at the altars of several gods, even of Osiris himself; and the butcher or the cook is frequently engaged in slaughtering spotted oxen, and preparing them for the use of the family.

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[1] Exod. viii. 26, 27. [2] Numb. xix. 2.

[3] 'Nine red heifers,' says Maimonides, 'have been sacrificed between the original delivery of this precept and the desolation of the Second Temple. Our lord Moses sacrificed the first, Ezra offered the second, and seven more were offered up during the period which elapsed from the time of Ezra to the destruction of the Temple; the tenth King Messiah himself will sacrifice: by His speedy manifestation He will cause great joy.' (Maimon. de Vaccâ rufâ, c. 3.) I do not, however, suppose this to be taken literally, and we trace in it that reference to numbers so common in ancient times. [Maimonides, a great Jewish teacher, was born at Cordova in 1131 A.D., and died in Egypt at the age of seventy, equally esteemed by Jews and Christians.—G. W.]

[4] It was perhaps to break through and prevent their being hereafter influenced by this great Egyptian prejudice.

[5] Levit. i. 3: 'Let him offer a *male* without blemish,' *et alib.*

[6] Hieron. adv. Jovin. ii. 7.

[7] Porphyr. de Abstin. ii. 11. Herodot. ii. 41.

Nor did any colour exempt them from labour; and black, white, spotted, or red oxen were indiscriminately employed in the plough and 'all manner of service in the field.' It is therefore evident, that if any restriction respecting colour actually existed, it was only attended to on certain occasions, or at peculiar ceremonies in honour of some of the gods, and perhaps only when worshipped in a particular character. This is the more probable, as we find they did not scruple to offer a coloured victim before the altar of Osiris, to whom the red ox was said to be an offering peculiarly acceptable. Certain marks may have excluded an animal, and have rendered it unfit for the altar or the table, particularly if they bore any resemblance to those which characterised Apis; and some oxen may have been forbidden in consequence of their being thought to appertain to Mnevis, the sacred bull of Heliopolis.

It was, perhaps, on the occasion of sacrificing the red ox that the imprecations mentioned in Herodotus and Plutarch were uttered by the priest upon the head of the victim, which, as I have already observed, strongly reminds us of the scapegoat of the Jews;[1] and if so, this may serve to confirm my conjecture of that 'important ceremony being confined to certain occasions and to chosen animals, without extending to every victim which was slain.'

According to Herodotus, 'They took the ox destined for sacrifice to the altar; and having lighted a fire, they poured a libation of wine upon the table and about the prostrate animal, and invoking the deity slew it. They then cut off the head and removed the skin from the body, and, solemnly loading the former with imprecations, they prayed the gods to avert all the evils that might have happened to their country or themselves, and to make them fall on that head. After which they either sold it to foreigners or threw it into the Nile;[2] for no Egyptian would taste the head of any species of animal.'

But, as I have already shown, the Father of History is wrong in this assertion; the heads of ordinary victims being commonly offered on the altars of the gods, and even taken with other joints to the kitchen. The head may not have been a fashionable

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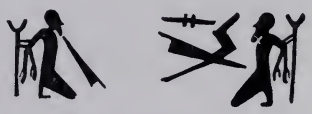
[1] Levit. xvi. 21.

[2] Herodot. ii. 39. Ælian says the Ombites gave the heads of their victims to the crocodiles. (De Nat. Animal. x. 21. Plut. de Isid. s. 31.) There was a ceremony practised by the Jews, in which the head of a heifer was cut off for the expiation of murder by an unknown hand, the elders of the vicinity washing their hands over the body. (Deut. xxi. 4, 6.)

dish at a Theban dinner; but this would not imply a prohibition; and it may be said that few people as refined as the Egyptians are in the habit of giving it a place at their table.

The ceremony of fixing upon a proper victim was probably very similar on all occasions. Herodotus and Plutarch state that it was done by a class of priests, called by the latter *sphragistæ*, 'sealers,' to whom this duty exclusively belonged.[1] After having examined the animal, and ascertained that its appearance accorded with the prescribed rules, the priest put on a mark as a token of its acceptance, which was done in the following manner. Having tied a band made of the stalk of the papyrus round its horns, he applied a piece of fine clay to the knot, and stamped it with his seal, after which an inferior functionary conducted it to the altar. Herodotus fails to inform us respecting the nature of this seal;[2] but Plutarch, on the authority of Castor, says 'it bore the figure of a man on his knees, with his hands tied behind him, and a sword pointed at his throat.'

This figuratively symbolic group I have met with more than once in the hieroglyphics of sculptures relating to the sacrifice of victims. The characters which refer to or explain similar ceremonies in the temples are generally phonetic, as in the commencement of the accompanying hieroglyphics, where the word *smau*, signifying to 'slay,' accords with the demonstrative sign following it, and recalls the Hebrew word *shah-gat*,[3] 'to kill,' which it so closely resembles. But no oxen represented in the sculptures as victims about to be slaughtered have yet been found bearing this device, though they frequently occur decked with flowers for the occasion.



Seal of the priests, signifying that the victim might be slaughtered. Determinative of the word *smau*, 'to kill.' No. 604.

The usual mode of slaying a victim was by cutting the throat, as was the commandment of Moses to the Israelites, probably from one ear to the other, which is the custom of the Moslems at the present day. The officiating priest generally placed his hand upon its head,[4] as he drew the knife across its throat; and if an ox or a goat, he held it by the horns, the feet having been previously tied together as it lay upon the ground. Birds were

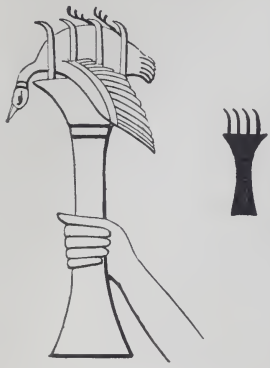
[1] Clemens says the stolistes was required to know the μοσχοσφραγιστικὰ, or those things relating to the rite of slaying victims. (Strom. vi. p. 196.)

[2] Of the seals of the Egyptians, *infrà*, chap. xvi.

[3] שָׁחַט.

[4] Levit. i. 4, iii. 8, &c.

either offered entire, or after their heads had been taken off, as was customary in the sacrifices of the Jews, who were commanded, if the offering was of fowls, 'to wring off the head,' and allow the blood to fall upon the ground at the side of the altar.[1] But this difference appears to exist between the rites of the Jews and Egyptians, that in the former the sacrifice of birds was confined to certain occasions,[2] and in the latter they were commonly deposited on the altar with oxen and other offerings. When presented alone they were sometimes placed upon a portable stand furnished with spikes,[3] over which the bird was laid; and the same mode of arranging the offerings was adopted on a larger scale upon the altars themselves, when filled with the profusion usually presented at the shrines of the gods. It is, however, proper to observe, that the Egyptian artists may have intended by this drawing to represent the burning of the offering, the apparent spikes being flames of fire, though the former is far more probable.



Stands for bearing offerings. No. 605.

Geese, the most favourite offering,[4] were generally trussed, but wading birds were frequently offered with their feathers unplucked—a peculiarity occasionally extended also to geese. Even oxen and other animals were sometimes offered entire, though generally after the head had been taken off; but it does not appear if this depended on any particular ceremony, or was confined to the rites of certain deities.

According to Porphyry, as quoted by Eusebius,[5] 'there were gods of the earth in the Greek mythology, and gods of the lower regions, to whom four-footed victims were offered; with this difference, that to the former they were presented on altars, but to the infernal gods in a hole made in the earth. To the gods of the air birds were offered, the bodies being burnt whole, and the blood sprinkled around the altar; as to the sea-gods likewise: but for these last the libation was thrown into the waves, and the birds were of a black colour.'[6] Sometimes fruit or flowers alone

[1] Levit. i. 15.

[2] Levit. v. 7, 8; xii. 6, 7; and xiv. 4, 49.

[3] The Greeks and Etruscans had a sort of patera furnished in like manner with spikes to hold offerings.

[4] Juv. Sat. vi. 540. The round thin cake *popanum* occurs on all altars.

[5] Euseb. Præp. Evang. i. 3.

[6] Hom. Od. Γ, 6.

were presented to certain deities, as to Pomona and others; and sometimes a hecatomb was offered on great occasions, as in a public calamity or rejoicing, and other events of importance, though not always confined to a hundred oxen, as the word implies, since the number might be made up with other animals.[1] Credulity has even tried to insist upon the story of Pythagoras offering a hecatomb on his demonstrating the 47th proposition of Euclid—a custom which, if still in vogue on that and similar occasions, would tend materially to increase the embarrassments of modern education.

The same marked difference does not appear to have existed in the sacrifices of an Egyptian temple, though peculiar forms as well as offerings were suited to some deities and at certain festivals. Even those presented at the same altar varied on particular occasions.

In slaying a victim, the Egyptians suffered the blood to flow upon the ground, or over the altar, if placed upon it; with the Jews it was either poured upon the ground, or purposely brought by the priest to be sprinkled over the horns and poured out at 'the bottom of the altar.'[2] The Egyptians were not so strict in regard to the use of the blood on ordinary occasions when animals were slaughtered for the table as the Jews and modern Moslems, to both of whom it is forbidden by the strictest ordinance of religion;[3] and we even find them represented in the kitchen catching the blood for the purposes of cooking.

The mode of cutting up the victim appears to have been the same as when it was killed for the table. The head was first taken off, and after the skin had been removed they generally cut off the right shoulder,[4] and the other legs and parts in succession; which, if required for the table, were placed on trays and carried to the kitchen, or if intended for sacrifice were deposited on the altar, with fruit, cakes, and other offerings.

With the Greeks the thigh[5] was the part selected as a chosen offering to the gods, which was burnt on a clear fire of wood. Apollonius Rhodius also states this;[6] and Lucian tells us that the

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[1] Hom. Od. A, 25.

[2] Levit. iv. 7, and viii. 15. The Moslems slay the animal over the altar-stone.

[3] Levit. xvii. 13: Whoever 'hunteth and catcheth any beast or fowl that may be eaten, he shall even pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust.' The Moslems generally attend to the custom of covering it with dust, and they are always scrupulous about its use.

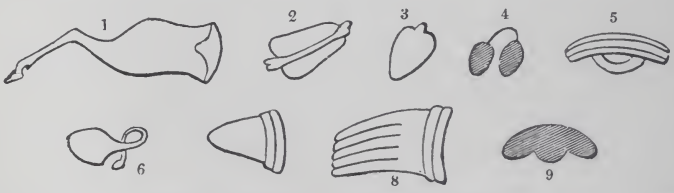
[4] Levit. viii. 25. It is supposed to have been styled CΔΠΤ, 'the chosen' part. Sometimes the left was the first taken off.

[5] Pausan. in Attic. and in Arcad.

[6] Apollon. Rhod. lib. i. 432.

sacrifices depended in some degree on the quality or employment of the person by whom they were presented, as in the first offering made by Cain and Abel. Thus, 'the tiller of the land immolated an ox, the shepherd a lamb, and the goatherd a goat. Some were permitted to present simple cakes or incense; and a poor man made his oblations by kissing his right hand.'

The joints and parts most readily distinguished in the sculptures are the legs, the hind-leg (*fig.* 1) with its thigh or upper joint (2), the kidneys (4), the ribs (5 and 8), the heart (3), the rump (6), the caul (7), and the liver (9); and those most commonly seen on the altars are the head, the hind-leg,[1] and the ribs. When the Egyptians offered a holocaust they commenced with a libation of wine,[2] a preliminary ceremony common, according to Herodotus, to all their sacrifices; and after it had been poured upon the altar, the victim was slain. They first removed the head and skin, a statement which, I have already shown, is fully confirmed



No. 606. Different joints placed on the altars or the tables. *Thebes.*

by the sculptures; they then took out the stomach, leaving only the entrails and the fat; after which the thighs, the upper part of the haunches, the shoulders, and the neck, were cut off in succession. Then, filling the body[3] with cakes of pure flour, honey, dried raisins, figs, incense, myrrh, and other odoriferous substances, they burnt it on the fire, pouring over it a considerable quantity of oil. The portions which were not consumed were afterwards given to the votaries who were present on the occasion, no part of the offering being left; and it was during the ceremony of burning the sacrifice at the fête of Isis that they beat themselves in honour of Osiris. Similar to this was the burnt offering[4] of the Jews; when 'the fat, and the rump, and all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the caul above

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[1] This in hieroglyphics signified 'power' or 'strength.'

[2] Herodot. ii. 39, 40.

[3] This mode of filling the body with raisins and other sweet things recalls a common dish of modern Egyptian and other Eastern tables; but they fortunately omit the myrrh and incense, which, however well adapted to the taste of the gods, would be by no means palatable to men.

[4] Levit. viii. 25–28

the liver, and the two kidneys, and their fat, and the *right* shoulder,' were taken together with 'one unleavened cake, a cake of oiled bread, and one wafer,' placed 'on the fat, and upon the right shoulder,' and burnt on the altar.

Herodotus[1] describes 'the sacrifice of a pig to the moon,' in which 'the end of the tail, the spleen, and the caul[2] were covered with all the fat "that was upon the inwards," and then burnt, the rest of the victim being eaten on the day of the full moon.' But this I have already noticed, as well as the difference observed in the manner of making offerings to some deities.[3]

Many of the religious rites of the Jews bear a striking resemblance to those of Egypt, particularly the manner in which the sacrifices were performed; it may therefore not be irrelevant to state the nature of some of the principal offerings mentioned in the Levitical law. Among the first were the holocaust or burnt offering, the meat offering, the sin and trespass offering, or sacrifice of expiation, and the peace offering, or sacrifice of thanksgiving.

1. The *holocaust* was ordered to be a bullock, a sheep, or a goat, a male without blemish;[4] and the person who offered it having brought it to the door of the tabernacle of the congregation, and having put his hand upon its head, it was accepted to make atonement for him. He then killed it; and the priests taking the blood, and sprinkling it upon the altar of meat offering, flayed the victim, and cut it into pieces. The head, with the fat and the other parts, were laid upon the wood of the fire which was kindled upon the altar, the legs and the inside of the body having been previously cleansed with water. The whole of it was consumed; and neither the priests nor the individual who presented it were permitted to reserve any portion of the sacrifice. Turtle-doves, or young pigeons, were also accepted as a burnt offering; and the priest having plucked the bird and wrung off its head, burnt it on the wood. The fire upon the altar was required to burn incessantly,[5] and the priest replenished it with wood every morning, the offering being laid in order thereon, and the fat of the peace offering being burnt upon it.

2. The *meat offering*[6] consisted of fine flour, with oil and

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[1] Herodot. ii. 47.
[2] Epiploon, or omentum.
[3] Herodot. ii. 39.
[4] Levit. i. 2, *et seq.*
[5] Levit. vi. 12, 13: 'The fire upon the altar . . . . shall not be put out.' 'The fire shall ever be burning upon the altar; it shall never go out.'
[6] Levit. ii. 1.

frankincense. The priest took a handful of the flour, and a portion of the oil, with all the frankincense, and burnt them on the altar, the remainder belonging to the priest who officiated on the occasion. This offering was also permitted to consist of unleavened cakes of fine flour mingled with oil, or of unleavened cakes anointed with oil, which might be baked either in the oven or the pan; and being cut into pieces, oil was poured upon them, and a portion was burnt on the altar by the priest, who reserved the remainder for himself. No honey or leaven was allowed, but an abundance of salt was required in every offering which was burnt. In *oblations* of firstfruits no portion was consumed by fire. But when a *meat offering* of corn was presented, the grain was beaten out of full and green ears and dried by the fire; and oil and frankincense being put upon it, part of the corn and oil, with the whole of the frankincense, were burnt as a token or 'memorial' of the sacrifice.

3. A *peace offering*[1] was from the herd, or from the sheep or goats, and might be either a male or female. It was killed in the same manner. In the *holocaust* all the fat that was upon the inwards, and the kidneys with their fat, and the caul above the liver, were burnt upon the altar; and it was particularly commanded that no one should eat either of the fat or the blood of any animal.

4. The *sin offering*[2] was intended for the expiation of sin unintentionally committed. If the priest who was anointed had offended, he was required to bring a young bullock, and having placed his hand as usual upon its head, to slay it, and to sprinkle the blood seven times before the veil of the sanctuary. He also put some of the blood on the horns of the altar of sweet incense which was in the tabernacle of the congregation, and poured all the remainder at the bottom of the altar of burnt offering which stood at the door of the tabernacle. Then taking off all the fat, with the caul and the kidneys, as in the peace offering, he burnt them upon the altar of burnt offering; and the skin, with the flesh and head, the legs, and all the remainder of the bullock, were carried out of the camp into a clean place, where the ashes were poured out, and the whole was burnt. If all the people had offended, the elders placed their hands upon the head of the victim, and the rest of the ceremony was performed in the same manner as in the peace offering; but if a ruler, he offered a male

[1] Levit. iii. 1, *et seq.* [2] Levit. iv. 1, *et seq.*

kid, and every other individual a female of the flock, either of sheep or goats.[1]

5. The *trespass offering*[2] was regulated by the same law as the last.[3] If anyone touched an unclean thing, or pronounced an oath, he was required to offer a lamb or a kid; or if his means were limited, a pair of turtle-doves, or two young pigeons, one for a sin offering, the other for a burnt offering; or at least the tenth part of an ephah of fine flour for a sin offering, but without any oil or frankincense. If anyone offended through ignorance[4] in the holy things, he was commanded to bring a ram, estimated by shekels of silver after the shekel of the sanctuary, for a trespass offering; and to make amends for the offence, and to 'add the fifth part thereto, and give it to the priest,' who made atonement for him with the ram.

6. The *peace offering* was a voluntary return of thanks for benefits received, a solicitation of favours, or solely a token of devotion; and it depended on the will of the individual by whom it was presented. The victim might be either a male or female, and the law only required that it should be without blemish. There were some other sacrifices very similar to those already mentioned—as of the high priests, which consisted of a young calf for a sin offering, and a ram for a burnt offering; the perpetual sacrifice,[5] a daily offering of two lambs on the altar of burnt offerings, one in the morning, the other in the evening; and some others, which it is unnecessary to enumerate. There were also five sorts of offerings, called *Mincha*, or *Korban Mincha:*[6] 1, fine flour or meal; 2, cakes of various kinds, baked in the oven; 3, cakes baked on a griddle or plate; 4, cakes baked on a plate pierced with holes; 5, first-fruits of new corn, offered either pure and unmixed, roasted or parched, in the ear or out of the ear: but these have been already mentioned, as well as the offerings of bread, salt, fruits, wine, oil, honey, and other things included under the name of *Mincha*.

I have also noticed the primitive nature of sacrifices, the probable worship of the Egyptians in their infancy as a nation, their early introduction of oracles, and the rites practised on certain occasions.

The most usual offerings mentioned in the sculptures, besides

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[1] Levit. iv. 28 and 32. [2] Levit. v. 7, *et seq.* [3] Levit. vii. 7. [4] Levit. v. 15.
[5] Exod. xxix. 38. Numb. xxviii. 3. [6] Levit. ii. 1.

the sacrifices of animals and birds, are wine, oil, beer,[1] milk, cakes, grain, ointment, flowers, fruit, vegetables, and various productions of the soil, which answered in some degree to the Mincha of the Jews. They are not only introduced upon the altars themselves, but are enumerated in lists or catalogues sculptured in the temples and tombs, some of which specify the day and month on which they were dedicated to the deity.

The ordinary subjects in the interior of the temples represent the king presenting offerings to the deities worshipped there; the most remarkable of which are the sacrifices already mentioned, incense, libation, and several emblematic figures or devices connected with religion. He sometimes made an appropriate offering to the presiding deity of the sanctuary, and to each of the contemplar gods, as Diodorus[2] says Osymandyas was represented to have done; the memorial of which act of piety was preserved in the sculptures of his tomb. The historian's words are, 'Contiguous to the library stand the images of *all* the gods of Egypt, to each of whom the king presents a suitable offering, in order to show to Osiris and the Assessors seated below him that his life had been spent in piety and justice towards gods and men.' We are not, however, to suppose that every deity of the country was there introduced; but those only who held a place among the contemplar gods worshipped in the city, as was the custom in all the temples and sacred monuments of Egypt. And though the statues he mentions no longer remain, there is reason to believe that the list of offerings is still preserved in the innermost remaining chamber of the Rameseum or Memnonium, which, as I have had occasion to observe, has every appearance of being the monument alluded to by Diodorus.

In offering incense, the king held in one hand the censer, and with the other threw balls or pastilles of incense into the flame. Then, addressing the god before whose statue he stood with a suitable prayer to invoke his aid and favour, he begged him to accept the incense he presented, in return for which the deity granted him 'a long, pure, and happy life,' with other favours accorded by the gods to men.

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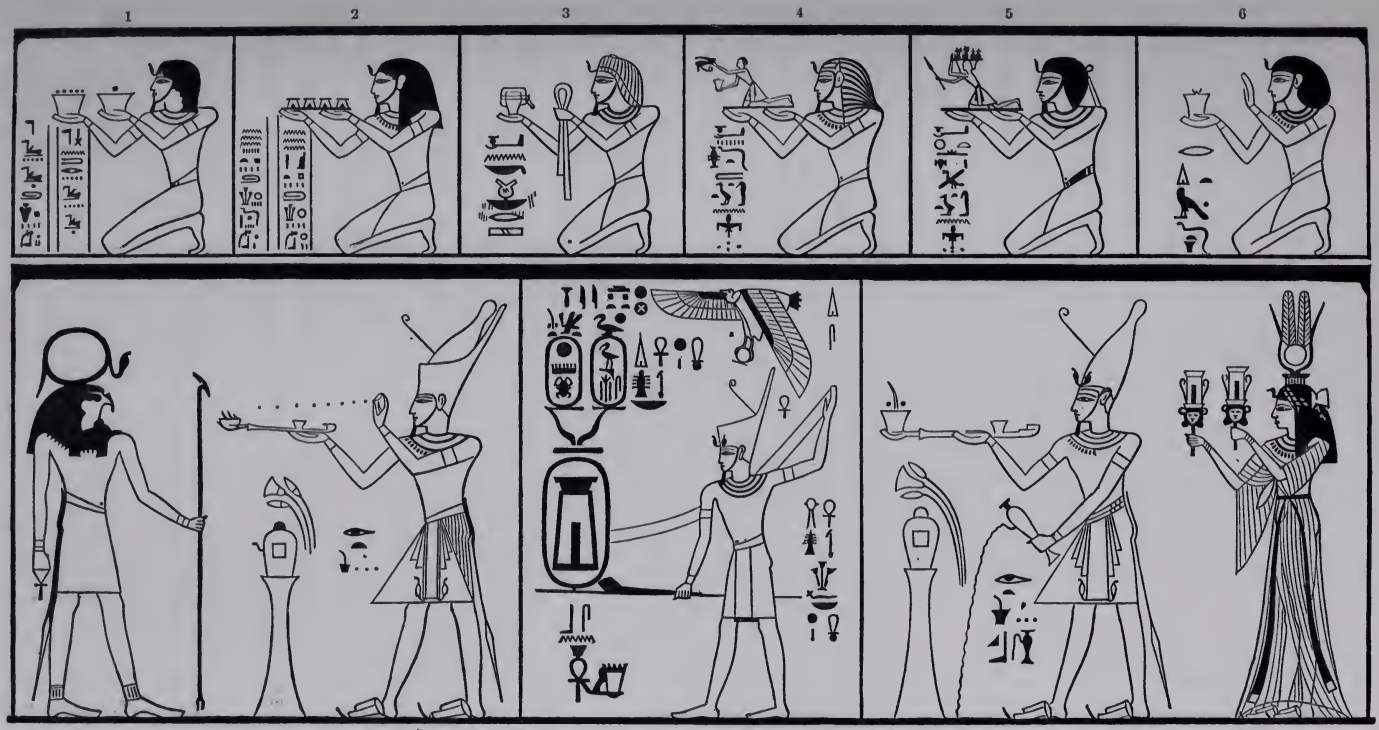
[1] [This is the *οἶνος κρίθινος* of Xenophon. Diodorus (i. 34) mentions it as 'a beverage from barley called by the Egyptians *zythus*,' which he thinks 'not much inferior to wine.' Athenæus (i. p. 34 A; x. p. 418 E) calls it 'macerated barley;' and says Aristotle supposes that men drunk with wine lie on their faces, but those with beer on their backs. He cites Hecatæus respecting the use of beer in Egypt, whose words are, *τὰς κριθὰς εἰς τὸ πόμα καταλέουσι*. I have found the residue of some malt at Thebes, once used for making beer.—G. W.]

[2] Diodor. i. 49.

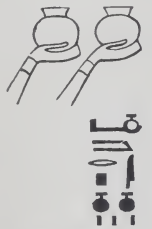


1. King offering incense. 2. King offering water and oil-jars. 3. 'King gives to thee all clothes.' 4. King's gift of oil in a silver statue. 5. King's gift of things on a silver statue. 6. King's gift of oil. 7. King 'gives incense' to Ra. 8. Thothmes III., protected by Buto, offering a pylon. 9. King gives 'pure water,' attended by queen.

The censer has been already noticed. A libation of wine was frequently offered together with incense; flowers were often presented with them; and many sacrifices consisted of oxen or other animals, birds, cakes, fruit, vegetables, ointments, and other things, with incense and libation. On some occasions two censers of incense were offered, and several oxen, birds, and other consecrated gifts were placed on the altar. And that it was customary to present several of the same kind is shown by the ordinary formula of presentation, which says, 'I give you a thousand (*i.e.* many) cakes, a thousand vases of wine, a thousand head of oxen, a thousand geese, a thousand vestments, a thousand censers of incense, a thousand libations, a thousand boxes of ointment.' The cakes were of various kinds. Many were round, oval, or triangular; and others had the edges folded over, like the *fateereh* of the present day. They also assumed the shape of leaves, or the form of an animal, a crocodile's head, or some capricious figure, and it was frequently customary to sprinkle them (particularly the round and oval cakes) with seeds.

Ar neter sent.
'Offering of incense' and a libation.
No. 607.

Wine was frequently presented in two cups. It was not then a libation, but merely an offering of wine;[1] and since the pouring out of wine upon the altar was a preliminary ceremony, as Herodotus observes, common to all their sacrifices, we find that the king is often represented making a libation upon an altar covered with offerings of cakes, flowers, and the joints of a victim killed for the occasion.



Mut em arp.
Wine offered in two cups.
No. 608.

The Egyptian artists did not bind themselves to one instant of time in their representations of these subjects. The libation, therefore, appears to be poured over the mass of offerings collected upon the altar; but the knowledge of their mode of drawing, and the

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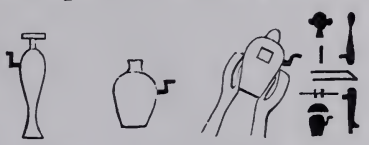
[1] [This is to be distinguished from beer, *οἶνος κρίθινος*, 'barley-wine' (see *suprà*, p. 414), both of which were made in great quantities in Egypt. The most noted were those of Mareotis, Anthylla, Plinthine, Coptos, and the Teniotic, Sebennytic, and Alexandrian; and many were noticed in the offerings made in the tombs and temples of Egypt. Among them wine of the 'Northern Country' is mentioned, and that long before the Greeks carried wine to Egypt. In later times, when the prejudices of the Egyptians had begun to relax, a trade was established with the Greeks, and Egypt received wine from Greece and Phœnicia twice every year (Herod. iii. 6), and many Greeks carried it direct to Naucratis. The wine-presses and offerings of wine in the tombs at the Pyramids show wine was made in Egypt at least as early as the 4th Dynasty.—G. W.]

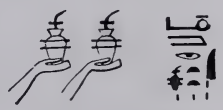
authority of Herodotus, explain that the libation was poured out before the offerings were placed upon it; and instances are even found in the sculptures of this preparatory ceremony. Two kinds of vases were principally used for libation, and the various kinds of wine were indicated by the names affixed to them.



No. 609. Vases used for libations. 'Gift of an oil-jar.'

White and red wines, those of the Upper and Lower Country, grape-juice or wine of the vineyard (one of the most delicious beverages of a hot climate, and one which is commonly used in Spain and other countries at the present day), were the most noted denominations introduced into the lists of offerings on the monuments.

Beer and milk were also admitted amongst them; and oils of various kinds, for which Egypt was famous, were presented as welcome offerings at the shrines of the gods.



Offering of milk, *art.* No. 610.

I have already had occasion to notice some of the gifts presented to Isis for preserving an individual from the danger of the sea; and it is evident from this, and the prayer that accompanied it, that the size of the offering depended on the gratitude of the donor for the favour he received, and on the extent of the demand made by him for future blessings.

Flowers were presented in different ways; either loosely, tied together by the stalks, or in carefully-formed bouquets, without any other gifts. Sometimes those of a particular kind were offered alone, the most esteemed being the lotus, papyrus, convolvulus, and other favourite productions of the garden, and sometimes a bouquet of peculiar form was presented, or two smaller ones carried in each of the donor's hands.

Chaplets and wreaths of flowers were also laid upon the altars, and offered to the deities, whose statues were frequently crowned with them. Those which were most grateful or useful to man were chosen as the most acceptable to the gods; and the same feeling guided them in their selection of herbs and roots destined for the altar. It was probably the utility, rather than the flavour, that induced them to show so marked a preference for the onion, the *Raphanus*,[1] and cucurbitaceous plants,

[1] Eaten by the workmen who built the Pyramids.

No. 611. Various flowers from the sculptures. *Thebes.*

In *fig.* 8 is an attempt at perspective. The upper part (*a*) appears to be the papyrus; *b* is a lotus; and *c* probably the melilotus. From *fig.* 1*a*, it would seem that one bell-formed flower is a convolvulus; though 1*b*, 4, 6, 7, and 9*a*, may be the papyrus; and the shafts of columns with that kind of capital have an indication of the triangular form of its stalk. 3. The lotus. 2, 11, 12, 13. Different bouquets. The inscription at 12 and 13 is *rta ab en tef*, 'the gift of a bouquet to his father.' 10. Architectural fleurette. 5, perhaps the same as 4.

which so generally found a place amongst the offerings. Their frequent use is equally shown by the authority of the Bible,[1] of Herodotus,[2] and of the sculptures, where they appear as the representatives of the vegetables of the country. We are thus enabled to account for the great importance attached to onions, which, being forbidden to the priests and those initiated in the mysteries, might appear unworthy of the gods; and I have already shown the peculiar form in which they were offered on some occasions, the mode of decking them with garlands, and the remarkable circumstance of their being frequently presented by the priests who wore the leopard-skin dress. In ordinary offerings they were bound together in a simple bundle, though still made up with great care; and if instances occur of onions being placed on the altar singly (even in sculptures

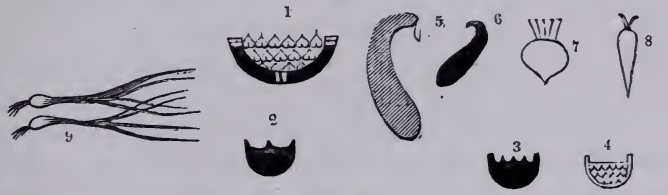


Fig. 1. A basket of sycamore figs. 2, 3, 4. Hieroglyphic, signifying 'wife.' 5, 6. Cucurbita Lagenaria, or Ḳarra-ṭoweél. 7, 8. Raphanus sativus, *var.* edulis. 9. Onions. No. 612.

executed during the time of the 16th Dynasty), they are of very rare occurrence.

Of fruits, the sycamore fig and grapes were the most esteemed for the service of the altar. They were presented on baskets or trays, frequently covered with leaves to keep them fresh; and sometimes the former were represented placed in such a manner, on an open basket, as to resemble the hieroglyphic signifying 'wife.'

Ointment was presented in different ways, according to the ceremony in which it was offered. It was placed before the deity in vases of alabaster or other materials as a gift, which he was represented to receive with the promise of a suitable return to the donor; the name of the god to whom it was vowed being engraved upon the vases that contained it. Sometimes the king or priest took out a certain portion to anoint the statue of the deity, which was done with the little finger of the right

[1] Numb. xi. 5. The name of 'melons' is *Abtakhim*, אַבַטִּחִים, or *avat-tee-gheem*, the *Batéekh*, بطيخ, or water-melon of modern Egypt. [2] Herodot. ii. 125.

hand.[1] Macrobius[2] says, 'Those Egyptian priests who were called prophets, when engaged in the temple near the altars of the gods, moistened the ring-finger of the left hand (which was that next to the smallest) with various sweet ointments, in the belief that a certain nerve communicated with it from the heart.' But this probably refers to some other religious custom, since it is not likely that the left hand would be employed to anoint the statues of the gods; and the sculptures abundantly show that the ceremony was performed as here represented.

Preparing to anoint.
Art t'et en mutf, 'gives oil to his mother.'
No. 613. *Thebes.*

Ointment often formed part of a large donation, and always entered into the list of those things which constituted the complete set of offerings already mentioned; and the various kinds of sweet-scented ointments used by the Egyptians were liberally offered at the shrines of the gods.[3] According to Clemens, one of the most noted was the *psagdai*, for which Egypt was particularly famed; and Pliny and Athenæus both bear testimony to the variety of Egyptian ointments, as well as the importance attached to them; which is confirmed by the sculptures, and even by the vases discovered in the tombs.

Rich vestments, necklaces, bracelets, jewellery of various kinds, and other ornaments, vases of gold, silver, and porcelain, bags of gold, and numerous gifts of the most costly description, were also presented to the gods. They constituted the riches of the treasury of the temples; and the spoils taken from conquered nations were deposited there by a victorious monarch as a votive gift for the success of his arms, or as a token of gratitude for favours he was supposed to have received. Tables of the precious metals and rare woods were among these offerings; and an accurate catalogue of his votive presents was engraved on the walls of the temple, to commemorate the piety of the donor and the wealth of the sanctuary. They do not, however, properly come under the denomination of offerings to the gods, but are rather dedications to their temples; and it was in pre-

[1] The notion of superiority attached to the right hand was always remarkable, and is now scrupulously maintained in the East. It calls to mind one of the precepts of Pythagoras, 'Take off your right shoe first, but put your left foot first into the bath.'

[2] Macrob. Saturn. vii. p. 270.

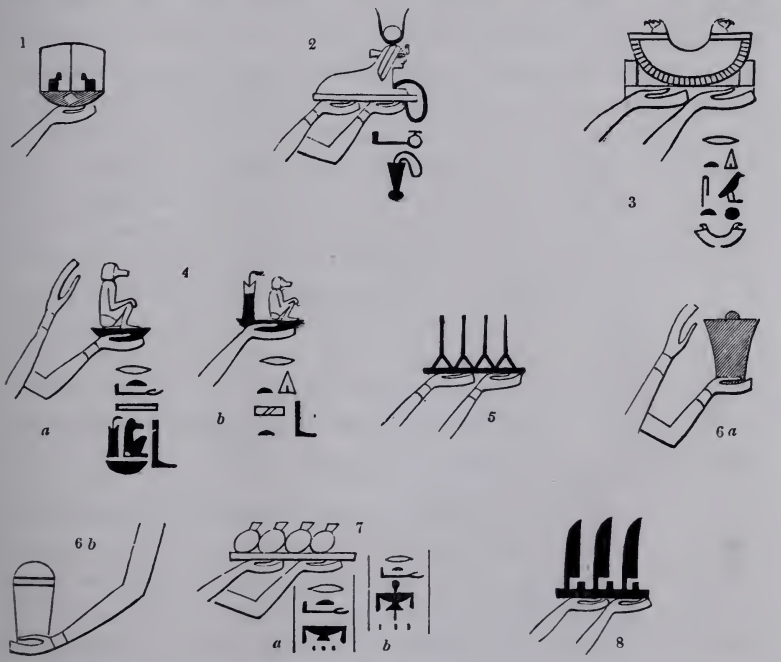
[3] Plin. xiii. 1, 3; Clem. Pæd. ii. 8.

senting them that some of the grand processions took place, to which I have already alluded.

But it was not only customary to deposit the necklaces and other 'precious gifts' collectively in the temple; the kings frequently offered each singly to the gods, decorating their statues with them, and placing them on their altars.

Mut ma en tef ef.
'He gives Truth (or Justice) to his father.
No. 614.

They also presented numerous emblems, connected with the vows they had made, the favours they desired, or the thanksgivings they returned to the gods: among which the most usual were a small figure of Truth; the symbol of the assemblies, *fig.* 1; a cow of Athor,[1] *fig.* 2; the hawk-headed necklace, *usχ*, of Socharis, *fig.* 3; a cynocephalus, *fig.* 4; parts of dress (?), *fig.* 5; ointment, *figs.* 6*a* and 6*b*; gold and silver in bags or rings, *fig.* 7, *a* and *b*;



No. 615. Emblematic offerings.

1, festivals of thirty years. 2, *mut mena*, 'gives a counterpoise.' 3, *rat usχ*, 'gives a collar.' 4, *rat shebt*, 'gives' the object called *shebt* or *ushebt*, perhaps a clepsydra—the word *sheb* means 'to tell,' or answer. 5, gift of linen. 6 *a*, gift of unguents; 6 *b*, gift of cosmetics. 7 *a*, *rat neb*, 'gives gold;' 7 *b*, *rat hat*, 'gives silver.' 8, gift of fields.

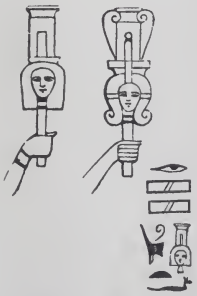
[1] In lieu of a collar, or its counterpoise.

three feathers or heads of reeds, the emblem of a field, *fig.* 8; a scribe's tablet and ink-stand, *fig.* 9, *a* and *b*; a garland or wreath,

No. 616. Emblematic offerings.
11. *Saq ta het*, 'brings along white bread.'

fig. 10; and an emblem of pyramidal form, perhaps the seal or key of the sanctuary, *fig.* 11.

Thanksgivings for the birth of a child, escape from danger, or other marks of divine favour, were offered by individuals through the medium of the priests. The same was also done in private; and secret as well as public vows were made in the hope of future favours. The quality of these oblations depended on the god to whom presented, or the occupation of the donor: a shepherd bringing from his flocks, a husbandman from his fields, and others according to their means; provided the offering was not forbidden by the rites of the deity. But though the Egyptians considered certain oblations suited to particular gods, others inadmissible to their temples, and some more peculiarly adapted to prescribed periods of the year, the greater part of the deities were invoked with similar offerings; and in large sacrifices the same things were laid on all the Egyptian altars, with the exception of those expressly forbidden in particular temples.

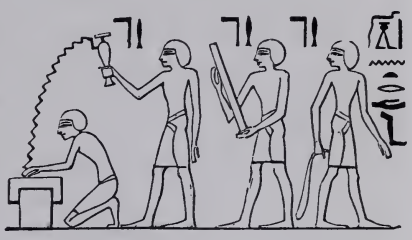


Ar s'es' en tef, 'gives sistra to his father.'
No. 617. *Thebes.*

Sistra were often held forth, generally by the queens and princesses, in the presence of the gods, as well as the emblematic instruments, surmounted by the head of Athor; and the privilege of bearing them in the temples was principally confined to those who held the office of *pallakides*. They frequently presented flowers at the same time that they performed the peculiar rites required on this occasion.

A singular ceremony is frequently represented of the king retiring from the presence of the god, to whom he has been

performing a libation, and holding in his hand an emblem which, from its appearance, is supposed to be a tail. He always looks back as he withdraws; and the same is done by the priests when officiating on a similar occasion. It is evidently not the tail worn by the king taken off and held in his hand, since he is represented wearing it during the ceremony; and it differs also in form from that portion of the royal dress.



1 2 3 4

1. A priest kneeling at the altar, on which another (2) pours a libation.
3 appears to hold the cubit, or a tablet from which he is reading.
4. Another priest, who holds what is supposed to be a tail, 'bringing the foot.'

No. 618. *Thebes.*

Sometimes a number of persons are seen beating themselves before the mummy of a dead person, under the usual form of Osiris; and another retires holding one or even two of these emblems in his hand. But even this appears to be connected with a libation, which is performed in the compartment below, as part of the same solemnity in honour of the deceased. The custom of beating themselves in token of grief is frequently mentioned by Herodotus, who explains[1] that it was upon the breast, as throughout the East from the earliest times[2] to the present day; and this is fully confirmed by the monuments themselves. [The custom of weeping and throwing dust on their heads is often represented on the monuments; when the men and women have their dresses fastened by a band round the waist, the breast being bare, as described by Herodotus. For seventy days,[3] or, according to some, seventy-two days, the family mourned at home, singing the funeral dirge, very much as is now done in Egypt; and during this time they abstained from the bath, wine, delicacies of the table, and rich clothing;[4] and even after the body had been removed to the tomb it was not unusual for the near relations to exhibit tokens of grief, when the liturgies, or services for the dead, were performed by the priests, by beating themselves on the breast in presence of the mummy.

Persons beating themselves before a mummy.

No. 619. *Thebes.*

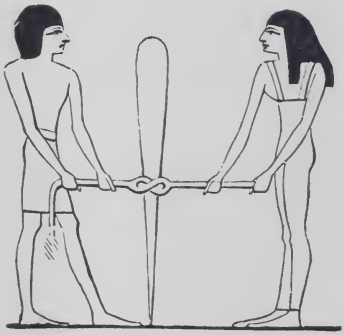
[1] Herodot. ii. 85.
[2] Luke xxiii. 48.
[3] Gen. l. 3.
[4] Diod. i. 91.

'Smiting themselves on the breast'[1] was a common token of grief in the East, which continues to the present day. (See woodcut No. 619.) The Egyptians did not 'cut themselves' in mourning; this was a Syrian custom, and forbidden to the Jews.—G. W.]

Another remarkable offering, if indeed it be distinct from the usual censer, is apparently a lamp made of glass, with a wick erect in the middle; which last is sometimes taken out and held separately, as though the bearer were about to place it in the vase previous to its being lighted.[2] The same form is given to the flame of the censers wherein the incense is burnt.

No. 620. A lamp. *Thebes.*

There is also a ceremony which appears to have some connection with the dead, the purport of which it is difficult to ascertain. Two persons, a man and a woman, hold the opposite ends of a cord, fastened in a knot around the centre of a pillar of wood, which, held in an upright position, is struck against the ground, the lower end being pointed, the upper round. It may be connected with some religious rite, or be one of their numerous games. [But it seems to be connected with the twisted rope in the mysterious ceremonies of the dead mentioned by Diodorus, in speaking of the lake, &c., at Memphis. There, however, one end of the rope was twisted, and the other untwisted, by other persons.—G. W.]



No. 621. A game or ceremony. *Thebes.*

'The Egyptians,' says Herodotus,[3] 'are very religious, surpassing all men in the honours they pay to the gods.' 'The art of predicting future events, as practised in Greek temples, came from Egypt; and it is certain that they were the first people who established festivals, and the mode of approaching and communing with the Deity.'[4] Of the customary mode of doing this I have already spoken; and while praying or presenting

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[1] Luke xxiii. 48.

[2] This wick may have stood upright in the salt mentioned by Herodotus in the lamps at Saïs. The lines may represent the twisted nature of the cotton wick, as they do the watering of the glass vase. (Herodot. ii. 62.)

[3] Herodot. ii. 37.

[4] Ibid. ii. 58.

offerings, it will be seen from the sculptures that the kings and priests either stood with uplifted hands, or knelt before the statue of the god (usually on one knee). They bowed before it in token of respect, 'lowering the hand to the knee;' which, Herodotus[1] says, was their manner of saluting each other when they met. They also put the hand upon the breast, as is the modern custom in the East, or bowed down with one or both hands to the level of the knee; and sometimes placed one hand over the mouth.[2] But the usual mode of standing in the presence of a superior was with one hand passed across the breast to the opposite shoulder; they then bowed, lowering the other to the knee; and the same position of the hand upon the shoulder was adopted when deprecating punishment.

No. 622. An attitude of adoration. *Thebes.*

Sometimes libations were performed by priests kneeling on one or both knees, and other tokens of honour were shown to the gods; but prostration[3] seems seldom to have been required in the temple. We only find two instances of a votary in this attitude, both of which are in the sculptures at Philæ,[4] of Ptolemaic date, where the king, prostrate upon the ground, worships the goddess Isis, apparently as a preliminary ceremony previous to his being admitted to the presence of Osiris.

It is not a subject seen in any Egyptian temple of Pharaonic time; and this extraordinary show of devotion in the Greek king was probably intended to flatter the priesthood, and obtain an influence which those foreigners often found it prudent to court.

The system of rendering religion subservient to ambitious or interested views is of all eras and every country. But pretended sanctity generally betrays its real motive; and we frequently discover, in the marks of favour bestowed by the Ptolemies on the religion of Egypt, a strained and unnatural display of

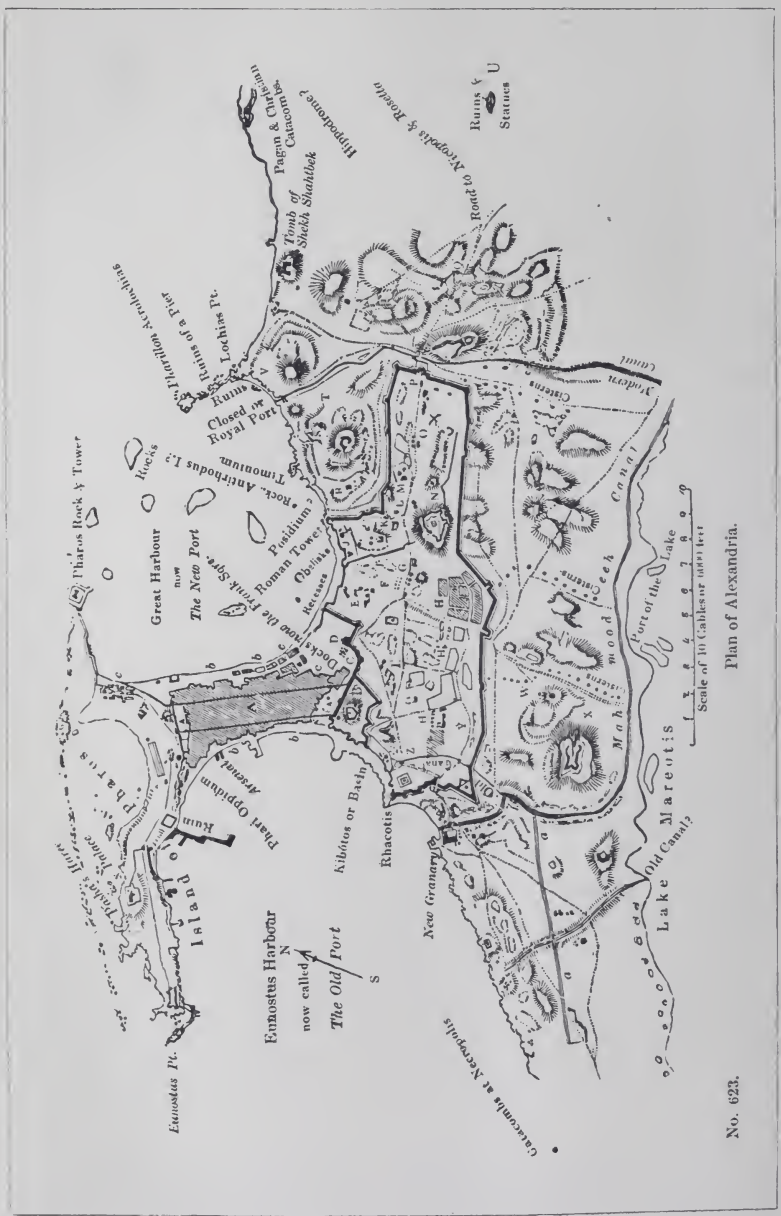
[1] Herodot. ii. 80.

[2] This was customary also in Persia. The object was to prevent the breath reaching the face of a superior.

[3] In the presence of superiors they 'bowed the knee,' and even prostrated themselves on the ground. (Gen. xli. 43, xlii. 6, and xliii. 26. Conf. Matt. xviii. 26.)

[4] The same occurs in the Ptolemaic sculptures at the Great Oasis.

devotion, the contrast of which with the simplicity and real feeling of ancient times cannot fail to strike those who compare the monuments of the two eras.



VIGNETTE P.—Interior of a mummy-pit, or sepulchral chamber, at Thebes; with a *Fellâh* woman searching for papyri and ornaments.

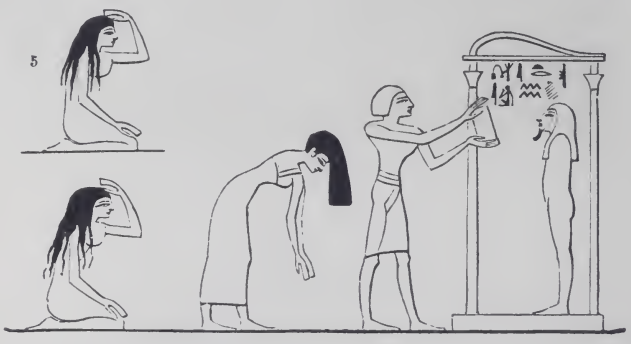
CHAPTER XVI.

Funeral Rites—Offerings to the Dead—Tombs—Funeral Processions—Trials of the Dead—Sacred Lake—Burial—Embalming—Sarcophagi—Papyri, &c.

THE offerings made to the dead were similar to the ordinary oblations in honour of the gods. It was not to the deceased as a man translated to the order of the gods that these ceremonies were performed, but to that particular portion of the divine essence which constituted the soul of each individual and returned to the Deity after death. Everyone, therefore, whose virtuous life entitled him to admission into the regions of the blessed, was supposed to be again united to the Deity, of whom he was an emanation; and, with the emblem of Ma, purporting that he was judged or justified, he received the holy name of Osiris. His body was so bound up as to resemble the mysterious ruler of Amenti; it bore some of the emblems peculiar to him; and the beard of a form which belonged exclusively to the gods was given to the deceased in token of his having assumed the character of that deity.

Offerings were also made to the god Osiris himself, after the burial, in the name of the deceased; and certain services or liturgies were performed for him by the priests, at the expense of the family; their number depending upon their means, or the respect they were inclined to pay to the memory of their parent.

If the sons or relations were of the priestly order, they had the privilege of officiating on these occasions; and the members of the family had permission, and were perhaps frequently expected, to be present, whether the services were performed by strangers or by relations of the deceased. The ceremonies consisted of a sacrifice, similar to those offered in the temples, vowed for the deceased to one or more gods, as Osiris, Anubis, and others connected with *Amenti;* incense and libation were also presented, and a prayer was sometimes read, the relations and friends being



The members of the family (3, 4, 5) present when the services were performed (2). 'The skilful scribe, Anen' (1).
No. 624. *Thebes.*

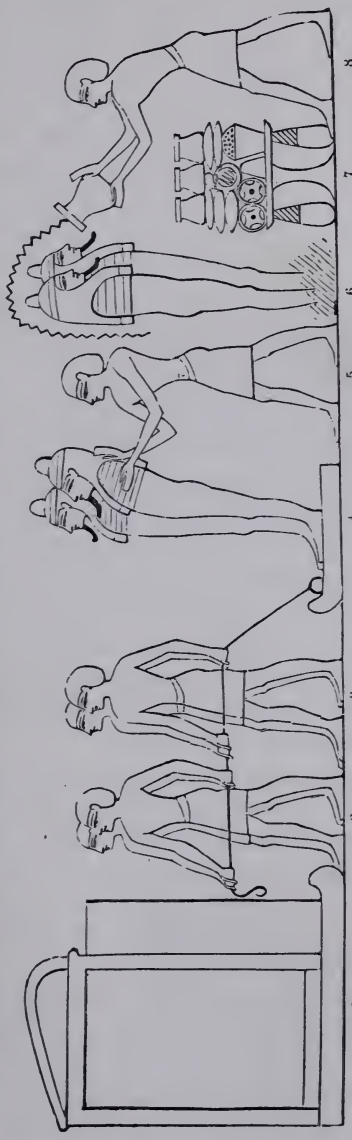
present as mourners. They even joined their prayers to those of the priest; and embracing the mummied body, and bathing its feet with their tears, they uttered those expressions of grief and praises of the deceased which were dictated by their feelings on so melancholy an occasion.

A woman embracing and weeping before her husband's mummy. His wife who loves him, Nebenni.'
No. 625. *Thebes.*

The priests who officiated at the burial service were selected from the grade of pontiffs who wore the leopard-skin; but various other rites were performed by one of the minor priests to the mummies previous to their being lowered into the pit of the tomb, as well as after that ceremony. Indeed they continued to be administered at intervals, as long as the family paid for their performance; and it is possible that upon the cessation of this payment, or after a stipulated time, the priests had the right of

transferring the tomb to another family, which, as I have already observed, the inscriptions within them show to have been done, even though belonging to members of the priestly order.

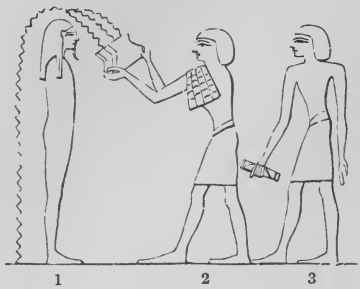
When the mummies remained in the house, or in the chamber of the sepulchre, they were kept in movable wooden closets, with folding doors, out of which they were taken by the minor functionaries to a small altar, before which the priest officiated. The closet and the mummy were placed on a sledge, in order to facilitate their movement from one place to another; and the latter was drawn with ropes to the altar, and taken back by the same means when the ceremony was over. On these occasions, as in the prayers for the dead, they made the usual offerings of incense and libation, with cakes, flowers, and fruit; and even anointed the mummy, oil or ointment being poured[1] over its head. Sometimes several priests attended. One carried a napkin over his shoulder, to be used after the anointing of the mummy; another brought a papyrus roll containing a



Conveying the mummies on a sledge to the closet in which they were kept, after the service had been performed to them (*figs.* 1–3).—The priest (*fig.* 8) is pouring oil over them (*fig.* 6). On the altar are three vases of oil, cakes, a basket of grapes, and some other things (which were indistinct from being much defaced). Below are two glass bottles of wine (*fig.* 7). Even in this serious subject the Egyptian artists could not refrain from their love of caricature; and one of the mummies (*fig.* 4) is falling down upon the priest (*fig.* 5), who supports it with his hands.
Tomb at Thebes.
No. 626.

[1] Conf. 2 Kings ix. 3: 'Take the box of oil, and pour it on his head.'

prayer, or the usual ritual deposited in the tombs with the dead; and others had different occupations according to their respective offices. They were not of the order of pontiffs, but an inferior grade of priests deputed to perform similar duties in lieu of the high priests, who, as already stated, officiated only at the burial, or on other important occasions.



Pouring oil over the head of a mummy. The priest (*fig.* 1) has a napkin on his shoulder. *Fig.* 2 holds a papyrus. The mode of placing the napkin is remarkable, being the same as now adopted in the East by servants while guests are washing their hands before meals.
No. 627. *Tomb at Thebes.*

Single oblations of various kinds were made to the mummies by individuals of the family as well as by the priests; but many of the ceremonies, as well as the emblematic offerings, were of a singular kind, the meaning of which it is difficult to comprehend. One of these last has the appearance of some kind of instrument. It occurs in the names of several kings in the sense of 'chosen,'[1] or 'approved;' and is probably intended to point out the excellence of the gifts selected for the deceased, being used as the demonstrative sign accompanying the 'chosen part' of the sacrifices in the temples and the tombs.

It is probable that lamps were kept burning in the tomb while these ceremonies were performing, or as long as it was open, as in the Roman sepulchres; a duty which fell to the charge of the keeper or servant of the tomb.

These funeral oblations answer exactly to the *inferiæ* or *parentalia* of the Romans, consisting of victims, flowers, and libations; when the tomb was decked with garlands and wreaths of flowers, and an altar was erected before it for presenting the offerings. And that this last was also done by the Egyptians is proved by the many small altars discovered outside the doors of the catacombs at Thebes.

These altars are of stone, frequently granite or basalt;[2] and upon them are carved in bas-relief the various offerings they bore, which are the same as those represented in the paintings of the tombs. At one side projects a small spout, to which a channel, carried round the inside, is intended to convey the

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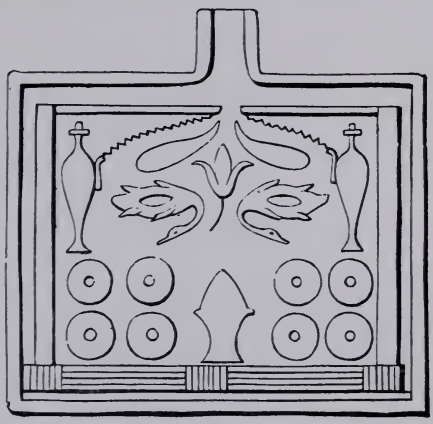
[1] As in that of Rameses the Great, where it occurs as '*the chosen* of the sun.'
[2] They were called *hetep* or *tuhept*.—S. B.

liquid of the libations; and some with two spouts are of a larger size, and intended for a greater number of offerings. Being very low, each was placed on a small pedestal or stool, which has been found, together with the flat altar stone it once supported, as figured on the monuments. The channel around the altar stone calls to mind the 'trench' made by Elijah 'round about the altar' at Mount Carmel;[1] though the object was not the same, the water with which this was filled being intended to prove the miraculous interference of the Deity, when the fire that 'consumed the burnt sacrifice licked up the water in the trench,' and that of the Egyptian altar being merely intended to carry off the libation poured upon it.



An altar, in the British Museum, showing that the trench is for carrying off the libation. The objects on it are eight circular cakes, a jar with food, two trussed geese, two water-jugs, a lotus-flower, and two cucumbers, all on a mat. No. 628.

It is probable that when any of the sacerdotal caste died, whose families could not afford the expense of the liturgies, certain collections[2] were made to pay for their performance; which, being deposited in the hands of the priests, added in no inconsiderable degree to their revenues. And the fact, as Young observes, 'that one moiety of a third part of the collections for the dead (priests of Osiris), lying in Thynabunun,' when sold by 'Onnophris, one of the servants of the goddess Isis,' required no less than sixteen witnesses, plainly proves the value of this privilege.

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[1] 1 Kings xviii. 32 *et seq.*: 'And he made a trench about the altar, as great as would contain two measures of seed. And he put the wood in order, and cut the bullock in pieces, and laid him on the wood, and said, Fill four barrels (pails) with water, and pour it on the burnt sacrifice, and on the wood. . . . . And the water ran round about the altar; and he filled the trench also with water. . . . . Then the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the burnt sacrifice, and the wood, and the stones, and the dust, and licked up the water that was in the trench.' The word *barrels* is in the Hebrew כַּדִּים, *kadim*, properly *pails* or *pitchers*, as in Gen. xxiv. 14, from כַּד, *kad*, answering to the *Cadus* of the Latins. I cannot in this place refrain from adding my humble testimony to the accuracy of our translation of the Bible; which is the more surprising, as it was done without all the aid which an insight into Eastern customs has in later times afforded.

[2] Young's 'Discov. in Hierog. Literature,' pp. 60, 69, 74. [The legal number of witnesses at the time was sixteen; before that period four only were required.—S. B.]

Diodorus and the papyri show that it was not an uncommon thing to keep the mummies in the house, after they had been returned by the embalmers to the relations of the deceased, in order to gratify the feelings which made them desirous of having those they had loved in life as near them as possible after death. Damascenius states that they sometimes introduced them at table,[1] as though they could enjoy their society; and Lucian, in his essay on grief, says that he was an eye-witness of this custom. They were sometimes left in the house until the family could prepare a tomb for their reception; and the affection of a wife or husband frequently retained the body of a beloved consort, in order that both might be deposited at the same time in their final resting-place. A room was set apart for the purpose, the coffin being placed upright against the 'firmest of the walls.'[2] Many months often elapsed between the ceremony of embalming and the actual burial; and it was during this period that the liturgies were performed before the mummy, which were afterwards continued at the tomb. A Greek inscription upon the coffin of a mummy, found by Grey, states that 'Tphous, the daughter of Heraclêus Soter and Sarapous, who was born in the 5th year of Adrian our lord, the second of Athyr, and died in the 11th year, the 10th of Tybi, aged six years, two months, and eight days, was buried in the 12th year, the 12th of Athyr;' so that in this instance the burial took place a whole year after her death,[3] and some were doubtless kept, for various reasons, much longer. It was during this interval that feasts were held in honour of the dead, to which the friends and relations were invited; as was customary among the Greeks and other people of antiquity.[4]

On these occasions they dined together, and enjoyed the same festivities as when invited to a repast, the guests being in like manner anointed and decked with flowers, and presented with other tokens of welcome usual at an Egyptian party; and it was principally at this *νεκροδεῖπνον* that I suppose the introduction of the mummy to have taken place.

Small tables made of reeds or sticks, bound together and

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[1] Silius Italicus, Punic. lib. iii.

[2] Diodor. i. 92. The word *λάρναξ* may apply to the coffin or mummy-case, or to the closet above mentioned. They bore some resemblance to the *thâlami* or *παστοὶ*, in which the small figures of the gods were carried; whence the bearers of them were called *παστοφόροι*. (*Vide* woodcut No. 195, *fig.* 4, vol. i. p. 419; and *infrà*, p. 444, woodcut No. 631.)

[3] Young, 'Hierog. Lit.,' p. 115.

[4] Hom. Il. Ψ, 9. Achilles invites the Myrmidons to supper in honour of Patroclus.

interlaced with palm-leaves, were sometimes placed in the tombs, bearing offerings of cakes, ducks, or other things, according to the wealth or inclination of the donors; one of which was found at Thebes by Burton, and is now in the British Museum. On the lower compartment, or shelf, are cakes; the central shelf has a duck, cut open at the breast and spread out, 'but not divided asunder,'[1] in a manner frequently adopted at this day in Egypt for grilling fowls and chickens; and at the top is a similar bird, trussed in the usual mode when brought to an Egyptian table. Similar offerings 'for the dead' were strictly forbidden by the law of Moses;[2] and it was doubtless the Egyptian custom that the Hebrew legislator had in view when he introduced this wise prohibition.

A table found in a tomb by Burton, on which are a duck trussed and another cut open, with cakes.
No. 629. *British Museum.*

Though the privilege of keeping a mummy in the house was sanctioned by law and custom, care was always taken to assign some plausible reason for it, since they deemed it a great privilege to be admitted to the repositories of the dead, as their final resting-place. To be debarred from the rites of burial reflected a severe disgrace upon the whole family; and the most influential individual could not be admitted to the very tomb he had built for himself, until acquitted before that tribunal which sat to judge his conduct during life.

In cases of debt, a certain law, enacted, according to Herodotus, by King Asychis, subjected the tomb to a claim from the creditors of the deceased, who had the right to prevent the body of a debtor from being buried with his fathers; and this law even put the former in possession of the family sepulchre.

The tombs of the rich consisted of one or more chambers, ornamented with paintings and sculpture, the plans and size of which depended on the expense incurred by the family of the deceased, or on the wishes of the individuals who purchased them during their lifetime. They were the property of the priests; and a sufficient number being always kept ready, the purchase

[1] Levit. i. 17

[2] Deut. xxvi. 14.

was made at the 'shortest notice;' nothing being requisite to complete even the sculptures or inscriptions but the insertion of the deceased's name, and a few statements respecting his family and profession. The numerous subjects representing agricultural scenes, the trades of the people, in short the various occupations of the Egyptians, were already introduced. These were common to all tombs, varying only in their details and the mode of their execution; and were intended as a short epitome of human life, which suited equally every future occupant.

It has been a question why the Egyptians took so much care in embellishing their sepulchres, 'styling them,' as Diodorus[1] tells us, '*eternal habitations*, and neglecting no excess of magnificence in their construction, whilst they termed the dwellings of the living *inns*, to be inhabited only for a limited period, paying little attention to the mode of building or ornamenting them.' Some have supposed that they considered the soul conscious of the beauty of these abodes, and that it took a pleasure in contemplating the scenes it delighted in during its sojourn upon earth, which were represented on their walls. The same idea may be traced in the writings of Plato,[2] who puts these words into the mouth of Socrates:—'Death seems to me nothing else than the dissolution of two things, viz. of the soul and body from each other. But when they are mutually separated, each possesses its own habit not much less than when the man was living, the body conspicuously retaining its own nature, attire, and passions. So that, for instance, if the body of anyone while living was large by nature or aliment, or both, the body of such a one when dead will also be large; . . . . and so with respect to other things. And if anyone while living was studious to obtain long hair, the hair also of the dead body of such a one will be long; . . . . and if the limbs of anyone were broken or distorted while he lived, these will likewise appear so when he is dead. In short, whatever was the condition of the body of anyone while living, such will be its condition entirely, or for the most part, during a certain time, when dead. The same thing also, Callicles, seems to take place respecting the soul, viz. that all things are conspicuous in the soul after it is divested of the body, as well whatever it possesses from nature, as those passions which the man acquired in his soul from his various pursuits.' A still closer resemblance is found in the

[1] Diodor. i. 51.

[2] Plato, Gorgias, pp. 453, 454.

description given by Virgil of the occupations of those who in a future state were admitted to the abode of the blessed.[1] The same notion would account for the custom of burying different objects with the dead, which had belonged to them during life; as arms with the soldier, and the various implements of their peculiar trade with the bodies of artisans. Thus Æneas selected suitable objects for the sepulchre of Misenus.[2] But another reason also suggests itself for this custom—the supposed return of the soul to the same body after the lapse of a certain period of years, which I shall have occasion to notice in treating of transmigration.

In some instances all the paintings of the tomb were finished, and even the small figures representing the future occupant were introduced, those only being left unsculptured which being of a large size required more accuracy in the features in order to give his real portrait; and sometimes even the large figures were completed before the tomb was sold, the only parts left unfinished being the hieroglyphic legends containing his name and that of his wife. Indeed the fact of their selling old mummy-cases and tombs belonging to other persons shows that they were not always over-scrupulous about the likeness of an individual, provided the hieroglyphics were altered and contained his real name —at least when a motive of economy reconciled the mind of a purchaser to a *second-hand* tenement for the body of his friend.

The tomb was always prepared for the reception of a husband and his wife; and whoever died first was buried at once there, or was kept embalmed in the house until the decease of the other, as I have already had occasion to observe. The manner in which husband and wife are always portrayed, with their arms round each other's waist or neck, is a pleasing illustration of the affectionate feelings of the Egyptians; and the attachment of a family is shown by the presence of the different relations, who are introduced in the performance of some tender office to the deceased. Each is said to 'love,' or to 'be loved by him;' and when children died, they were buried in the same tomb with their parents.

Any person desirous of purchasing a tomb for himself, or for a deceased friend, applied to those who were known to have them for sale, and the parties proceeded to view them and make a selection. The bargain, no doubt, took the usual time occupied

[1] Virg. Æn. vi. 638, 653. [2] Ibid. vi. 232.

on such occasions in the East; but notwithstanding all the efforts of the purchaser, the advantage was greatly on the side of the *seller*, who profited by the wants of the former, as well as by immense profit on a small outlay; and no competition could be expected among the priests, who enjoyed this privileged monopoly. When the bargain had been agreed to, a deed was carefully drawn up to secure to the purchaser the property he had bought; and some idea may be formed of the precautions taken by the Egyptians to prevent any future question upon the subject by the number of witnesses required for the smallest contracts. And, judging from the minute repetition of expressions, and the precision with which the acceptance of the price was acknowledged, we may conclude that they were as ready to take advantage of the least flaw in a deed as any people of the present day.

Besides the upper rooms of the tomb, which were ornamented with the paintings already mentioned, were one or more pits, varying from twenty to seventy feet in depth, at the bottom or sides[1] of which were recesses, like small chambers, for depositing the coffins. The pit was closed with masonry after the burial had been performed, and sometimes re-opened to receive other members of the family. The upper apartments were richly ornamented with painted sculptures, being rather a monument in honour of the deceased than the actual sepulchre; and they served for the reception of his friends, who frequently met there and accompanied the priests when performing the services for the dead. Each tomb, and sometimes each apartment, had a wooden door, either of a single or double valve, turning on pins, and secured by bolts or bars, with a lock; which last was protected by a seal of clay, upon which the impress of a signet was stamped when the party retired, as Herodotus describes at the treasury of Rhampsinitus. Remains of the clay have even been found adhering to some of the stone jambs of the doorways in the tombs of Thebes; and the numerous stamps buried near them were probably used on those occasions.

It may be a question whether these stamps were really seals by which the impressions were made upon the clay, because the characters upon them are in relief, and because their edges are sometimes raised unequally around their faces, both arguing

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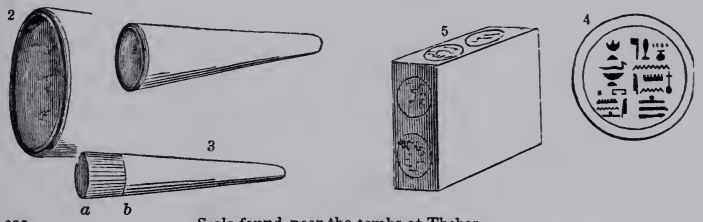
[1] 'Whose tombs are in the side of the pit;' and the common expression in the Bible, 'They that go down to the pit,' meaning those that die. (Ezek. xxxii. 29, &c.)

that *they* had been impressed with another seal. We even find them of a square form, with a stamp on all the sides, and made of the same materials; which is a clay mixed with fine ashes, and afterwards burnt, the exterior being of a finer quality than the inside. It may also be said that the red ochreous colour with which they are sometimes stained, was imparted to them from the seal that stamped the impression; though, on the other hand, as the colour frequently extends half-way up the whole length, it is evident that *they* were dipped into this red mixture for some purpose. Again, if they were mere impressions, and not used as seals, it is difficult to understand the reason of their being so stamped and buried near the tombs—unless, indeed, they were passports from the family, or the priest who had the superintendence of the tomb, to permit strangers to visit it.



No. 630. Seals found near the tombs at Thebes.

1, 2. Instances of seals with raised edges round the stamped part. 3. Another stained with red ochre from *a* to *b*. 4. Style of the inscriptions on some of them:—'Neferhetp the justified, fourth priest of Amen, and his wife Amenhetp, the lady of the house.' 5. A brick stamped in a similar manner.

They generally bear the name of the person of the adjacent tomb, with that of his wife, and sometimes the same characters occur on different ones, which vary also in size. They are mostly of a conical shape, about a foot in length, the circular face bearing the inscription being about three inches in diameter;[1] and they appear to be made for holding in the hand, and for giving rather than receiving an impression. The characters were probably first put upon them, when unburnt, from a mould. This they afterwards imparted to the clay seals; and the red liquid into which they were dipped was intended to prevent their adhering.

Similar seals were used for securing the doors of temples, houses, and granaries.

Tombs were built of brick and stone, or hewn in the rock, according to the position of the necropolis. Whenever the

[1] Several are met with in the British Museum and other European collections. [Their use is not quite certain. They are only found at Thebes, and supposed by some to have been worked into the ornamental architecture, or else to mark the site of the sepulchres.—S. B.]

mountains were sufficiently near, the latter was preferred; and these were generally the most elegant in their design and the variety of their sculptures, not only at Thebes, but in other parts of Egypt. Few, indeed, belonging to wealthy individuals were built of masonry, except those at the Pyramids in the vicinity of Memphis.

The sepulchres of the poorer classes had no upper chamber. The coffins were deposited in pits in the plain, or in recesses excavated at the side of a rock, which were closed with masonry, as the pits within the large tombs. Mummies of the lower orders were buried together in a common repository; and the bodies of those whose relations had not the means of paying for their funeral, after being 'merely cleansed by some vegetable decoctions, and kept in an alkaline solution for seventy days,'[1] were wrapped up in coarse cloth, in mats, or in a bundle of palm-sticks, and deposited in the earth.

Some tombs were of great extent; and when a wealthy individual bought the ground, and had an opportunity during a long life of making his family sepulchre according to his wishes, it was frequently decorated in the most sumptuous manner. And so much consequence did the Egyptians attach to them, that people in humble circumstances made every effort to save sufficient to procure a handsome tomb, and defray the expenses of a suitable funeral. This species of pomp increased as refinement and luxury advanced; and in the time of Amasis and other monarchs of the 26th Dynasty the funeral expenses so far exceeded what it had been customary to incur during the reigns of the early Pharaohs, that the tombs of some individuals far surpassed in extent, if not in splendour of decoration, those of the kings themselves.

Many adorned their entrances with gardens, in which flowers were reared by the hand of an attached friend, whose daily care was to fetch water from the river, or from the wells on the edge of the cultivated land; and I have myself found remains[2] of alluvial soil brought for this purpose, and placed before some of the sepulchres at Thebes.

It is reasonable to suppose that in early times the tombs were more simple and of smaller dimensions; which is proved by the appearance of those at Thebes, and in the vicinity of Memphis.

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[1] Herodot. ii. 88. This is confirmed by the later Ptolemaic tablets, which mention seventy days as the time of embalmment. —S. B.

[2] I have indicated some of these in my 'Survey of Thebes.'

The tombs in the rock at the Necropolis of Thebes, of the time of Amenophis I. and other early monarchs of the 18th Dynasty, were smaller and more simple than those made at the close of that dynasty; and this display in the mode of decorating them and extending their dimensions continued to increase to the time of Amasis, when, as Herodotus states, the wealth of Egypt far surpassed that of any previous period. But as a detailed description of them would encroach too much on the limits of this work, I must be contented for the present with referring to my 'Topography of Thebes;' where I have spoken of their dimensions and general plan, as well as the subjects that adorn the walls of their passages and chambers, nearly all of which are hewn in the limestone rock of the Libyan mountain.[1]

Those tombs at Memphis and the Pyramids which are of masonry differ in their plan, and in many instances in the style of their sculptures. The subjects, however, generally relate to the manners and customs of the Egyptians; and parties, boat scenes, fishing, fowling, and other ordinary occupations of the people, are portrayed there, as in the sepulchres of Thebes.

The Tombs of the Kings at Thebes are principally of Pharaohs of the 18th and 19th Dynasties; the oldest in the eastern valley, where they are nearly all situated, being of Rameses I., the grandfather of the conqueror of the same name. That of the third Amenophis is in the western valley, with two others of an old and uncertain era. They have likewise been mentioned in my 'Topography of Thebes,'[2] where their plans and the subjects of their sculptures are described as of the sepulchres of private individuals.

'When anyone died,[3] all the females of his family, covering their heads and faces with mud, and leaving the body in the house, ran through the streets with their bosoms exposed, striking themselves,[4] and uttering loud lamentations.' Their friends and

[1] The tombs were placed generally at the sides of mountains, and were not very conspicuous, and consisted of a small building with a rectangular and vertical cell leading to the vault beneath, which was the sepulchral chamber. The exterior building was a kind of memorial or mortuary chapel, open at all times, and where the relatives of the dead assembled. Between the brickwork was a narrow passage, in which figures of the deceased were deposited and then walled up. At Beni-Hassan the tombs were hollowed out of the mountain, and the cell in a corner of the first chamber. (Mariette, 'Mon. of Upper Egypt,' pl. 7.)—S. B.

[2] 'Topography of Thebes,' p. 100 *et seq.*

[3] Herodotus (ii. 85) says, 'a person of rank;' but the same lamentation was made by the family, whatever his station in life might be; the only difference being that the funeral was not attended by strangers, out of respect to the deceased, when unknown or of low condition.

[4] They were forbidden to cut themselves, as were the Jews. (Levit. xix. 28; Deut. xiv. 1.) This was a Syrian custom at the worship of Baal. (1 Kings xviii. 28.)

relations joined them as they went, uniting in the same demonstrations of grief; and when the deceased was a person of consideration, many strangers accompanied them, out of respect to his memory.[1] Hired mourners were also employed to add by their feigned demonstrations[2] of grief to the real lamentations of the family, and to heighten the show of respect paid to the deceased. 'The men in like manner girding their dress below their waist, went through the town smiting their breast,'[3] and throwing dust and mud upon their heads.[4] But the greatest number of mourners consisted of women, as is usual in Egypt at the present day; and since the mode of lamentation now practised at Cairo is probably very similar to that of former times, a description of it may serve to illustrate one of the customs of ancient Egypt.[5]

As soon as the marks of approaching death are observed, the females of the family raise the cry of lamentation; one generally commencing in a low tone, and exclaiming, 'O my misfortune!' which is immediately taken up by another with increased vehemence; and all join in similar exclamations, united with piercing cries. They call on the deceased, according to their degree of relationship,—as, 'O my father,' 'O my mother,' 'O my sister,' 'O my brother,' 'O my aunt;' or according to the friendship and connection subsisting between them, as 'O my master,' 'O lord of the house,' 'O my friend,' 'O my dear, my soul, my eyes;' and many of the neighbours, as well as the friends of the family, join in the lamentation. Hired mourning women are also engaged, who utter cries of grief, and praise the virtues of the deceased; while the females of the house rend their clothes, beat themselves, and make other violent demonstrations of sorrow. A sort of funeral dirge[6] is also chanted by the mourning women to the sound of a tambourine, from which the tinkling plates have been removed.

This continues until the funeral takes place, which, if the person died in the morning, is performed the same day; but if in the afternoon or evening, it is deferred until the morning, the lamentations being continued all night. Previous to, or immediately after the departure of, the vital spark, they take

[1] As the Egyptians mourned for Jacob. (Gen. l. 3.)

[2] Hor. de Arte Poet. verse 429. Conf. Jerem. ix. 17; Matt. ix. 23.

[3] Herodot. ii. 85.

[4] Ibid. Diodor. i. 91.

[5] I refer to Lane's admirable work on the Modern Egyptians, vol. ii. p. 286.

[6] Like the 'inconditum quoddam carmen,' mentioned by Quintus Curtius, sung by matrons and virgins at the temple of Ammon.

care to close the eyes and mouth;[1] which is always looked upon as a tender and dutiful office worthy of the kind feelings of a sincere friend; and soon after the mourners have collected, the body is given over to the *moghussel* (or washer), who, placing it on a bench, the eyes being closed, and the mouth bound up, washes it, the barber having previously performed his office.

In the meantime prayers are read in an adjoining apartment by the *fekkees*, who officiate as priests; and preparations are then made for carrying out the corpse to the grave. It is placed on a bier borne by four friends of the deceased, who, after a short distance, are relieved by four others, and so on, till arrived at the cemetery; the procession which accompanies it depending on the rank of the person, or the attentions of his friends. This has been so fully and so accurately described by Lane,[2] that I cannot do better than give it from his valuable book.

'The first persons (in the procession) are about six or more poor men, called Yemenéeh, mostly blind, who proceed two and two, or three and three together. Walking at a moderate pace, or rather slowly, they chant in a melancholy tone the profession of faith, or sometimes other words: they are followed by some male relations and friends of the deceased, and in many cases by two or more persons of some sect of dervishes, bearing the flags of their order. . . . Next follow three or four or more schoolboys, one of whom carries a copy of the Corán, . . . placed upon a kind of desk formed of palm-sticks, and covered over generally with an embroidered kerchief. These boys chant in a higher and livelier voice than the Yemenéeh, usually some words of a poem descriptive of the events of the last day, the judgment, &c., commencing—

'"(I assert) the absolute glory of Him who createth whatever hath form,
And reduceth His servants by death:
Who bringeth to nought (all) His creatures, with mankind;
They shall all lie in the graves:
The absolute glory of the Lord of the East:[3]
The absolute glory of the Lord of the West:[4]
The absolute glory of the Illuminator of the two lights;
The sun, to wit, and the moon:
His absolute glory: how bountiful is He!"

'The schoolboys immediately precede the bier, which is borne head foremost. Three or four friends of the deceased usually carry it for a short distance; then three or four other

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[1] As did the Romans. (Virg. Æn. ix. 487, &c.)

[2] 'Modern Egyptians,' ii. 289.

[3] 'Literally, "the two Easts," or "the two places of sunrise;" the point where the sun rises in summer, and that where it rises in winter.'

[4] 'Or "the two places of sunset."'

friends, who are in like manner relieved. Behind the bier walk the female mourners; sometimes a group of more than a dozen or twenty, with their hair dishevelled, though generally concealed by the head-veil, crying and shrieking; and often the hired mourners accompany them, celebrating the praises of the deceased. Among the women the relations and domestics of the deceased are each distinguished by a strip of linen, or cotton stuff, or muslin, generally blue, bound round the head, and tied in a single knot behind, the ends hanging down a few inches. Each of these also carries a handkerchief, usually dyed blue, which she sometimes holds over her shoulders, and at other times twirls with both hands over her head, or before her face. The cries of the women, the lively chanting of the youths, and the deep tones uttered by the Yemenéeh, compose a strange discord.

'The wailing of women at funerals was forbidden by the Prophet; and so also was the celebration of the virtues of the deceased. . . . Some of these precepts are every day violated; . . . and I have seen mourning women of the lower classes following a bier, having their faces (which were bare), and their head-coverings and bosoms, besmeared with mud.

'The funeral procession of a man of wealth, or of the middle classes, is sometimes preceded by three or four or more camels, bearing bread and water to give to the poor at the tomb, and is composed of a more numerous and varied assemblage of persons.' In this, besides the persons already mentioned, 'the led horses of the bearers, if men of rank, often follow the bier; and a buffalo, to be sacrificed at the tomb, where its flesh is to be distributed to the poor, closes the procession.'

The funeral of a devout sheikh differs in some respects from that of ordinary mortals; and 'the women, instead of wailing, rend the air with shrill and quavering cries of joy, called *zughareet;* and if these cries are discontinued but for a minute, the bearers of the bier protest they cannot proceed, that a supernatural power rivets them to the spot.' Very often, it is said, a *wélee* impels the bearers of his corpse to a particular place; a curious anecdote of which is related by Lane;[1] and I have repeatedly witnessed instances of this at Cairo, having for some time lived in the main street leading to a cemetery near one of the gates of the city.

Several points of resemblance may be observed between the

[1] Lane, 'Modern Egyptians,' ii. p. 294.

funeral processions of ancient Egypt and the above-mentioned ceremony: as in the female mourners; their heads bound with a fillet; the procession of the friends on foot; the head of the corpse foremost; the horses (or chariot) in the procession; and the ox or calf for sacrifice, the meat of which was probably given to the poor, like the *visceratio* of the Romans.

Of the magnificent pomp of a royal funeral in the time of the Pharaohs no adequate idea can be formed from the processions represented in the tombs of ordinary individuals; and the solemn manner in which a public mourning was observed in his honour, the splendour of the royal tombs, and the importance attached to all that appertained to the king, sufficiently show how far these last must have fallen short of regal grandeur. A general mourning was proclaimed throughout the country, which lasted seventy-two days after his death. 'The people tore their garments,[1] all the temples were closed, sacrifices were forbidden, and no festivals were celebrated during that period. A procession of men and women, to the number of two hundred or three hundred, with their dresses attached below their breast, wandered through the streets, throwing dust[2] and mud upon their heads; and twice every day they sang the funeral dirge in honour of the deceased monarch, extolling his virtues, and passing every encomium upon his memory. In the meantime a solemn fast was established; and they neither allowed themselves to taste meat or wheaten bread,[3] abstaining also from wine and every kind of luxury; nor did anyone venture, from a religious scruple, to use baths or ointments, to lie on soft beds, or in any way to gratify his appetites; giving himself up entirely to mourning during those days, as if he had lost the friend most dear to him.'

Considering the marked distinction maintained between the sovereign and the highest subjects in the kingdom, in a country where the royal princes walked on foot when in attendance upon their father, and even bore him in his chair of state upon their shoulders,—where the highest functionaries of the priestly order, the most influential of the hereditary nobles of the land, walked behind the chariot[4] of their monarch,—we may readily believe

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[1] Diodor. i. 72.

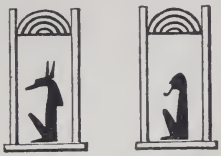
[2] The Greeks say 'mud;' but in dry, dusty Egypt this would have been more difficult to find than dust in England, if we had so unpleasant a custom at our funerals.

[3] 'As the bread of mourners.' (Hos. ix. 4.)

[4] The greatest honour conferred on Joseph was permission 'to ride in the second chariot which he (the king) had.' This was a royal chariot, no one being

how greatly the funeral processions of the wealthiest individuals fell short of those of the kings. But from the pomp of ordinary funerals some idea may be formed of the grand state in which the body of a sovereign was conveyed to the tomb.

In the funeral processions of the Egyptian grandees the order was frequently as follows, as will be seen in Plate LXVI.:—



Closets containing figures of gods.
No. 631.

First came several servants, carrying tables laden with fruit, cakes, flowers, vases of ointment,[1] wine, and other liquids, with three young geese and a calf for sacrifice, chairs and wooden tablets, napkins,[2] and other things. Then others bringing the small closets in which the mummy of the deceased and of his ancestors had been kept, while receiving the funeral liturgies previous to burial, and which sometimes contained the images of the gods. They also carried daggers, bows, sandals, and fans; each man having a kerchief or napkin on his shoulder. Next came a table of offerings, fauteuils, couches, boxes, and a chariot; and then the charioteer with a pair of horses yoked in another car, which he drove as he followed on foot, in token of respect to his late master. After these were men carrying gold vases on a table, with other offerings, boxes, and a large case upon a sledge borne on poles by four men, superintended by two functionaries of the priestly order; then others bearing small images of his ancestors, arms, fans, the sceptres, signets, collars, necklaces, and other things appertaining to the king in whose service he had held an important office. To these succeeded the bearers of a sacred boat, and the mysterious eye of Shu or Horus as god of stability,[3] so common on funeral monuments; the same, which was placed over the incision in the side of the body when embalmed, was the emblem of Egypt, and was frequently used as a sort of amulet, and deposited in the tombs. Others carried the well-known small images of blue pottery representing the deceased under the form of Osiris, and the bird emblematic of the soul. Following these were seven or more men bearing upon

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allowed to appear in his own in the presence of majesty, except in battle.

[1] I have had occasion to notice the different materials of which vases used for holding ointment were made. Alabaster was most common, as with the Greeks and Romans, who even adopted the name 'alabaster,' *alabastron*, to signify a vase, as in Theocr. Id. xv. 112: Συρίῳ δὲ μύρῳ χρύσει' ἀλάβαστρα.

[2] These were sometimes spread over the tables of offerings as tablecloths.

[3] Given also to Ptah in the same character.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson Del.

Cooper & Hodson Lith. 138, Strand W.C.

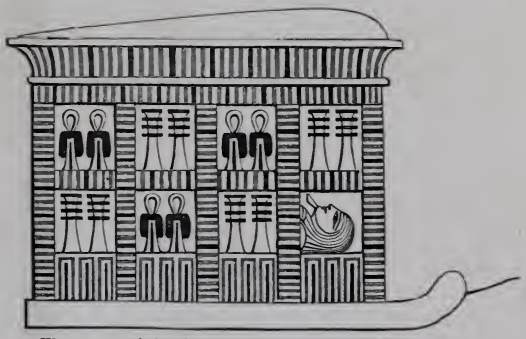
GREAT FUNERAL PROCESSION OF A ROYAL SCRIBE AT THEBES

staves or wooden yokes cases filled with flowers and bottles for libation; and then seven or eight women, having their heads bound with fillets, beating their breasts, throwing dust upon their heads, and uttering doleful lamentations for the deceased, intermixed with praises of his virtues.

One is seen in the picture turning round, in the act of adoration, towards a sacred case containing a sitting Cynocephalus, the emblem of the god of letters,[1] placed on a sledge drawn by four men; the officiating high priest or pontiff, clad in a leopard-skin, following, having in his hand the censer and vase of libation, and accompanied by his attendants bearing the various things required for the occasion.

Next came the hearse, placed in the consecrated boat upon a sledge,[2] drawn by four oxen and by seven men, under the direction of a superintendent, who regulated the march of the procession. A high functionary of the priestly order walked close to the boat, in which the chief mourners, the nearest female relatives of the deceased, stood or sat at either end of the sarcophagus; and sometimes his widow, holding a child in her arms, united her lamentations with prayers for her tender offspring, who added its tribute of sorrow to that of its afflicted mother.

The sarcophagus was decked with flowers, and on the sides were painted alternately the emblems of stability[3] and security,[4] two by two (as on the sacred arks or shrines) upon separate panels, one of which was sometimes taken out to expose to view the head of the mummy within.



The mummy's head, seen at an open panel of the coffin. No. 632. *Thebes.*

These two emblems are frequently put into the hands of the mummies, as may be seen in the coffins of the British Museum and other

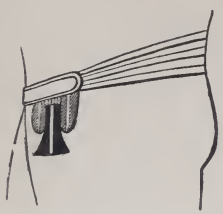
[1] This emblem of Thoth seems to correspond to the *book* carried on the desk of palm-sticks at the Moslem funerals.

[2] Plut. de Isid. s. 35.

[3] This perhaps represents the four *bases* of Iamblichus. It appears to be called τάτ or *tat*.

[4] A tie, called *ta*, sense unknown. Mystically the *tat* signified Osiris, and the *ta* Isis or Nephthys.—S. B.

collections. The first appears to be a sort of stand used by workmen for supporting vases or other things they were chiselling which required a firm position, and the other resembles a knot or clasp of a belt worn by the gods and kings.[1]



No. 633. Knot of a belt.

Behind the hearse followed the male relations and friends of the deceased; some beating their breasts; others, if not giving the same tokens of grief, at least showing their sorrow by their silence and solemn step as they walked, leaning on their long sticks. These closed the procession.

Arrived at the sacred lake, the coffin was placed in the *baris*,[2] or consecrated boat of the dead, towed by a larger one furnished with sails and oars, and having frequently a spacious cabin,[3] which, in company with other sailing boats carrying the mourners and all those things above mentioned appertaining to the funeral,[4] crossed to the other side. Arrived there, the procession went in the same order to the tomb; at which the priest offered a sacrifice, with incense and libation; the women still continuing their lamentations, united with prayers and praises of the deceased. It frequently happened that the deceased, with his wife, if dead at the time of his funeral, was represented seated under a canopy[5] in lieu of the coffin. Before him stood an altar laden with offerings; and a priest, opening a long roll of papyrus, read aloud the funeral ritual, and an account of his good deeds, 'in order to show to Osiris and the Assessors the extent of his piety and justice during his life.' When the boats reached the other side of the lake, the yards were lowered to the top of the cabin, and all those engaged in the ceremony left them and proceeded to the tomb, from which they appear to have returned by land, without recrossing the lake.

Such was the funeral procession of a *basilicogrammateus*, or royal scribe, a member of the priestly order. He lived during the four

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[1] This *ta* was an amulet, made of red jasper when attached to the neck, according to the 156th chapter of the Ritual, and was supposed to be made of the blood of Isis. It represented a tie or buckle.—S. B.

[2] 'The boat which carries over the bodies of the dead is called *baris*.' (Diod. i. 96.)

[3] It is probable that Strabo alludes to these boats with cabins under the name of *thalamegi* or *thalamiferi*, in which the Egyptians made parties of pleasure on the water. (Lib. xvii. p. 550.) Some were very small, and towed on the lakes of their pleasure-grounds by servants.

[4] On the cabin of the baris is the case containing the Cynocephalus.

[5] This canopy was very similar to that mentioned by Herodotus, of wood, gilt, in which the statue of a god was placed in processions.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson Del.

FUNERAL PASSING OVER THE SACRED LAKE OF THE DEAD AND ITS ARRIVAL AT THE TOMB ON THE OTHER SIDE. THEBES

successive reigns of Thothmes III., Amenophis II., Thothmes IV., and Amenophis III., and held the office of tutor to one of the young princesses, as the sculptures inform us, which represent him nursing her on his knee, while entertaining a party of friends. This, since it shows that the education of the daughters of kings was entrusted to members of the priestly order distinguished for their talents, is another trait of resemblance in the customs of ancient Egypt and the most refined of modern European nations.

The funerals of other persons differed in the order of the procession, as well as in the pomp displayed on the occasion; and the mode of celebrating them appears to have depended on the arrangements made by the family, except in those particulars which were prescribed by law. The funeral of *Nefer-hotep*, a priest of Amen at Thebes, is thus described on the walls of his tomb (as seen in Plate LXVII.), the scene of which lies partly on the lake, and partly on the way thence to the sepulchre itself:—

First came a large boat, conveying the bearers of flowers, cakes, and numerous things appertaining to the offerings—tables, fauteuils, and other pieces of furniture—as well as the friends of the deceased, whose consequence is shown by their dresses and long walking-sticks—the peculiar mark of Egyptian gentlemen. This was followed by a small skiff holding baskets of cakes and fruit, with a quantity of green palm-branches, which it was customary to strew in the way as the body proceeded to the tomb, the smooth nature of their leaves and stalks being particularly well adapted to enable the sledge to glide over them.

In this part of the picture the love of caricature common to the Egyptians is shown to have been indulged in, even in the serious subject of a funeral; and the retrograde movement of the large boat, which has grounded and is pushed off the bank, striking the smaller one with its rudder, has overturned a large table loaded with cakes and other things upon the rowers seated below, in spite of all the efforts of the *prowman*, and the earnest vociferations of the alarmed steersman.

In another boat men carried bouquets, and boxes supported on the usual yoke over their shoulders; and this was followed by two others, one containing the male, the other the female mourners, standing on the roof of the cabin, beating themselves, uttering cries, and making other demonstrations of excessive grief. Last came the consecrated boat, bearing the hearse, which

was surrounded by the chief mourners, and the female relations of the deceased. A high priest burnt incense over the altar, which was placed before it; and behind it stood the images of Isis and Nephthys. They were the emblems of the Beginning and the End, and were thought to be always present at the head and feet of the dead who had led a virtuous life, and who were deemed worthy of admission into the regions of the blessed.

Arrived at the opposite shore of the lake, the procession advanced to the catacombs, crossing the sandy plain which intervened between them and the lake; and on the way several women of the vicinity, carrying their children in shawls suspended at their side or at their back,[1] joined in the lamentation. The mummy being taken out of the sarcophagus, was placed erect in the chamber of the tomb; and the sister or nearest relation, embracing it, commenced a funeral dirge, calling on her relative with every expression of tenderness, extolling his virtues, and bewailing her own loss. In the meantime the high priest presented a sacrifice of incense and libation, with offerings of cakes and other customary gifts, for the deceased, and the men and women without continued the ululation, throwing dust upon their heads, and making other manifestations of grief.

Many funerals were conducted in a more simple manner; the procession consisting merely of the mourners and priests, with the hearse, conveyed as usual on a sledge drawn by two or three oxen, and by several men, who aided in pulling the rope. The priest who wore the leopard-skin dress and who performed the sacrifice, was in attendance, burning incense and pouring out a libation as he went; and behind him walked a functionary of an inferior grade, clad in a simple robe, extending a little below the knees and standing out from the body. In form it was not altogether unlike a modern *abbaieh*, and was made of some stiff substance, with two holes in front, through which the arms passed, in order to enable him to hold a long taper.[2] At the head and foot of the hearse was a female, who generally clasped one arm with her hand in token of grief, her head being bound with a fillet, her bosom exposed, and her dress[3] supported, like that of

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[1] This is the common custom of the Arab women on the west bank of the Nile at this day. It may perhaps be analogous to 'Thy daughters shall be nursed at thy side.' (Isa. lx. 4.)

[2] I believe this to be a taper or torch.

[3] Ἐπεζωσμένη. Apuleius (Metam. xi. 250) says the high priest made a purification 'with a lighted torch, an egg, and sulphur.'

CONVEYANCE OF A MUMMY TO SEPULCHRE.

A. Mummy on its Bier. B. Cattle drawing the Bier. C. Hired mourners. *Fig.* 1. Pshalkon lamenting. 2. Wife. 3, 4. Two figures of mourners. 5. Priest offering incense and water. 6. Man holding Situla or bucket, and sprinkling road. 7. *Kasheh* or redbytes reading Ritual. 8. Priest offering incense. 9. Attendant holding the adze, *nu*, to open the mouth of mummy. 10. Heap of funeral offerings, and oil. 11. Wife lamenting. 12. Mummy held up by 13. Anubis. 14. Sepulchral Tablet, *Anta*, dedicated to Osiris. 15. Chamber of tomb with pyramidal top, capped, and symbolic eyes. 16. Hills of the West.

mourning women, by a strap over the shoulder. She sometimes wore a scarf tied across her hips, much in the same manner as the Egyptian women now put on their shawls both in the house and when going out of doors. She appears either to be a type of mourning, or a woman who had some peculiar office on these occasions.[1]

A peculiar attendant at a funeral. No. 634.

A procession of this kind was all that attended the funeral of a person who held the office of 'scribe of weights and measures;' but, as I have already observed, the pomp displayed in the ceremony depended on circumstances; and individuals surpassed each other in the style of their burial, as in the grandeur of their tombs, according to the sums their family, or they themselves by will, granted for the purpose. In another funeral the order of the procession was as follows:—

First came eight men throwing dust upon their heads, and giving other demonstrations of grief; then six females, in the usual attire of mourners, preceding the hearse, which was drawn by two oxen—in this instance unassisted by men, two only being near them, one uttering lamentations, and the other driving them with a goad or a whip. Immediately before the sledge bearing the coffin was the *sprinkler*, who, with a brush dipped in a vase, or with a small bottle, threw water upon the ground, and perhaps also on those who passed. The same is done in the funeral ceremonies of the East at the present day; and so profusely do they sometimes honour the passengers, that Lane[2] found his dress wetted very uncomfortably on one occasion when he happened to pass by. Next came the high priest, who, turning round to the hearse, offered incense and libation in honour of the deceased, the chief mourner being seated in the boat before it: other men followed; and the procession closed with eight or more women, beating themselves, throwing dust on their heads, and singing the funeral dirge. Arrived at the tomb, which stood beneath the western mountain of Thebes, the mummy was taken from the hearse, and being placed upright, incense was burnt, and a libation was poured out before it by the

[1] Called *ter.t aa*, 'the chief mourner' or 'layer-out,' and *ter.t nets*, 'the lesser mourner,' apparently alluding to representations of Isis and Nephthys.—S. B.

[2] 'Modern Egyptians,' vol. ii. p. 297.

high-priest as he stood at the altar, while other functionaries performed various ceremonies in honour of the deceased. The hierogrammateus or sacred scribe read aloud from a tablet or a roll of papyrus his eulogy, and a prayer to the gods in his behalf; 'not enlarging,' says Diodorus,[1] 'on his descent, but relating his piety and justice and other virtues, and supplicating the deities of Hades to receive him as a companion of the pious, the multitude at the same time applauding and joining in the praises of his memory.'

Sometimes this document was read from the boat, immediately after the deceased had passed that ordeal which gave him the right to cross the sacred lake, and proclaimed the presumed admission of his soul into the regions of the blessed; and it is probable that the same was again repeated when the body arrived at the tomb.

The order of the procession which accompanied the body from the sacred lake to the catacombs was the same as before they had passed it; the time occupied by the march depending, of course, on the position of the tomb, and the distance from which the body had been brought, some coming from remote towns or villages, and others from the city itself, or the immediate vicinity. The same was the case at Memphis and other places; and the capital of each province appears to have had its sacred lake, where the funerals were performed with the same regard to the ceremonies required by the religion.

The tomb in the subject above described is represented at the base of the western mountain of Thebes, which agrees perfectly with its actual position; and from this, as from several other similar paintings, we learn that, besides the excavated chambers hewn in the rock, a small building crowned by a roof of conical or pyramidal form stood before the entrance. It is probable that many if not all the pits in the plain below the hills were once covered with buildings of this kind, which, from their perishable materials, crude brick, have been destroyed after a lapse of so many ages. Indeed, we find the remains of some of them, and occasionally even of their vaulted chambers, with the painted stucco on the walls. The small brick pyramids on the heights, which still stand to attest the antiquity of the arch, were built for the same purpose; and similar paintings occur on their stuccoed walls as on those of the excavated tombs.

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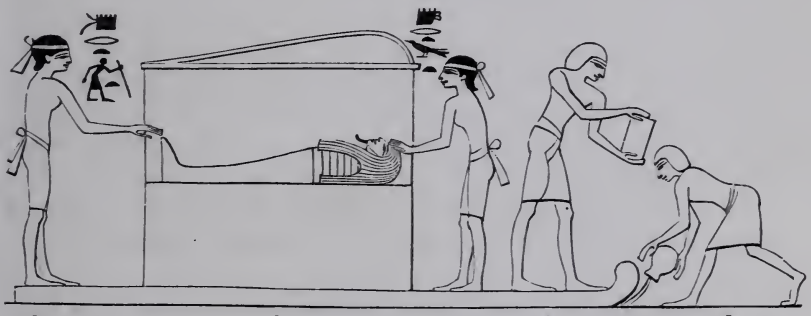
[1] Diodor. i. 92.

SCENE OF MUMMIES AT TOMBS.

Figs. 1-4. The sons of the deceased, the priests of Amen, named Amen-hetep, the scribe Amen-hetep, the priest Hat, the scribe Pa-sa-ri, the priests Nakht-amen, Amen-sha-em-hat, Bakes-amen, Bakenmut, and his brother, the scribe over the signet Uskhat, bringing palm-branches and offering fire and water. 5. The stand of amulets and offerings. 9. A scribe reading or reciting. 10. A stand of food. 11. A priest. 12, 13. Their daughters Hat-mahtye and Mutemen lamenting. 15. The mummy of the scribe or priest Kinbu. 16. The mummy of his wife Isis, daughter of Nakhtirunu. 16. A daughter or mourner. 17. The tablet dedicated to Osiris for the two. 18. The sepulchre of the two.

Many other funerals occur on the tombs, which vary only in some details from those already mentioned. I cannot however omit to notice an instance of palm-branches strewn in the way,[1] and the introduction of two tables or altars for the deceased and his wife—one bearing a profusion of cakes, meat, fruit, vegetables, and other customary gifts, and the other numerous utensils and insignia, as flabella, censers, ostrich-feathers, asps, and emblems, together with the hind leg of a victim placed upon a napkin spread over the table. Another is curious, from its showing that water or grease was sometimes poured upon the ground or platform on which the sledge of the hearse passed, as was done in moving a colossus or any great weight by the same process.

The hearse containing the mummy was generally closed on all sides; but it was sometimes open partially or entirely, and



No. 635. *Thebes.*

1, 2. Certain personages, *ter.t*, 'layers-out.' 3. The mummy with its coffin placed on a sledge, before which *fig.* 5 is pouring grease or some liquid. 4. A priest reading from a papyrus or a tablet.

the body was seen placed upon a bier ornamented, like some of the couches in their houses, with the head and feet of a lion. Sometimes the mummy was placed on the top of the sarcophagus within an open hearse, and three friends of the deceased, or the functionaries destined for this office, took it thence to convey it to the tomb, where it received the accustomed services previous to interment in the pit; an affectionate hand often crowning it with a garland of *immortelles*, bay-leaves, or fresh flowers;[2] and depositing, as the last duty of a beloved friend, some object to which while alive he had been attached.

[1] They are represented as if standing upright, according to Egyptian custom, to show them, though in reality on the ground.

[2] Some suppose that these wreaths of xeranthemums and other flowers were only given to unmarried persons.

I must mention one more subject portrayed in the tombs, if not from its novelty, from the grouping and character of the figures.[1] Three women and a young child follow the hearse of their deceased relative, throwing dust upon their heads in token of grief; and the truth with which the artist has described their different ages is no less striking than the elegance of the drawing —as well in the aged mother as in the wife, the grown-up daughter, and the youthful son. This picture affords a striking confirmation of the conjecture that married women were alone permitted to wear the *magasées*, or ringlet at the side of the face; which, as I have already observed, was frequently bound at the end with string, like the plaits at the back of the head. The grey hairs of the grandmother, shortened by age, still show this privileged mark of the matron; and its absence in the coiffure of the daughter indicates that, though grown up, she had not yet entered the connubial state.[2] The child, less remarkable than the other three, is not without its interest, as it fully confirms a statement of Diodorus,[3] that 'the Egyptians bring up their children at an incredibly small expense, both in food and raiment, the mildness of the climate enabling them to go without shoes, or indeed without any other clothing.' For, judging from this, as from others represented in the sculptures, we may presume that the yearly bill for shoes and all articles of dress pressed very lightly on the purses of the parents in many classes of society.

Such are the principal funeral processions represented in the tombs of Thebes, which, as I have already observed, followed the same order in going to the sacred lake as from thence to the tomb. It remains for me to describe the preparatory rites, and the remarkable ceremony that took place on arriving at the lake, before permission could be obtained to transport the body to the opposite shore.

We have seen that the first step taken by the friends of the deceased at the moment of his death was to run through the streets throwing dust upon their heads and uttering bitter cries of grief for his loss, 'after which the body was conveyed to the embalmers.[4] The afflicted family during seventy-two days

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[1] 'Materia Hierog.,' Plate 4.

[2] [For specimens of these distinguishing marks afforded by the mode of dressing the hair, see woodcuts Nos. 437 and 439, vol. ii. pp. 325 and 328.—G. W.]

[3] Diodor. i. 80.

[4] Herodot. ii. 85. In order not to interrupt the account of the funeral, I defer the description of embalming for the present.

continued their lamentations at home,[1] singing the funeral dirge, and fulfilling all the duties required both by custom and their own feelings on this mournful occasion.'[2]

No opportunity was lost of showing their respect for the memory of their departed friend. They abstained from all amusements, the indulgence in every kind of luxury, as 'the bath, wine, delicacies of the table, or rich clothing;'[3] 'they suffered their beard and hair to grow,'[4] and endeavoured to prove, by this marked neglect of their personal comfort and appearance, how entirely their thoughts were absorbed by the melancholy event that had befallen them. But they did not cut themselves in token of grief; and the command given to the Israelites, 'Ye shall not cut yourselves, nor make any baldness between your eyes for the dead,'[5] does not refer to a custom of the Egyptians, but of those people among whom they were about to establish themselves in Syria—as is distinctly stated of the votaries of Baal.[6]

The body, having been embalmed, was restored to the family, either already placed in the mummy-case, or merely wrapped in bandages, if we may believe Herodotus, who says the friends of the deceased made the coffin;[7] though, from the paintings in the tombs, it would appear that the body was frequently enveloped and put into the case by the undertakers, previous to its being returned to the family. After it had been deposited in its case, which was generally enclosed in two or three others, all richly painted, according to the expense they were pleased to incur, 'it was placed in a room of the house, upright against the wall,' until the tomb was ready and all the necessary preparations had been made for the funeral. The *coffin* or mummy-case was then 'carried forth,' and deposited in the *hearse*, drawn upon a sledge, as already described, to the sacred lake of the nome, notice having been previously given to the judges, and a public announcement made of the appointed day. 'Forty-two judges having been summoned, and placed in a semicircle near the banks of the lake, a boat was brought up, provided expressly for the occasion, under the direction of a boatman called, in the Egyptian language, *Charon;* and it is from hence,' says Dio-

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[1] Gen. l. 3.
[2] The same as at the death of a king.
[3] Diodor. i. 91. [4] Herodot. ii. 36.
[5] Deut. xiv. 1.
[6] 1 Kings xviii. 28: 'Cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets, till the blood gushed out upon them.'
[7] The similarity of our word coffin and the Arabic *cuffen*, 'a winding-sheet,' is remarkable.

dorus,[1] 'that the fable of Hades is said to be derived, which Orpheus introduced into Greece. For while in Egypt he had witnessed this ceremony, and he imitated a portion of it, and supplied the rest from his own imagination.'

'When the boat was ready for the reception of the coffin,[2] it was lawful for any person who thought proper to bring forward his accusation against the deceased. If it could be proved that he had led an evil life, the judges declared accordingly, and the body was deprived of the accustomed sepulture; but if the accuser failed to establish what he advanced, he was subject to the heaviest penalties. When there was no accuser, or when the accusation had been disproved, the relations ceased from their lamentations, and pronounced encomiums on the deceased. They did not enlarge upon his descent, as is usual among the Greeks, for they hold that all the Egyptians are equally noble; but they related his early education and the course of his studies, and then praising his piety and justice in manhood, his temperance, and the other virtues he possessed, they supplicated the gods below to receive him as a companion of the pious. This announcement was received by the assembled multitude with acclamations; and they joined in extolling the glory of the deceased, who was about to remain for ever with the virtuous in the regions of Hades. The body was then taken by those who had family catacombs already prepared, and placed in the repository[3] allotted to it.

'Some,' continues the historian, 'who were not possessed of catacombs, constructed a new apartment for the purpose in their own house,[4] and set the coffin upright against the firmest of the walls; and the same was done with the bodies of those who had been debarred the rites of burial on account of the accusation brought against them, or in consequence of debts they or their sons had contracted. These last, however, if their children's children happened to be prosperous, were released from the impediments of their creditors, and at length received the ceremony of a magnificent burial. It was, indeed, most solemnly established in Egypt that parents and ancestors should have a more marked token of respect paid them by their family after they

[1] Diodor. i. 92.

[2] Diodorus (i. 72) says that the coffin of a king was placed in the vestibule of the tomb when awaiting this sentence.

[3] The word θήκη may allude to the stone or wooden sarcophagus into which the mummy-case was placed, and which was probably conveyed beforehand to the tomb.

[4] Cicero says, 'Condiunt Ægyptii mortuos, et eos domi servant.' (Tusc. Quæst. lib. i.)

had been transferred to their everlasting habitations. Hence originated the custom of depositing the bodies of their deceased parents[1] as pledges for the payment of borrowed money, those who failed to redeem those pledges being subject to the heaviest disgrace, and deprived of burial after their own death.'

The grief and shame felt by the family when the rites of burial had been refused were excessive. They not only considered the mortification consequent upon so public an exposure, and the triumph given to their enemies, but the awful sentence foretold the misery which had befallen the soul of the deceased in a future state. They beheld him excluded from those mansions of the blessed to which it was the primary object of every one to be admitted; his memory was stained in this world with indelible disgrace; and a belief in transmigration suggested to them the possibility of his soul being condemned to inhabit the body of some unclean animal.

It is true that the duration of this punishment was limited according to the extent of the crimes of which the accused had been guilty; and when the devotion of friends, aided by liberal donations in the service of religion, and the influential prayers of the priests, had sufficiently softened the otherwise inexorable nature of the gods, the period of this state of purgatory was doubtless shortened; and Diodorus shows that grandchildren who had the means and inclination might avail themselves of the same method of satisfying their creditors and the gods. But still the fear of that cruel degradation, however short the period, was not without a salutary effect. Those, too, who had led a notoriously wicked life could not expect any dispensation, since the credit of the priesthood, even if they were corrupt enough to court the wealthy, would have suffered when the case was flagrant; and in justice to them we may believe that, until society had undergone those changes to which all nations are subject at their fall, the Egyptian priests were actuated by really virtuous feelings, both in their conduct and the object they had in view.

The disgrace of being condemned at this public ordeal was in itself a strong inducement to every one to abstain from crime: not only was there the fear of leaving a bad name, but the dread of exposure; and we cannot refuse to second

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[1] Diodor. *loc. cit.* Herodot. ii. 136. Lucian (Essay on Grief) says, 'a brother or father.'

the praises of Diodorus in favour of the authors of so wise an institution.

The form of the ritual read by the priest in pronouncing the acquittal of the dead is preserved in the tombs, usually at the entrance passage; in which the deceased is made to enumerate all the sins forbidden by the Egyptian law, and to assert his innocence of each. They are supposed by Champollion to amount to forty-two, being equal in number to the assessors who were destined to examine the deceased at his final judgment, each respecting the peculiar crime which it was his province to punish.

I have stated that every large city, as Thebes, Memphis, and other places, had its lake, at which the same ceremonies were practised; and it is probable, from what Diodorus says of the 'lake of the *nome*,' that the capital of each province had one in its immediate vicinity, to which the funeral procession of all who died within the jurisdiction of the *nomarch* was obliged to repair. Even when the priests granted a dispensation for the removal of a body to another town, as was sometimes done in favour of those who desired to be buried at Abydus and other places, the previous ceremony of passing through this ordeal was doubtless required at the lake of their own province.

Those persons who, from their extreme poverty, had no place prepared for receiving their body when denied the privilege of passing the sacred lake, appear to have been interred on the shores they were forbidden to leave; and I have found the bones of many buried near the site of the lake of Thebes, which appeared to be of bodies imperfectly preserved, as of persons who could not afford the more expensive processes of embalming.[1] And though the souls Virgil[2] mentions were condemned to hover a hundred years about the Stygian shores in consequence of their bodies having remained unburied,[3] the resemblance is sufficiently striking, as are the many tales related by the Greeks respecting the *Stygian marsh*, and the various places or personages of their Hades, to those connected with the funeral rites of the Egyptians. Of their introduction into Greece Diodorus gives the following account:[4]—'Orpheus

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[1] Plan of Thebes, the S.W. corner of the lake.

[2] Virgil, Æn. vi. 330.

[3] For which reason the soul of Patroclus, appearing to Achilles in a dream, prays him to bury his body as quickly as possible. (Il. Ψ, 71; Hor. Carm. lib. i. Od. 23; and Virg. Æn. vi. 526.)

[4] Diodor. i. 96.

is shown to have introduced from Egypt the greatest part of his mystical ceremonies, the orgies that celebrate the wanderings of Ceres, and the whole fable of the shades below. The rites of Osiris and Bacchus are the same; those of Isis and Ceres exactly resemble each other, except in name; and the punishments of the wicked in Hades, the Elysian fields of the pious, and all the common imaginary fictions, were copied from the ceremonies of the Egyptian funerals. Hermes, the conductor of souls, according to the ancient institutions of Egypt, was to convey the body of Apis to an appointed place, where it was received by a man wearing the mask of Cerberus; and this being communicated by Orpheus to the Greeks, gave rise to the idea adopted by Homer[1] in his poetry:—

'"Cyllenius now to Pluto's dreary reign
Conveys the dead, a lamentable train!
The golden wand that causes sleep to fly,
Or in soft slumber seals the wakeful eye,
That drives the ghosts to realms of night or day,
Points out the long uncomfortable way:
Trembling the spectres glide, and plaintive vent
Thin, hollow screams along the deep descent."

'And again,—

'"And now they reached the earth's remotest ends,
And now the gates where evening Sol descends,
And Leucas' rock, and Ocean's utmost streams,
And now pervade the dusky land of dreams;
And rest at last where souls embodied dwell,
In ever-flowery meads of asphodel:
The empty forms of men inhabit there,—
Impassive semblance, images of air!"

'To the river he gives the name of Ocean, because, as they say, the Egyptians call the Nile Oceanus in their language; the gates of the sun are derived from Heliopolis; and the meadow and the fabled dwelling of the dead are taken from the place about the lake called Acherusia, near Memphis, which is surrounded by beautiful meadows and marshes, abounding with lotus and flowering rushes. The reason of the dead being thought to inhabit those places, is that the greater part and the most considerable of the Egyptian catacombs are there, and the bodies are ferried over the river and Acherusian lake, previous to being deposited in those sepulchres.[2] The rest of

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[1] Homer, Odyss. Ω, 1, *et seq.*

[2] Analogous to the *baris* or boat of Charon of the Greeks is the mysterious bark, *maχent*, the subject of the 99th chapter of the Ritual (Lepsius, 'Todt.,' xxxvi. 99), every part of which spoke and addressed the deceased, to which he had to respond and give the mystical name before he could proceed.—S. B.

the Greek fancies respecting Hades are not less analogous to the present practices in Egypt. The boat which carries over the bodies is called *baris*;[1] and a penny is paid as the fare to the boatman, who is called *Charon* in the language of the country. There are also in the neighbourhood of the same place a temple to gloomy Hecate; the gates of Cocytus and of Lethe, fastened with brazen bars; and other gates of Truth, near which stands the figure of Justice without a head.

'Many other things mentioned in fable exist in Egypt, the habitual adoption of which still continues. For in the city of Acanthus, on the Libyan side of the Nile, 120 stadia[2] from Memphis, they say there is a barrel pierced with holes, to which 360 priests bring water every day from the Nile; and in an assembly in the vicinity the story of the ass is exhibited, where a man twists one end of a long rope while other persons untwist the opposite end. Melampus, in like manner, brought from Egypt the mysteries of Bacchus, the stories of Saturn, and the battles of the Titans; as Dædalus[3] imitated the Egyptian labyrinth in the one he built for King Minos, the former having been constructed by Mendes, or by Marus, an ancient king, many years before his time.'

That the fable of Charon and the Styx owed its origin to these Egyptian ceremonies cannot be doubted; and when we become acquainted with all the names of the places and personages connected with the funeral rites of Egypt, these analogies will probably appear still more striking.

Of Charon it may be observed that both his name and character are taken from Horus,[4] who had the peculiar office of steersman in the sacred boats of Egypt; and the piece of money given him for ferrying the dead across the Styx[5] appears to have been borrowed from the gold or silver plate put into the

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[1] Amongst the ideas connecting the Egyptian with the Greek religion may be cited the following:—The Aahenru, Aaru, or Aalu (in which are found the Elysian fields of the Greeks), the field which reproduced the divine and supernatural corn of the future state. It was cultivated by the departed spirits or manes. Mysterious roads led to it, and it was surrounded by a wall of iron pierced by many gates, and traversed by a river with branches, resembling in some respects the tradition of Eden or Paradise. It will be seen depicted in the 110th chapter of the Ritual, and an account of it will be found in Pierret, 'Dict.,' p. 4.—S. B.

[2] Fifteen miles.

[3] The reputed dedication of a temple to Dædalus in one of the islands near Memphis, which he says existed in his time, and was honoured by the neighbouring inhabitants, is evidently a Greek fancy. (Diodor. i. 97.)

[4] The Greeks had not the Egyptian letter ⲍ, and therefore substituted the χ, as they now do in modern names; as Charris for Harris, &c.

[5] 'Cocyti stagna alta . . . . Stygiamque paludem.' (Virg. Æn. vi. 323.)

mouth of the dead by the Egyptians.[1] For though they did not intend it as a reward to the boatman,[2] but rather as a passport to show the virtuous character of the deceased, it was of equal importance in obtaining for him admittance into the regions of the blessed.[3]

The Egyptian custom of depositing cakes in the tombs probably led to the Greek notion of sending a cake for Cerberus, which was placed in the mouth of the deceased; and it was by means of a similar one, drugged with soporiferous herbs, and given to the monster at a hungry hour,[4] that Æneas and the Sibyl obtained an entrance into the lower regions.

The judge of the dead is recognised in Osiris; the office of Mercury Psychopompos is the same as that of Anubis; the figure of Justice without a head, and the scales of Truth or Justice at the gate of Amenti, occur in the funeral subjects of the Egyptian tombs; and the hideous animal who there seems to guard the approach to the mansion of Osiris is a worthy prototype of the Greek Cerberus.

It was not ordinary individuals alone who were subjected to a public ordeal at their death: the character of the king himself was doomed to undergo the same test; and if anyone could establish proofs of his impiety or injustice, he was denied the usual funeral obsequies when in the presence of the assembled multitude his body was brought to the sacred lake, or, as Diodorus[5] states, to the vestibule of the tomb. 'The customary trial having commenced, anyone was permitted to present himself as an accuser. The pontiffs first passed an encomium upon his character, enumerating all his noble actions, and pointing out the merit of each; to which the people, who were assembled to the number of several thousands, if they felt those praises to be just, responded with favourable acclamations. If, on the contrary, his life had been stained with vice or injustice, they showed their dissent by loud murmurs: and several in-

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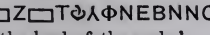
[1] On one of these plates I have seen the following characters—



perhaps 'the lord of the gods.'

[2] Virg. Æn. vi. 299:

'Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat
Terribili squalore Charon. . . . . .
Ipse ratem conto subigit, velisque ministrat,
Et ferruginea subvectat corpora cymba.'

[3] Pettigrew, Plate 6, fig. 1, and p. 63.

[4] Virg. Æn. vi. 419:

'Cui vates, horrere videns jam colla colubris,
Melle soporatam et medicatis frugibus offam
Objicit: ille fame rabida tria guttura pandens,
Corripit objectam.'

[5] Diodor. i. 72.

stances are recorded of Egyptian monarchs having been deprived of the honour of the customary public funeral by the opposing voice of the people.' 'The effect of this,' adds the historian, 'was that succeeding kings, fearing so disgraceful a censure after death, and the eternal stigma attached to it, studied by their virtuous conduct to deserve the good opinion of their subjects; and it could not fail to be a great incentive to virtue, independent of the feelings arising from a wish to deserve the gratitude of men, and the fear of forfeiting the favour of the gods.'

The custom of refusing funeral rites to a king was not confined to Egypt; it was common also to the Jews,[1] who forbade a wicked monarch to repose in the sepulchres of his fathers. Thus Joash, though 'buried in the city of David,' was not interred 'in the sepulchres of the kings;'[2] Manasseh 'was buried in the garden of his own house,'[3] and several other kings of Judah and Israel were denied that important privilege. That the same continued to the time of the Asmoneans, is shown by the conduct of Alexander Janneus, who, feeling the approach of death, charged his wife, 'on her return to Jerusalem, to send for the leading men among the Pharisees, and show them his body, giving them leave, with great appearance of sincerity, to use it as they might please—whether they would dishonour the dead body by refusing it burial, as having severely suffered through him, or whether in their anger they would offer any other injury to it. By this means, and by a promise that nothing should be done without them in the affairs of the kingdom, it was hoped that a more honourable funeral might be obtained than any she could give him, and that his body might be saved from abuse by this appeal to their generosity.'[4] They had also the custom of instituting a general mourning for a deceased monarch[5] whose memory they wished to honour.

But the Egyptians allowed not the same extremes of degradation to be offered to the dead as the Jews[6] sometimes did to those who had incurred their hatred; and the body of a malefactor, though excluded from the precincts of the necropolis, was not refused to his friends, that they might perform the last duties to their unfortunate relative. The loss of life and the

[1] 1 Kings xiv. 13. 2 Kings ix. 10.
[2] 2 Chron. xxiv. 25.
[3] 2 Kings xxi. 18 and 26.
[4] Joseph. Antiq. xiii. 15, 5.
[5] 1 Kings xiv. 18, &c.
[6] As Jezebel was eaten by dogs (2 Kings ix. 35).

future vengeance of the gods was deemed a sufficient punishment, without the addition of insult to his senseless corpse; and hence the unusual treatment of the body of the robber taken in Rhampsinitus' treasury appeared to his mother a greater affliction than the death of her son.

It was not, however, a general custom among the Jews to expose the bodies of malefactors or those who had incurred their hatred: it was thought sufficient to deprive them of funeral obsequies; and the relations were permitted to inter the body in their own house, or in that of the deceased. Thus Joab 'was buried in his own house in the wilderness'[1] when slain by the order of Solomon for the murders he had committed; and the greatest severity to which they usually exposed an individual was to deny him the rites of burial.[2]

A question might arise whether the Egyptians positively prevented a king, thus rejected at his public ordeal, from being buried in the catacomb prepared for him, or, merely forbidding the celebration of the pomp customary on that occasion, conducted his body privately to the sepulchre. But the evidence of the sculptures in one of the tombs of the kings of Thebes appears conclusive on this point. The name of the monarch has been erased; which shows that he was not admitted to the consecrated precincts of the royal cemetery; and this suggests that the same custom prevailed in Egypt as with the Jews, of burying the kings rejected by the public voice either in their own private grounds or in some place set apart for the purpose.

It was not the dread of this temporary disgrace which the Egyptians were taught to look upon as the principal inducement to virtue: a far graver consideration was held out to them in the fear of that final judgment which awaited them in a future state, where they were to suffer both for crimes of omission as well as of commission, and where nothing could shield them from the just vengeance of the gods. The same doctrine is put forth in the writings of Plato, who, in his Seventh Epistle, says, 'It is necessary, indeed, always to believe in the ancient and sacred discourses, which announce to us that the soul is immortal, and that it has judges of its conduct, and suffers the greatest punishment when it is liberated from the body.'

The commission of secret crimes might not expose them to the condemnation of the world; they might obtain the credit of

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[1] 1 Kings ii. 34. [2] Ps. lxxix. 3. Jer. viii. 2, xiv. 16, and xvi. 4.

a virtuous career, enjoying throughout life an unsullied reputation; and many an unknown act of injustice might escape those who applauded them on the day of their funeral. But the all-scrutinising eye of the Deity was known to penetrate into the innermost thoughts of the heart; and they believed that whatever conscience told them they had done amiss was recorded against them in the book of Thoth, out of which they would be judged according to their works.[1] The sculptured walls of every sepulchre reminded them of this solemn ceremony; the rewards held out to the virtuous were reputed to exceed all that man could imagine or desire; and the punishments of the wicked were rendered doubly odious by the notion of a transmigration of the soul into the most hateful and disgusting animals. The idea of the punishment was thus brought to a level with their comprehension. They were not left to speculate on, and consequently to call in question, the kind of punishment they were to suffer, since it was not presented to them in so fanciful and unintelligible a guise as to be beyond their comprehension: all could feel the disgrace of inhabiting the body of a pig; and the very one they beheld with loathing and disgust probably contained the soul of a wicked being they had known as their enemy or their friend.

'The Egyptians,' according to Herodotus,[2] 'were the first to maintain that the soul of man[3] is immortal; that after the death of the body it always enters into that of some other animal which is born; and when it has passed through all those of the earth, water, and air, it again enters that of a man; which circuit it accomplishes in three thousand years.' This doctrine of transmigration is mentioned by Plutarch, Plato, and other ancient writers as the general belief among the Egyptians, and it was adopted by Pythagoras[4] and his preceptor Pherecydes, as well as other philosophers of Greece.

Plutarch[5] says that 'the Egyptians thought the souls of men,

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[1] [Each man's conscience, released from the sinful body, was his own judge; and self-condemnation hereafter followed up the γνῶθι and αἰσχύνεο σεαυτὸν enjoined on earth. Thoth, therefore (or that part of the divine nature called intellect and conscience), weighed and condemned; and Horus (who had been left on earth to follow out the conquests of his father Osiris after he had returned to heaven) ushered in the just to the divine presence. —G. W.]

[2] Herodot. ii. 123.

[3] St. Augustine says, 'Ægyptii soli credunt resurrectionem, quia diligenter curant cadavera mortuorum; morem enim habent siccare corpora et quasi ænea reddere; *gabbaras* ea vocant.' It is singular that the word now used in Egypt for a *tomb* is *gabr* or *gobber*. (Aug. Sermon. c. 12.)

[4] Conf. Lucian's Gallus; and Hor. 1 Od. xxiii. 10.

[5] Plut. de Isid. ss. 31 and 72.

which still survive their bodies, returned into life again in animals;' and that 'they considered it right to prefer for sacrifice those in whose bodies the souls of wicked men were confined during the course of their transmigration;' while the precept in the golden verses of Pythagoras commands men to abstain from food connected with the purifications and solution of the soul.

The reason of this purification of the soul I have already noticed, as well as the greater or less time required, according to the degree of sin by which it had been contaminated during its sojourn in the world.[1] Herodotus fixes the period at 3000 years, when the soul returned to the human form;[2] and Plato says,[3] 'If anyone's life has been virtuous, he shall obtain a better fate hereafter; if wicked, a worse. But no soul will return to its pristine condition till the expiration of 10,000 years, since it will not recover the use of its wings until that period, except it be the soul of one who has philosophised sincerely, or, together with philosophy, has loved beautiful forms. These, indeed, in the third period of 1000 years, if they have thrice chosen this mode of life in succession . . . . shall, in the 3000th year, fly away[4] to their pristine abode; but other souls being arrived at the end of their first life shall be judged. And of those who are judged, some, proceeding to a subterraneous place of judgment, shall there sustain the punishments they have deserved; but others, in consequence of a favourable judgment, being elevated into a certain celestial place, shall pass their time in a manner becoming the life they had lived in a human shape. And in the 1000th year both the kinds of those who have been judged, returning to the lot and election of a second life, shall each of them receive a life agreeable to his desire. Here also the human soul shall pass into the life of a beast, and from that of a beast again into a man if it has first been the soul of a man. For the soul which has never perceived the truth cannot pass into the human form.'

It is possible that the Egyptians also supposed the period of

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[1] The same occurs in these lines of Milton's Comus:—

. . . . . 'But when lust,
By . . . . . lavish act of sin,
Lets in defilement to the inward parts,
The soul grows clotted by contagion,
Imbodies, and imbrutes, till she quite lose
The divine property of her first being.'

[2] This seems to disagree with the custom of giving all good men the name of Osiris *immediately* after their burial, as if their soul had *already* returned to the Deity, whence it emanated.

[3] Plato, in Phædone, p. 355, tr. Taylor.

[4] This agrees with the Egyptian notion of a winged soul.

3000 years to have been confined to those who had led a philosophically virtuous life; but it is difficult to determine if the full number of 10,000 years was required for other souls. From the fact of the number ten signifying completion and return to unity, it is not altogether improbable—particularly since the Greek philosophers are known to have derived their notions on this, as on many other subjects, from the dogmas of Egypt.

Herodotus states that several Greeks adopted the doctrine of transmigration and used it as their own, whose names he refrains from mentioning; and it is generally supposed by Diodorus, Diogenes Laertius, Porphyry, and others, that Pythagoras had the merit of first introducing it into Greece.[1] And if Cicero thinks Pherecydes of Syros, of whom Pythagoras was a disciple, to be the first to assert that the souls of men were immortal, the Egyptian origin of the doctrine is only the more confirmed, since he had also visited and studied under the Egyptian priests.

This metempsychosis, or rather metensomatosis, being the passage of the soul from one animal to another, was termed 'the circle or orbit of necessity;'[2] and besides the ordinary notion of its passing through different bodies till it returned again in a human shape, some went so far as to suppose that after a certain period all events which had happened were destined to occur again, in the identical order and manner as before. The same men were said to be born again, and to fulfil the same career; and the same causes were thought to produce the same effects, as stated by Virgil.

This idea of a similarity of causes and effects appears to be quite consistent with the opinions of the Egyptians, mentioned by Herodotus;[3] and not only, says the historian, 'have the Greek poets adopted many of their doctrines,' but the origin of most of the religious speculations of Greece may be traced to the Egyptians, who 'have invented more prodigies than all the rest of mankind.'

The Egyptian notion that the soul, after its series of migrations, returned to the same human body in which it had formerly lived on earth, is in perfect accordance with the passage of the Roman poet above alluded to; and this is confirmed by Theophrastus, who says, 'The Egyptians think that the same soul enters the body of a man, an ox, a dog, a bird, and a fish, until

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[1] Diodor. i. 98; Diog. Laert. viii. 14; Porph. Vit. Pyth. 19.
[2] Κύκλος ἀνάγκης.
[3] Herodot. ii. 82.

having passed through all of them, it returns to that from which it set out.'[1] There is even reason to believe that the Egyptians preserved the body in order to keep it in a fit state to receive the soul which once inhabited it, after the lapse of a certain number of years; and the various occupations followed by the Egyptians during the lifetime of the deceased, which were represented in the sculptures, as well as his arms, the implements he used, or whatever was most precious to him, which were deposited in the tomb with his coffin, might be intended for his benefit at the time of this reunion, which at the least possible period was fixed at 3000 years.[2] On the other hand, from the fact of animals being also embalmed (the preservation of whose bodies was not ascribable to any idea connected with the soul), the custom might appear rather owing to a sanitary regulation for the benefit of the living, or be attributable to a feeling of respect for the dead —an affectionate family being anxious to preserve that body or outward form by which one they loved had been long known to them.

We are therefore still in uncertainty respecting the actual intentions of the Egyptians in thus preserving the body and ornamenting their sepulchres at so great an expense; nor is there any decided proof that the resurrection of the body was a tenet of their religion. It is, however, highly probable that such was their belief, since no other satisfactory reason can be given for the great care of the body after death. And if many a one, on returning to his tomb, might be expected to feel great disappointment in finding it occupied by another, and execrate in no very measured terms the proprietor who had re-sold it after his death, the offending party would feel secure against any injury from his displeasure, since his return to earth would occur at a different period. For sufficient time always elapsed between the death of two occupants of the same tomb, the 3000 years dating from the demise of each, and not from any fixed epoch.

The doctrine of transmigration was also admitted by the

[1] The doctrine of the metempsychosis appears from the Ritual to have been ancient Egyptian, and the soul or the manes transformed itself in the future state into the form of a man, the god Ptah, Osiris, the chief of the gods, a hawk, heron, swallow, serpent, crocodile, and lotus-flower. The deceased had also the power of taking all the forms he wished. The above forms seem essential to the future destiny of the soul. These are illustrated by the 76th and following chapters of the Ritual. (Lepsius, 'Todt.,' Taf. xxviii.–xxxiii.)—S. B.

[2] The Egyptians considered *man* to have a soul, *ba*, represented as a hawk with a human head; a shade, *khebi;* a spirit or intelligence, *khu*, and into which he became changed as 'a being of light;' and an existence, *ka*, besides life, *ankh*. The soul, *ba*, only revisited the body. It is thought to have been immortal.—S. B.

Pharisees; their belief, according to Josephus,[1] being 'that all souls were incorruptible; but that those of good men were only removed into other bodies, and that those of the bad were subject to eternal punishment.' The Buddhist and other religions have admitted the same notion of the soul of man passing into the bodies of animals: and even the Druids believed in the migration of the soul, though they confined it to human bodies.[2]

The judgment scenes found in the tombs and on the papyri sometimes represent the deceased conducted by Horus alone, or accompanied by his wife, to the region of Amenti. Cerberus is present as the guardian of the gates, near which the scales of Justice are erected; and Anubis, 'the director of the weight,' having placed a vase representing the good actions[3] of the deceased in one scale, and the figure or emblem of Truth in the other,[4] proceeds to ascertain his claims for admission.[5] If on being 'weighed' he is 'found wanting,'[6] he is rejected; and Osiris, the judge of the dead, inclining his sceptre in token of condemnation, pronounces judgment upon him, and condemns his soul to return to earth under the form of a pig, or some other unclean animal. Placed in a boat, it is removed, under the charge of two monkeys, from the precincts of Amenti, all communication with which is figuratively cut off by a man who hews away the earth with an axe after its passage; and the commencement of a new term of life is indicated by those monkeys, the emblems of Thoth. But if, when the sum of his deeds are recorded by Thoth, his virtues so far predominate as to entitle him to admission to the mansions of the blessed, Horus, taking in his hand the tablet of Thoth, introduces him to the presence of Osiris; who, in his palace, attended by Isis and Nephthys, sits on his throne in the midst of the waters, from which rises the lotus, bearing upon its expanded flower the four genii of Amenti.

Other representations of this subject differ in some of the details; and in the judgment scene of the royal scribe whose

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[1] Joseph. Bell. Jud. ii. 8, 14.

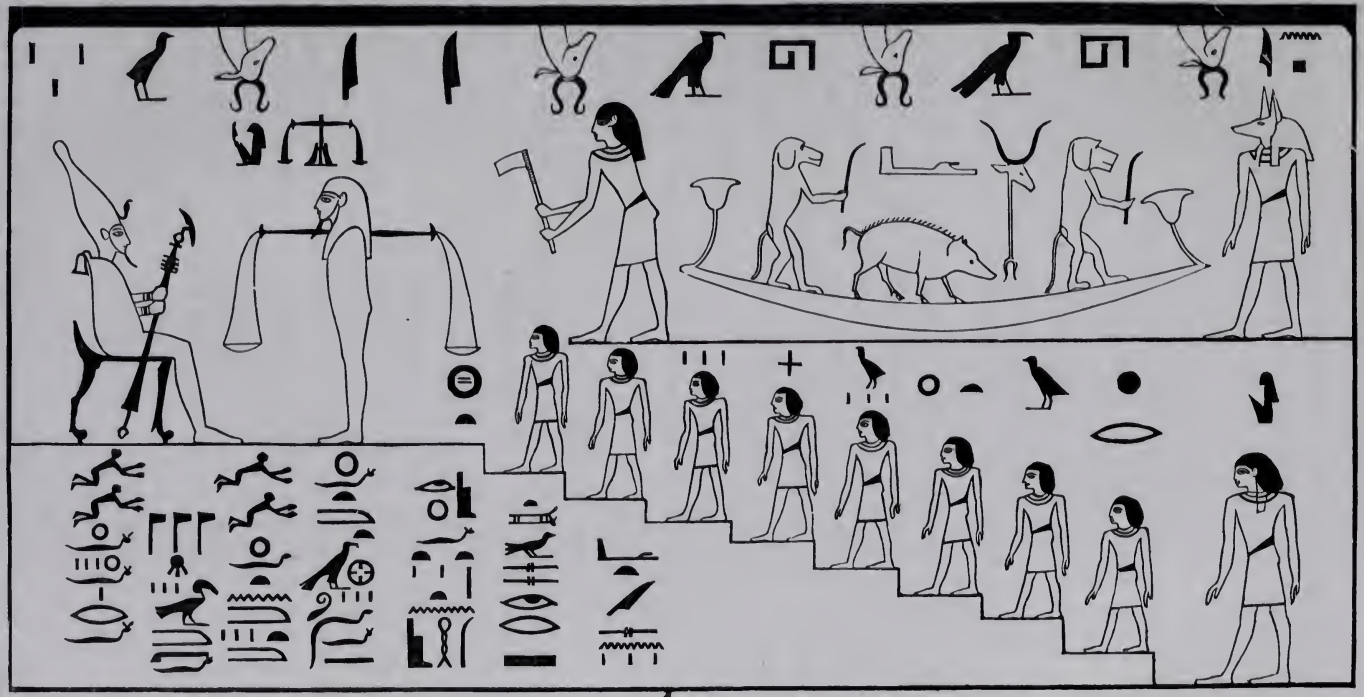
[2] Cæs. Bell. Gall. lib. vi.

[3] This is supposed by Champollion to be a human heart.

[4] The same kind of balance is represented on a Greek vase published in the 'Archæologia' of Rome, of 1833, Plate 47, representing Arcesilaus, king of Cyrene, seated and superintending the weighing of *silphium*, where the ape is seated above, and a figure in the attitude of Osiris sits on a throne holding a barred sceptre, similar to the emblem of stability in the hand of the judge of Amenti.

[5] This subject is the vignette of the 125th chapter of the Ritual, called that of proceeding to the hall of the Two Truths, where a person is separated from his sins, and is allowed to see the faces of the gods. (Lepsius, 'Todt.,' xlvi. c. 125, rubric.) It is called the great judgment, or day of great judgment.—S. B.

[6] Conf. Daniel v. 27; and Job xxxi. 6.



Osiris, attended by the guardian of the balance; a deity with a hatchet, Anubis, giving judgment; and the barque of Gluttony.

funeral procession has been described, the deceased advances alone in an attitude of prayer to receive judgment. On one side of the scales stands Thoth, holding a tablet in his hand; on the other, the goddess of justice; and Horus, in lieu of Anubis, performs the office of director of the balance, on the top of which sits a Cynocephalus, the emblem of Thoth. Osiris, seated as usual on his throne,[1] holding his crook and flagellum, awaits the report from the hands of his son Horus. Before the door of his palace are the four genii of Amenti, and near them three deities, who either represent the assessors, or may be the three assistant judges, who gave rise to the Minos, Æacus, and Rhadamanthus[2] of Greek fable.[3]

Another, figured in the side adytum of the Ptolemaic temple of Dayr el Medeeneh, at Thebes, represents the deceased approaching in a similarly submissive attitude, between two figures of Truth or Justice, whose emblem, the ostrich-feather, he holds in his hand. The two figures show the double capacity of that goddess, corresponding, as already shown, to the Thummim, or two Truths, and according well with the statement of Diodorus respecting her position 'at the gates of Truth.' Horus and Anubis superintend the balance, and weigh the actions of the judged, whilst Thoth inscribes an account of them on his tablet, which he prepares for presentation to Osiris, who, seated on his throne, pronounces the final judgment, permitting the virtuous soul to enjoy the blessings of eternal felicity. Before him four genii of Amenti stand upon a lotus-flower; and a figure of Harpocrates, seated on a crook of Osiris between the scales and the entrance of the divine abode, which is guarded by Cerberus,[4] is intended to show that the deceased on admission to that pure state must be born again, and commence a new life, cleansed from all the impurities of his earthly career. It also represents the idea common to the Egyptians and other philosophers, that to die was only to assume a new form,—that nothing was annihilated,—and that dissolution was merely the forerunner of reproduction. Above, in two lines, sit the forty-two assessors, the complete number mentioned by Diodorus; whose office, as I have already observed, was to assist in judging the dead, and whose various forms have been given among the other deities of the Egyptian Pantheon.

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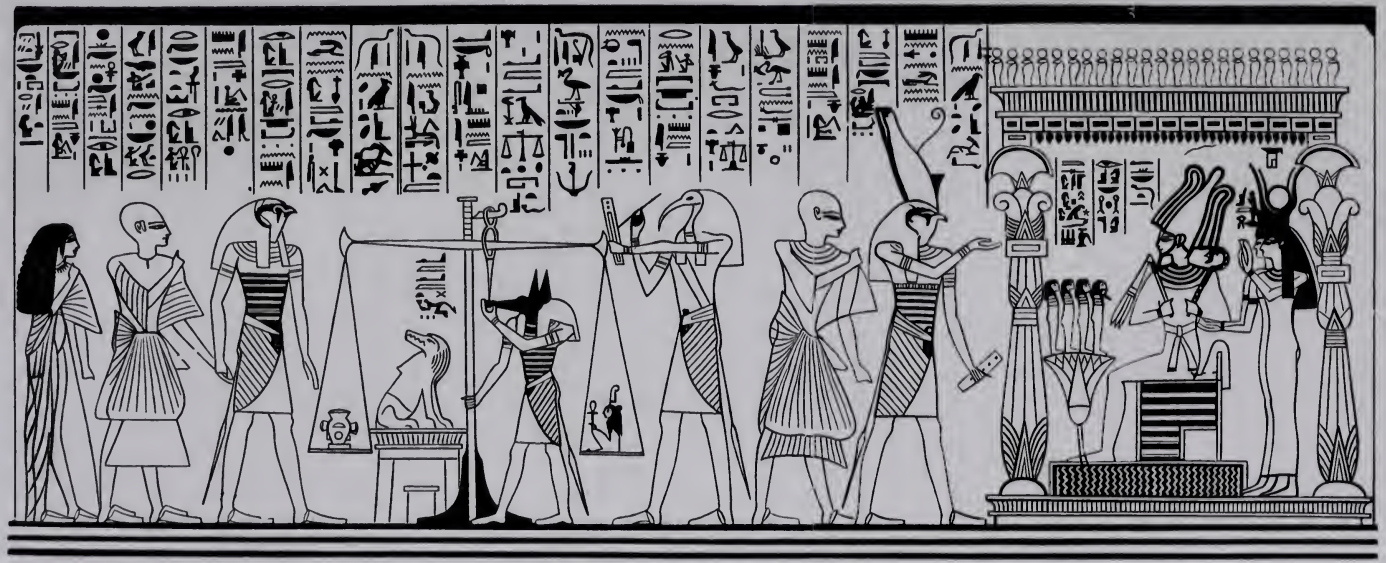
[1] Lucian's 'Minos on a high throne, with the punishments, avenging spirits, and furies standing near him.' (Necromantia.)

[2] Virg. Æn. vi. 566.

[3] Diodor. i. 97, on the punishment of the dead.

[4] The *amti*, or 'devourer.'



Scene of judgment in the hall of the Two Truths.

In the hall is Osiris attended by Isis, Nephthys, and the four genii of Amenti. Horus, hawk-headed, introduces Amen-em-hat, a deceased door-keeper of the temple of Amen. Thoth, ibis-headed, records the judgment on a palette: he says, 'His heart has come out of the balance sound; no defect has been found in it.' Anubis, jackal-headed, says, 'I watch over the weighing of Amen-em-hat out of the balance weighed in its place.' In the scales are the heart of the deceased and a weight in shape of Truth. A second figure of Horus, hawk-headed, holds Amen-em-hat, accompanied by his wife Arit, and says, 'I watch over the going of the Osirified (deceased) chief door-keeper of the temple of Amen, Amen-em-hat justified. Mayst thou come, O lord of the Amenti, Osiris, ruler of the living! I have acted for thee daily. I know thee; thou livest by this.'

Many similar subjects occur on funeral monuments, few of which present any new features. One, however, is singular, from the goddess of justice being herself engaged in weighing the deceased, in the presence of Thoth, who is represented under the form of a Cynocephalus, having the horns and globe of the moon upon its head, and a tablet in its hand. Instead of the usual vase, the figure of the deceased himself is placed in one of the scales, opposed to that of the goddess; and close to the balance sits Cerberus with open mouth, as though prepared to vent his savage fury on the judged,[1] if pronounced unworthy of admittance to the regions of the blessed.

Another may also be noticed, from the singular fact of the goddess of justice, who here introduces the deceased, being without a head, as described by Diodorus, from the deceased holding in each hand an ostrich-feather, the emblem of truth, and from Cerberus being represented standing upon the steps of the divine abode of Osiris, as if in the act of announcing the arrival of Thoth with the person of the tomb.

Sometimes the deceased wore round his neck the same vase which in the scales typified his good actions, or bore on his head the ostrich-feather of truth. They were both intended to show that he had been deemed worthy of admission to the mansions of the just; and in the same idea originated the custom of placing the name of the goddess after that of virtuous individuals who were dead, implying that they were 'judged,' or 'justified.' Some analogy to this may perhaps be traced in the following passage of Plato's Gorgias:[2]—'Sometimes Rhadamanthus, beholding the soul of one who has passed through life *with truth*, whether it be the soul of a private man, or of any other . . . . . is filled with admiration, and dismisses it to the islands of the blessed,[3] and the same things are done by Æacus.'

The goddesses Athor and Nut frequently presented the virtuous after death with the fruit and drink of heaven; which calls to mind the ambrosia and nectar of Greek fable.[4]

The process of embalming is thus described by ancient writers:—'In Egypt,' says Herodotus,[5] 'certain persons are appointed by law to exercise this art as their peculiar business;

[1] Cerberus welcomed those who came in, and devoured those who endeavoured to go out of the gates of Hades. (Hesiod, Theog. 770.)

[2] Plato, Gorgias, p. 458.

[3] Conf. Lucian on Grief.

[4] Some suppose the former to have been eaten, the latter drunk (Hesiod, Theog. 640); though Homer, Od. Υ, 359, calls the wine 'a stream of ambrosia and nectar.'

[5] Herodot. ii. 86.

and when a dead body is brought them they produce patterns of mummies in wood, imitated in painting, the most elaborate of which are said to be of him (Osiris) whose name I do not think it right to mention on this occasion. The second which they show is simpler and less costly; and the third is the cheapest. Having exhibited them all, they inquire of the persons who have applied to them which mode they wish to be adopted; and this being settled, and the price agreed upon, the parties retire, leaving the body with the embalmers.

'In preparing it according to the first method, they commence by extracting the brain from the nostrils by a curved iron probe, partly cleansing the head by these means, and partly by pouring in certain drugs; then making an incision in the side with a sharp Ethiopian stone, they draw out the intestines through the aperture. Having cleansed and washed them with palm wine, they cover them with pounded aromatics; and afterwards filling the cavity with powder of pure myrrh, cassia, and other fragrant substances, frankincense excepted, they sew it up again. This being done, they salt the body, keeping it in natron during seventy days, to which period they are strictly confined. When the seventy[1] days are over, they wash the body, and wrap it up entirely in bands of fine linen, smeared on their inner side with gum, which the Egyptians generally use[2] instead of glue. The relations then take away the body, and have a wooden case made in the form of a man, in which they deposit it; and when fastened up, they keep it in a room in their house, placing it upright against the wall. This is the most costly mode of embalming.

'For those who choose the middle kind, on account of the expense, they prepare the body as follows:—They fill syringes with oil of cedar,[3] and inject this into the abdomen, without making any incision or removing the bowels; and taking care that the liquid shall not escape, they keep it in salt during the specified number of days. The cedar oil is then taken out; and such is its strength that it brings with it the bowels and all the inside in a state of dissolution. The natron also dissolves the flesh, so that nothing remains but the skin and bones. This process being over, they restore the body without any further operation.

[1] According to Genesis l. 3, only forty days, which is more probable. Diodorus says 'upwards of thirty.' The seventy or seventy-two included the whole period of mourning.

[2] On this occasion, but not for other purposes.

[3] Pliny, xvi. 11.

'The third kind of embalming is only adopted for the poor. In this they merely cleanse the body by an injection of *syrmæa*, and salt it during seventy days, after which it is returned to the friends who brought it.

'The bodies of women of quality are not embalmed directly after their death, and it is customary for the family to keep them three or four days before they are subjected to that process.'

The account given by Diodorus[1] is similar to that of the historian of Halicarnassus. 'The funerals of the Egyptians are conducted upon three different scales,—the most expensive, the more moderate, and the humblest. The first is said to cost a talent of silver;[2] the second twenty-two minæ;[3] and the third is extremely cheap. The persons who embalm the bodies are artists who have learnt this secret from their ancestors. They present to the friends of the deceased who apply to them an estimate of the funeral expenses, and ask them in what manner they wish it to be performed; which being agreed upon, they deliver the body to the proper persons appointed to the office. First, one, who is denominated the scribe, marks upon the left side of the body, as it lies on the ground, the extent of the incision which is to be made; then another, who is called *paraschistes*,[4] cuts open as much of the flesh as the law permits with an Ethiopian stone, and immediately runs away,[5] pursued by those who are present, throwing stones at him amidst bitter execrations, as if to cast upon him all the odium of this necessary act. For they look upon everyone who has offered violence to, or inflicted a wound or any other injury upon a human body, to be hateful; but the embalmers, on the contrary, are held in the greatest consideration and respect, being the associates of the priests, and permitted free access to the temples as sacred persons.

'As soon as they have met together to embalm the body thus prepared for them, one introduces his hand through the aperture into the abdomen, and takes everything out, except the kidneys and heart.[6] Another cleanses each of the viscera with palm

[1] Diodor. i. 91.

[2] About 250*l.* sterling.

[3] Or 60*l.*

[4] The dissector.

[5] Pausanias, Attic. lib. i. c. 24, speaks of the priest fleeing away as soon as he had killed the victim, before the altar of Jupiter Poliéus, at Athens.

[6] According to Pliny, lib. xi. c. 37, the Egyptians believed the heart to be the great vital principle, and that man could not live beyond 100 years from its being impaired by that time. [An embalmed heart bandaged has been found in a sepulchral jar in possession of Dr. Higgens of Birkenhead.—S. B.]

wine and aromatic substances. Lastly, after having applied oil of cedar and other things to the whole body for upwards of *thirty* days, they add myrrh, cinnamon, and other drugs, which have not only the power of preserving the body for a length of time, but of imparting to it a fragrant odour. It is then restored to the friends of the deceased. And so perfectly are all the members preserved, that even the hairs of the eyelids and eyebrows remain undisturbed, and the whole appearance of the person is so unaltered that every feature may be recognised. The Egyptians, therefore, who sometimes keep the bodies of their ancestors in magnificent apartments set apart for the purpose, have an opportunity of contemplating the faces[1] of those who died many generations before them; and the height and figure of their bodies being distinguishable, as well as the character of the countenance, they enjoy a wonderful gratification, as if they lived in the society of those they see before them.'

On the foregoing statements of the two historians I may be permitted some observations.

First, with regard to what Herodotus says of the wooden figures kept as patterns for mummies, the most elaborate of which represented Osiris. All the Egyptians who from their virtues were admitted to the mansions of the blessed were permitted to assume the form and name of this deity. It was not confined to the rich alone, who paid for the superior kind of embalming, or to those mummies which were sufficiently well made to assume the form of Osiris; and Herodotus should therefore have confined his remark to those which were of so inferior a kind as not to imitate the figure of a man. For we know that the second class of mummies were put up in the same form of Osiris; and if it was not so with the cheapest kind, this was in consequence of their being merely wrapped in cloths or matting, and assuming no shape beyond that of a bandaged body.[2]

Secondly. It is evident from the mummies which have been found in such abundance at Thebes and other places, that in the three different modes of embalming several gradations existed, some of which differ so much in many essential points as almost to justify our extending the number mentioned by the historians, as will be seen from what I shall hereafter state respecting the various modes ascertained from the bodies themselves. I may

[1] Diodorus is wrong in supposing that they could see the actual face of the dead body.

[2] He perhaps had in view those only which had a cartonage.

also refer for this subject to Pettigrew's valuable work on the 'History of the Egyptian Mummies.'

Thirdly. The extraction of the brain by the nostrils is proved by the appearance of the mummies found in the tombs; and some of the crooked instruments (always of bronze) supposed to have been used for this purpose have been discovered at Thebes.

Fourthly. The incision in the side is, as Diodorus says, on the left. Over it the sacred eye of Osiris[1] was placed, and through it the viscera were returned when not deposited in the four vases.

Fifthly. The second class of mummies without an incision in the side are often found in the tombs; but it is also shown from the bodies at Thebes that the incision was not always confined to those of the first class, and that some of an inferior kind were submitted to this simple and effectual process.

Sixthly. The sum stated by Diodorus, of a talent of silver, can only be a general estimate of the expense of the first kind of embalming, since the various gradations in the style of preparing them prove that some mummies must have cost far more than others; and the sumptuous manner in which many persons performed the funerals of their friends kept pace with the splendour of the tombs they made or purchased for their reception.

Seventhly. The execration with which the *paraschistes* was pursued could only have been a religious form, from which he was doubtless little in apprehension—an anomaly not altogether without a parallel in other civilised countries.

Eighthly. Diodorus is in error when he supposes the actual face of the body was seen after it was restored to the family; for even before it was deposited in the case, which Herodotus says the friends made for it, the features as well as the whole body were concealed by the bandages which enveloped them. The resemblance he mentions was only in the mummy-case, or the cartonage which came next to the bandages; and, indeed, whatever number of cases covered a mummy, the face of each was intended as a representation of the person within, as the lower part was in imitation of the swathed body.

Diodorus mentions three different classes of persons who assisted in preparing the body for the funeral,—the scribe, who regulated the incision in the side; the *paraschistes* or dissector; and the embalmers. To these may be added the undertakers,

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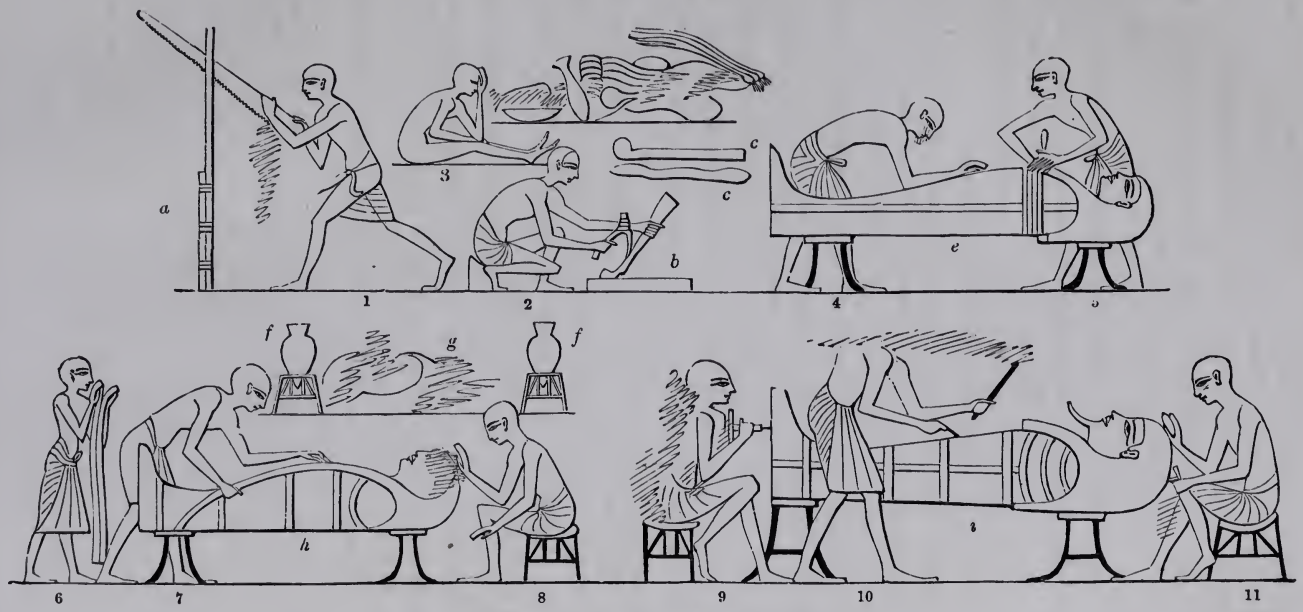
[1] On the mummy of a priestess of Amen, opened by me some years ago, the left symbolic eye was engraved on a rectangular thin tin plate over the flank incision.—S. B.



Bandaging mummies and making the cases. *Thebes.*

Fig. 1, sawing wood. *a*, timber fastened to a stand. 2, cutting the leg of a chair, on a stand (*b*), indicating the trade of a carpenter. 3, a man fallen asleep. *c c*, wood ready for cutting. *d*, onions and other provisions, which occur again at *g*, with vases, *f f*. 4, 5, and 7, binding mummies. 6 brings the bandages. 9, using the drill. 8, 10, and 11, painting and polishing the cases. *e*, *h*, *i*, mummy-cases.

who wrapped the body in bandages, and who had workmen in their employ to make the cases in which it was deposited.[1] Many different trades and branches of art were constantly called upon to supply the undertakers with those things required for funeral purposes: as the painters of mummy-cases; those who made images of stone, porcelain, wood, and other materials; the manufacturers of alabaster, earthenware, and bronze vases; those who worked in ivory; the leather-cutters, and many others. And it is not improbable that to the undertakers, who were a class of priests, belonged a very large proportion of the tombs kept for sale in the cemeteries of the large towns.

I have stated that the body was enveloped and placed in its case previous to its delivery to the relations of the deceased; but Herodotus seems to say that the undertakers having received it from the embalmers, and swathed it in bandages, sometimes returned it without any other covering than the linen wrappers, or, when of the better quality of mummies, in the painted cartonage, and the relations employed other persons to make the coffins or mummy-cases in which it was finally deposited. We may, however, conclude that even in these instances the undertakers were again applied to for the purpose; and we see among people far less prejudiced than the Egyptians, and far less inclined to favour monopolies in religious matters, that few have arrogated to themselves the right of deviating from common custom in their funeral arrangements.

The number of days, seventy or seventy-two,[2] mentioned by the two historians, is confirmed by the Scripture account of Jacob's funeral; and this arbitrary period cannot fail to call to mind the frequent occurrence of the numbers seven and seventy, which are observed in so many instances both among the

[1] The mode of embalming not only differed according to the period, but also according to the individual. Scarcely two mummies have ever been found treated in the same manner. Those of the older dynasties, contemporary with the Pyramids, either drop to pieces on exposure to the air or exhale a faint odour of bitumen; the mummies of the 11th Dynasty are also yellow, dry, and brittle, and many reduced to mere skeletons; but at the time of the 12th and 13th Dynasties the mummies are black, the skin flexible but dry. From the 18th to the 21st Dynasty the mummies of Memphis are black, and so dry that they break with the least effort. But at Thebes the art attained its highest perfection. The mummies are yellow and rather shining, the nails of the hands and feet dyed with henna, and they are so flexible that they can be bent without breaking, and yield to the imprint of the nail. After the 26th Dynasty the mummies become black and heavy, and do not break, except by aid of an instrument, and the art rapidly disappears. Some mummies have a tanned appearance. (Mariette-Bey, 'Musée de Boulaq,' pp. 35–43.)—S. B.

[2] Diodorus (i. 72) assigns only about thirty to the embalming process; and from Gen. l. 3 we learn that 'forty days were fulfilled' for Jacob, as was customary for those who were 'embalmed.'

Egyptians and Jews. But there is reason to believe that it comprehended the whole period of the mourning, and that the embalming process only occupied a portion of it; forty being the number of days expressly stated by the Bible to have been assigned to the latter, and 'three score and ten' to the entire mourning.

The custom of embalming bodies was not confined to the Egyptians: the Jews adopted this process to a certain extent, 'the manner of the Jews' being to bury[1] the body 'wound in linen cloths with spices.'

The embalmers, as I have already observed, were probably members of the medical profession, as well as of the class of priests. Joseph is said to have 'commanded the physicians to embalm his father;'[2] and Pliny states that during this process certain examinations took place, which enabled them to study the disease of which the deceased had died. They appear to have been made in compliance with an order from the government,[3] as he says the kings of Egypt had the bodies opened after death to ascertain the nature of their diseases, by which means alone the remedy for phthisical complaints was discovered. Indeed it is reasonable to suppose that a people so far advanced as were the Egyptians in knowledge of all kinds, and whose medical art was so systematically arranged that they had regulated it by some of the very same laws followed by the most enlightened and skilful nations of the present day, would not have omitted so useful an inquiry, or have failed to avail themselves of the means which the process adopted for embalming the body placed at their disposal. And nothing can more clearly prove their advancement in the study of human diseases than the fact of their assigning to each his own peculiar branch, under the different heads of oculists, dentists, those who cured diseases in the head, those who confined themselves to intestinal complaints, and those who attended to secret and internal maladies.[4]

Their knowledge of drugs, and of their effects, is sufficiently shown by the preservation of the mummies, and the manner in which the intestines and other parts have been removed from the interior. And such is the skill evinced in the embalming process, that every medical man of the present day who witnesses the evidence derived from an examination of the

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[1] John xix. 40. [2] Gen. l. 2. [3] Plin. xix. 5. [4] Herodot. ii. 84.

mummies willingly acquiesces in the praise due to the ability and experience of the Egyptian embalmers.

Certain regulations respecting the bodies of persons found dead were wisely established in Egypt, which, by rendering the district or town in the immediate vicinity responsible in some degree for the accident, by fining it to the full cost of the most expensive funeral, necessarily induced those in authority to exercise a proper degree of vigilance, and to exert their utmost efforts to save anyone who had fallen into the river, or was otherwise exposed to the danger of his life. From these, too, we may judge of the great responsibility they were under for the body of a person found murdered within their jurisdiction.

'If a dead body,' says Herodotus, 'was accidentally found, whether of an Egyptian or a stranger, who had been taken by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, the town upon the territory of which it was discovered was obliged to embalm it according to the most costly process, and to bury it in a consecrated tomb. None of the friends or relations were permitted to touch it; this privilege was accorded to the priests of the Nile alone, who interred it with their own hands, as if it had been something more than the corpse of a human being.'[1]

Another reason assigned for their embalming the dead, independent of those already mentioned, has been supposed to be a belief that the soul remained in the body as long as the latter was preserved, and was thus prevented from passing to any other.[2] But this is directly opposed to the known opinion of the Egyptians, which, as we see even from the sculptures, was that the soul left the body at the moment of death; and, according to Herodotus, they asserted that, having quitted the body, it returned again after a certain period.

Cassian gives another reason, still more at variance with truth,—'that they were unable to bury their dead during the inundation;' which is at once disproved by the fact of the tombs being accessible at all seasons of the year. Herodotus[3] observes that 'they forbade the body to be burnt, because they looked upon fire as a savage beast, devouring all that it can lay hold of, and dying itself after it is satiated, together with the object of its prey; and that being forbidden by their laws to suffer any animal to live upon a dead body, they embalmed it as a pro-

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[1] Herodot. ii. 90.

[2] Servius ad Virg. Æn. iii. v. 68.

[3] Herodot. iii. 16.

tection against worms.' This at least has more appearance of probability; and in the same fear of engendering these originated the prohibition against enveloping a corpse in woollen cloths. That the bandages were of linen has already been shown;[1] and the prejudice in favour of that quality of stuff extended even to the wrappers used for enveloping the small wooden figures deposited in the tombs, which were seldom if ever allowed to be of cotton, and apparently in no instance of woollen texture.

Herodotus fails to inform us what became of the intestines after they had been removed from the body of those embalmed according to the first process;[2] but the discoveries made in the tombs clear up this important point, and enable us to correct the improbable account given by Porphyry.[3] The latter writer says, 'When the bodies of persons of distinction were embalmed, they took out the intestines and put them into a vessel, over which (after some other rites had been performed for the dead) one of the embalmers pronounced an invocation to the sun in behalf of the deceased. The formula, according to Euphantus, who translated it from the original into Greek, was as follows:—"O thou sun, our sovereign lord! and all ye deities who have given life to man! receive me, and grant me an abode with the eternal gods. During the whole course of my life I have scrupulously worshipped the gods my fathers taught me to adore; I have ever honoured my parents, who begat this body; I have killed no one; I have not defrauded any, nor have I done an injury to any man; and if I have committed any other fault during my life, either in eating or drinking, it has not been done for myself, but for these things." So saying, the embalmer pointed to the vessel containing the intestines, which was thrown

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[1] The bandages were wetted and placed on the body with the greatest care, so as to follow the general contour of the form, and the inequalities were carefully padded with pledgets. They were chiefly composed of old linen, from three to four inches wide and several yards long. Under the Romans the limbs were bandaged separately. Large shrouds of linen dyed salmon-colour by the *Carthamus tinctorius* were placed over the body. Occasionally the name of the person bandaged is found written with marking ink on the inner bandages, in order to indicate the body, as if several were in hand at once and might otherwise be mistaken. Leather straps over the shoulders, crossing in front and stamped at the end with a figure of the god Khem or Amsi, appear on certain mummies of the 20th and 30th Dynasties.—S. B.

[2] The intestines were returned into the stomach bandaged, or laid between the legs and covered by the bandages of the mummy; but at the time of the 18th Dynasty and subsequently they were embalmed, wrapped up in bandages in vases of alabaster or calcareous stone, wood, or porcelain, and the viscera distributed amongst them. In some instances vases of solid wood were made, and the viscera otherwise distributed.—S. B.

[3] Porphyry, de Abstin. iv. 10.

into the river; the rest of the body, when properly cleansed, being embalmed.'

Plutarch[1] gives a similar account of their 'throwing the intestines into the river,' as the cause of all the faults committed by man, 'the rest of the body when cleansed being embalmed;' which is evidently borrowed from the same authority as that of Porphyry,[2] and given in the same words. But the positive evidence of the tombs, as well as our acquaintance with the religious feelings of the Egyptians, sufficiently prove this to be one of the many idle tales by which the Greeks have shown their ignorance of that people; and no one who considers the respect with which they looked upon the Nile, the care they took to remove all impurities which might affect their health, and the superstitious prejudice they felt towards everything appertaining to the human body, could for an instant suppose that they would on any consideration be induced to pollute the stream or insult the dead by a similar custom.

I have frequently had occasion to remark how erroneous were the opinions of the Greeks respecting Egypt and the Egyptians; and not only have we to censure them for failing to give much interesting information which they might have acquired after their intercourse with the country became unrestrained, but to regret that the greater part of what they have given us is deficient and inaccurate. To such an extent is this inaccuracy carried, that little they tell us can be received with confidence, unless in some way confirmed by the monuments or other plausible evidence; and many of those things which for a time were considered unquestionably true have proved incorrect,—as the description of Anubis with a dog's head, Amen with that of a ram, and many observations relating to the customs of the Egyptians.

Hence we often find ourselves obliged to undo what has been already done, which is a far more difficult task than merely to ascertain what has hitherto been untouched, and undisguised by the intervention of a coloured medium.

It might appear incredible that errors could have been made on the most common subjects, on things relating to positive customs which daily occurred before the eyes of those who sought to inquire into them, and are described by Greek writers who

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[1] Plut. Sept. Sap. Conviv., and Orat. ii. de Esu. Carn.

[2] Plutarch lived in the time of Trajan. Porphyry died in the reign of Diocletian.

visited the country. But when we observe the ignorance of Europeans respecting the customs of modern Egypt—of Europeans who are a people much less averse to inquire into the manners of other countries, much more exposed to the criticism of their compatriots in giving false information than the ancient Greeks, and to whom the modern inhabitants do not oppose the same impediments in examining their habits as did the ancient Egyptians;—when we recollect the great facilities they enjoy of becoming acquainted with the language and manners, and still find that Italians, French, and others, who have resided ten, twenty, or more years in Egypt, with a perfect knowledge of Arabic, and enjoying opportunities for constant intercourse with the people, are frequently, I may say generally, ignorant of their most ordinary customs, and are often prevented by preconceived notions from forming a right judgment of their habits and opinions;—when, I say, we bear this in mind, and witness so much ignorance in Europeans at the present day, we can readily account for the misconceptions of the Greeks respecting the customs or opinions of the ancient Egyptians.

As far as the invocation of the sun, and the confession pronounced by the priest (rather than the embalmer) on the part of the deceased, the account of Porphyry partakes of the character of truth; though the time when this was done should rather be referred to the ceremony on the sacred lake, or to that of depositing the body in the tomb. The confession, indeed, is an imperfect portion of that recorded in the sculptures, which has been already mentioned.

As soon as the intestines had been removed from the body, they were properly cleansed, and embalmed in spices and various substances, and deposited in four vases. These were afterwards placed in the tomb with the coffin, and were supposed to belong to the four genii of Amenti, whose heads and names they bore. Each contained a separate portion, which, as I have before observed, was appropriated to its particular deity. The vase with a cover representing the human head of Amset held the stomach and large intestines; that with the Cynocephalus head of Hapi contained the small intestines; in that belonging to the jackal-headed Tuautmutf were the lungs and heart; and for the vase of the hawk-headed Qabhsenuf were reserved the gall-bladder and the liver. They differed in size and the materials of which they were made. The most costly were of

Oriental alabaster, from ten to twenty inches high, and about one-third of that in diameter, each having its inscription, with the name of the particular deity whose head it bore. Others were of common limestone, and even of wood; but these last were generally solid, or contained nothing, being merely emblematic, and intended only for those whose intestines were returned into the body. They were generally surmounted by the heads above mentioned, but they sometimes had human heads; and it is to these last more particularly that the name of Canopi has been applied, from their resemblance to certain vases made by the Romans to imitate the Egyptian taste. I need scarcely add that this is a misnomer, and that the application of the word Canopus to any Egyptian vase is equally inadmissible.

Such was the mode of preserving the internal parts of the mummies embalmed according to the most expensive process. And so careful were the Egyptians to show proper respect to all that belonged to the human body, that even the saw-dust of the floor where they cleansed it was taken and tied up in small linen bags, which, to the number of twenty or thirty, were deposited in vases and buried near the tomb.

In those instances where the intestines, after being properly cleansed and embalmed, were returned into the body by the aperture in the side, images of the four genii of Amenti, made of wax, were put in with them, as the guardians of the portions particularly subject to their influence; sometimes, in lieu of them, a plate of lead, or other material, bearing upon it a representation of these four figures. Over the incision the mysterious eye of Shu or Horus was placed, whether the intestines were returned or deposited in the vases.

I have stated that many different gradations existed in the three classes of mummies,—if, indeed, they can be limited to that number. They may be arranged under two general heads:[1]—

I. Those with the ventral incision.
II. Those without any incision.

I. Of the mummies with the incision are—
1. Those preserved by balsamic matter.
2. Those preserved by natron.

1. Those dried by balsamic and astringent substances are

[1] Pettigrew, p. 70, from whom these observations are taken. He cites Rouyer's 'Notice sur les Embaumements des Anciens Égyptiens.'

either filled with a mixture of resin and aromatics, or with asphaltum [1] and pure bitumen.

When filled with resinous matter they are of an olive colour; the skin dry, flexible, and as if tanned, retracted and adherent to the bones. The features are preserved, and appear as during life. The belly and chest are filled with resins, partly soluble in spirits of wine. These substances have no particular odour by which they can be recognised, but thrown upon hot coals a thick smoke is produced, giving out a strong aromatic smell. Mummies of this kind are dry, light, and easily broken, with the teeth, hair of the head, and eyebrows well preserved. Some of them are gilt on the surface of the body; others only on the face, or the sexual parts, or on the head and feet.

The mummies filled with bitumen are black; the skin hard and shining, and as if coloured with varnish; the features perfect; the belly, chest, and head filled with resin, black, and hard, and having a little odour. Upon being examined, they are found to yield the same results as the "Jews' pitch" met with in commerce. These mummies are dry, heavy, shapeless, and brittle. They have, however, been prepared with great care, and are very little susceptible of decomposition from exposure to the air.

2. The mummies with ventral incisions prepared by natron are likewise filled with resinous substances, and also asphaltum. The skin is hard and elastic: it resembles parchment, and does not adhere to the bones. The resins and bitumen injected into these mummies are little friable, and give out no odour. The countenance of the body is little altered, but the hair is badly preserved: what remains usually falls off upon being touched. These mummies are very numerous, and if exposed to the air they become covered with an efflorescence of sulphate of soda. They readily absorb humidity from the atmosphere.

Such are the characteristic marks of the first quality of mummies, according to the mode of embalming the body. They may also be distinguished by other peculiarities; as,

1. Mummies of which the intestines were deposited in vases.
2. Those of which the intestines were returned into the body.

The former included all mummies embalmed according to

[1] 'When the asphaltum incorporates with the body, it becomes brown and greasy, and easily crumbles into powder; when it does not incorporate with the flesh, it retains its shining black colour.'

the most expensive process (for though some of an inferior quality are found with the incision in the side, none of the first quality were embalmed without the removal of the intestines); and the body, having been prepared with the proper spices and drugs, was enveloped in linen bandages, sometimes measuring 1000 yards in length.[1] It was then enclosed in a cartonage fitting closely to the mummied body, which was richly painted, and covered in front with a network of beads and bugles arranged in a tasteful form, the face being laid over with thick gold leaf, and the eyes made of enamel. The three or four cases which successively covered the cartonage were ornamented in like manner with painting and gilding; and the whole was enclosed in a sarcophagus of wood or stone, profusely charged with painting or sculpture. These cases, as well as the cartonage, varied in style and richness, according to the expense incurred by the friends of the deceased. The bodies thus embalmed were generally of priests of various grades. Sometimes the skin itself was covered with gold leaf; sometimes the whole body, the face, or the eyelids; sometimes the nails alone. In many instances the body, or the cartonage, was beautified in an expensive manner, and the outer cases were little ornamented; but some preferred the external show of rich cases or sarcophagi.

Those of which the intestines were returned into the body, with the wax figures of the four genii, were placed in cases less richly ornamented; and some of these were, as already stated, of the secondary class of mummies.

II. Those without the ventral incision were also of two kinds.[2]

1. Salted, and filled with bituminous matter less pure than the others.
2. Simply salted.

1. The former mummies are not recognisable; all the cavities are filled, and the surface of the body is covered with thin mineral pitch. It penetrates the body, and forms with it one undistinguishable mass. These mummies, Rouyer conceives, were submerged in vessels containing the pitch in a liquid state. They are the most numerous of all kinds: they are black, dry, heavy, and of disagreeable odour, and very difficult to break. Neither the eyebrows nor hair are preserved, and there is no gilding upon them. The bituminous matter is fatty to the touch, less black and brittle than the asphaltum, and yields a very

[1] Pettigrew, p. 89.

[2] Ibid. p. 71.

strong odour. It dissolves imperfectly in alcohol, and when thrown upon hot coals emits a thick smoke and disagreeable smell. When distilled, it gives an abundant oil, fat, and of a brown colour and fetid odour. Exposed to the air, these mummies soon change, attract humidity, and become covered with an efflorescence of saline substances.

2. The mummies simply salted and dried are generally worse preserved than those filled with resins and bitumen. Their skin is dry, white, elastic, light, yielding no odour, and easily broken, and masses of adipocere are frequently found in them. The features are destroyed; the hair is entirely removed; the bones are detached from their connections with the slightest effort, and they are white, like those of a skeleton. The cloth enveloping them falls to pieces upon being touched. These mummies are generally found in particular caves which contain great quantities of saline matters, principally the sulphate of soda.

Of the latter also several subdivisions may be made, according to the manner in which the bodies were deposited in the tombs; and some are so loosely put up in bad cloths and rags, as barely to be separated from the earth or stones in which they have been buried. Some are more carefully enveloped in bandages, and arranged one over the other without cases in the same common tomb, often to the number of several hundred; a visit to one of which has been well described by Belzoni.[1]

Some have certain peculiarities in the mode of their preservation. In many the skulls are filled with earthy matter in lieu of bitumen; and some mummies have been prepared with wax and tannin, a remarkable instance of which occurs in that opened by Dr. Granville, for a full account of which I refer the reader to his work descriptive of the body and its mode of preservation. I cannot, however, omit to mention one of many wonderful proofs of the skill of the embalmers. By means of a corrosive liquid they had removed the internal tegument of the skull of the mummy in his possession, and still contrived to preserve the thin membrane below, though the heat of the embalming matter afterwards poured into the cavity had perforated the suture and scorched the scalp.[2]

It has been a general and a just remark that few mummies

[1] Pettigrew, p. 39.

[2] The thickness of the Egyptian skull is observable in the mummies; and those of the modern Egyptians fortunately possess the same property of hardness, to judge from the blows they bear from the Turks, and in their combats among themselves. —G. W.

of children have been discovered—a singular fact, not easily accounted for, since the custom of embalming those even of the earliest age was practised in Egypt.[1]

Greek mummies usually differed from those of the Egyptians in the manner of disposing the bandages of the arms and legs. The former had the arms placed at the sides, and bound separately; but the arms as well as the legs and even the fingers of the Egyptians were generally enclosed in one common envelope, without any separation in the bandages. In these last the arms were extended along the side, the palms inwards and resting on the thighs, or brought forwards over the groin, sometimes even across the breast; and occasionally one arm in the former, the other in the latter position. The legs were close together, and the head erect. These different modes of arranging the limbs were common to both sexes, and to all ages; though we occasionally meet with some slight deviations from this mode of placing the hands. But few Egyptians are found with the limbs bandaged separately, as those of Greek mummies, though instances may occur of the latter having the arms enveloped with the body. Sometimes the nails and the whole hands and feet were stained with the red dye of the *henneh*;[2] and some mummies have been found with the face covered by a mask of cloth fitting closely to it, and overlaid with a coating of composition,[3] so painted as to resemble the deceased, and to have the appearance of flesh. But these are of rare occurrence, and I am unable to state if they are of an early Egyptian or Greek epoch. This last is most probable; especially as we find that the mummies which present the portrait of the deceased, painted on wood and placed over the face, are always of Greek time. Some remarkable instances of these are preserved in the collections of Europe; and one upon a body sent to England by Salt, which has been figured by Pettigrew, is now in the British Museum.

On the breast was frequently placed a scarabæus, in immediate contact with the flesh. These scarabæi,[4] when of stone, had their extended wings made of lead or silver; and when of blue pottery, the wings were of the same material. On

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[1] Pettigrew, p. 73.

[2] *Lawsonia spinosa et inermis*, Linn.

[3] I have seen a very good specimen in the possession of Dr. Hogg.

[4] The two most usual forms of scarabæi found in tombs are with the lower part as a flat level surface for bearing an inscription, or with the legs inserted there in imitation of nature. They have then a ring for suspending them, being probably intended for ornamental purposes, as necklaces and the like. Sometimes the head and thorax are replaced by a human face, and occasionally the body, or elytra, have the form of a royal cap.

the cartonage and case, in a corresponding situation above, the same emblem was also placed, to indicate the protecting influence of the deity;[1] and in this last position it sometimes stood in the centre of a boat, with the goddesses Isis and Nephthys on either side in an attitude of prayer.[2] On the outer cases the same place was occupied by a similar winged scarabæus or the winged globe, or a hawk, or a ram-headed vulture or hawk, or both these last, or the same bird with the head of a woman, or by the goddess Nut; and sometimes a disk was supported by the beetle, having within it a hawk and the name of Ra.

A stone scarabæus, covered with wings, which, with the sun and asps, are of silver.
No. 636.

The subjects represented on the mummy-cases differed according to the rank of the persons, the expense incurred in their decoration, and other circumstances; and such was their variety that few resembled each other in every particular. I shall, therefore, in describing them, confine my remarks to their general character, and to the most common representations figured upon them.

In the first quality of mummies the innermost covering of the body, after it had been swathed in the necessary quantity of bandages, was the cartonage. This was a pasteboard case fitting exactly to its shape, the precise measure having been carefully taken, so that it might correspond to the body it was intended to cover, and to which it was probably adjusted by proper manipulation while still damp. It was then taken off again, and made to retain that shape till dry, when it was again applied to the bandaged body, and sewed up at the back. After this it was painted and ornamented with figures and numerous subjects: the face was made to imitate that of the deceased, and frequently gilded; the eyes were inlaid; and the hair of females was made to represent the natural plaits as worn by Egyptian women.

The subjects painted upon the cartonage were the four genii of Amenti,[3] and various emblems belonging to deities connected

[1] The scarabæus with extended wings was placed on the breast of mummies, and represented the *af*, fly, or *ap*, the same idea. The pectoral plates of various materials placed on mummies had the ordinary scarabæus, with the chapters relating to the heart, c. 30–64, of the Ritual. The porcelain flying scarabæi were worked into the network of mummies. (See Woodroffe, 'The Scarabæus Sacer,' 4to, 1876.)—S. B.

[2] Pettigrew, pl. viii. figs. 1, 2, 3.

[3] [Hades was called in Egyptian Ament or Amenti, over which Osiris presided as judge of the dead. Plutarch (de Isid. s. 29) supposes it to mean 'the receiver and giver.' It corresponded, like Erebus, to

with the dead. On the breast was placed the figure of Nut, with expanded wings, protecting the deceased; sacred arks, boats, and other things were arranged in different compartments; and Osiris,[1] Isis, Nephthys, Anubis, Socharis, and other deities, were frequently introduced. In some instances Isis was represented throwing her arms round the feet of the mummy, with this appropriate legend, 'I embrace thy feet'—at once explanatory of, and explained by, the action of the goddess. A long line of hieroglyphics, extending down the front, usually contained the name and quality of the deceased, and the offerings presented for him to the gods; and transverse bands frequently repeated the former, with similar donations to other deities. But as the arrangement and character of these sacred ornaments vary in nearly all the specimens of mummies, it would be tedious to introduce more than a general notion of their character. Even the cartonage and different cases of the same mummy differ in all except the name and description of the deceased; and the figure of Nut is sometimes replaced by a winged sun or a scarabæus. This goddess, however, always occurs in some part of the coffin, and often with outspread arms at the bottom of the inner case, where she appears to receive the body into her embrace, as the protectress of the dead.

The face of the cartonage was often covered with thick gold leaf, and richly adorned, the eyes inlaid with brilliant enamel, the hair imitated with great care, and adorned with gold; and the same care was extended to the three cases which successively covered it, though each differed from the next, the innermost being the most ornamented. Rich necklaces were placed or represented on the neck of each, for all were made in the form of the deceased; and a network of coloured beads was frequently spread over the breast, and even the whole body, worked in rich and elegant devices.

The outer case was either of wood or stone. When of wood, it

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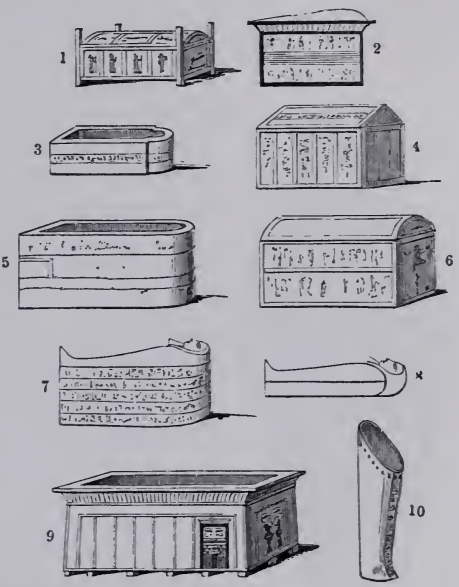
the West, called Ement by the Egyptians, the place of darkness, where the sun set. The western hills being especially appropriated to tombs in all the places where pyramids were built will account for these monuments being on that side of the Nile. The abode of the dead was supposed to be the West, the land of darkness where the sun ended his course; and the analogy was kept up by the names *Ement*, the 'west,' and *Amenti*, the 'lower regions of Hades.' Some tombs were in the Eastern hills, but this was because they happened to be near the river, and the Libyan hills were too distant; and the principal places of burial, as at Thebes and Memphis, were on the W. —G. W.]

[1] Osiris is sometimes introduced under the form of a vase or a peculiar emblem surmounted by two long feathers, and bound with a fillet. It is raised on a shaft, and over it are the names and titles of the god. Socharis was another form and character of Osiris.

had a flat or a circular summit, sometimes with a short square pillar rising at each angle. The whole was richly painted, and it frequently had a door represented near one of the corners. At one end was the figure of Isis, at the other Nephthys; and the top was painted with bands or fancy devices. In others the lid represented the curving top of the ordinary Egyptian canopy.

The stone cases, usually called sarcophagi, were of oblong shape, having flat straight sides like a box, with a curved or pointed lid. Sometimes the figure of the deceased was represented upon the latter in relief,[1] and some were in the form of a king's name or royal oval. Others were made in the shape of the mummied body, whether of basalt, granite, slate, or limestone, specimens of which are met with in the British Museum and other collections. I have even seen one of this form, found during my stay at Thebes, of a red earthenware, very similar to our tiles, made in two pieces sewn together, small holes having been made in the clay before it was burnt for this purpose. The upper part was broken off, but it was evidently a continuation of the human figure in the form of the mummy it contained. [Under the Old Empire the sarcophagus was rectangular, with a vaulted lid of red granite, basalt, or calcareous stone, with few or no inscriptions. A wooden coffin of several pieces of wood pegged together, having a human face, is found inside. At the time of the 11th Dynasty the wooden coffins are of the same kind, but



No. 637. Different forms of mummy-cases.
1, 2, 4, 9. Of wood. 3, 5, 6, 7, 8. Of stone. 10. Of burnt earthenware.

[1] As that of the queen of Amasis at the British Museum. I have seen a figure raised nine inches in relief, and cut in granite, on the sarcophagus of one of the kings at Thebes.

made of the solid trunk of a tree; others are rectangular, and with a flat cover, but painted with floral ornaments, and having painted inside the wardrobe of the deceased. These coffins disappear under the 12th and 13th Dynasties, but fine coffins of the kings are still in vogue. Under the 18th Dynasty to the 21st, at Memphis, granite sarcophagi in the shape of mummies were in use, slightly decorated with sculptures of Nut and crossing bands of hieroglyphs. At Thebes the coffins were of wood, painted with the subjects of sepulchral deities and the four genii of the dead, the mask of the face red or gilded, a vulture on the breast, and inscriptions in one vertical and several crossing bands. The yellow-coloured coffins with mystical scenes, with profusion of ornaments and vignettes and pretty painted interiors, appear at the time of the 21st Dynasty. From the 22nd to the 26th Dynasty the coffins are black with red faces, and others white with figures in colours. Under the 25th there are three coffins or envelopes, the coffins plain with white back-ground or pictured with green hieroglyphs, the interior ones with red or gilded faces; at Memphis, at the time of the 26th Dynasty, granite sarcophagi, rectangular, or with vaulted lids with face. Under the Greeks and Romans the coffins found at Thebes are of thin wood, and covered with paintings and texts; some with vaulted cover and flat boards, instead of the chests in which the dead were laid, and often with zodiacs inside the lid; while at Memphis the stone sarcophagi still continue. As the Roman Empire continued, the coffins became worse in their form and

Sepulchral figure.
No. 638.

Side view of same.
No. 639.

decoration, and the hieroglyphs with which they are covered mere senseless scrawls.—S. B.[1]]

It is unnecessary to examine in detail all the various substances used in embalming, as they have been already indicated by Pettigrew. With regard to the question when the custom of embalming the body ceased in Egypt, it may be observed that some are of opinion that it ceased at an early time, when Egypt became a Roman province. But this has been fully disproved by modern discoveries; and it not only appears that the early Christians embalmed their dead, but according to 'St. Augustine mummies were made in his time, at the beginning of the fifth century.' The custom may not have been universal at that period, and it is more probable that it gradually fell into disuse than that it was suddenly abandoned from any accidental cause connected with change of custom, or from religious scruple.

Sepulchral figure. No. 640.

The disposition of various objects placed with the dead varied in different tombs according to the rank of the person, the choice of the friends of the deceased, or other circumstances, as their number and quality depended on the expense incurred in the funeral. For, besides the richly decorated coffins, many vases, images of the dead, papyri, jewels, and other ornaments were deposited in the tomb; and tablets of stone or wood were placed near the sarcophagus, engraved or painted with funeral subjects and legends relating to the deceased. These last resembled in form the ordinary Egyptian shield, being squared at the base, and rounded at the summit; and it is probable, as already observed, that their form originated in the military custom of making the shield a monument in honour of a deceased soldier. Many of the objects buried in the

[1] Mariette-Bey, 'Monuments du Musée de Boulaq,' 1869, p. 46.

tomb depended, as I have already observed, on the profession or occupation of the individual. A priest had the insignia of his office; as the scribe his inkstand or palette; the high priest the censer; the hieraphoros a small model of a sacred shrine, or a figure bearing an image or emblem of a deity; and others according to their grade. In the soldier's tomb were deposited his arms; in the mariner's a boat; and the peculiar occupation of each artisan was pointed out by some implement employed in his trade.

Sepulchral vase of pottery in shape of Tuautmutf.
No. 641.

The four vases, each with the head of one of the genii of Amenti, have been already mentioned. There were also others of smaller size, of alabaster, hard stone, glass, porcelain, bronze, and other materials, many of which were of exquisite workmanship; but these were confined to the sepulchres of the rich, as were jewellery and other expensive ornaments.

Papyri were likewise confined to persons of a certain degree of wealth; but small figures of the deceased, of wood or vitrified earthenware, were common to all classes, except the poorest of the community. These figures are too well known to need a detailed description. They usually present a hieroglyphic inscription, either in a vertical line down the centre, or in horizontal bands round the body, containing the name and quality of the deceased, with the customary presentation of offerings for his soul to Osiris, and a funeral formula very similar to many on the scarabæi. In the hands of these figures are a hoe and a bag of seed. Their arms are crossed in imitation of certain representations of Osiris, whose name and form I have before shown the dead assumed; and their beard indicates the return of the human soul, which once animated that body, to the deity from whom it emanated.

[In the Ritual of the Dead these figures were called *ushebtiu*, or 'respondents,' and were supposed to answer the call for help or assistance, and to be labourers to transport the sand of the West

to the East, to work the fields and water the furrows. They are generally, but not always, of the type represented in woodcuts 638–640, and of different materials, having been made of dark stones, alabaster, granite, basalt, wood (chiefly sycamore, but sometimes ebony or acacia), and very rarely of metal, some of copper having been discovered; but they are most abundant in porcelain or glazed ware of dark or light blue, white, and other colours. A few of late age, used for the poorer classes, are of crude clay with painted inscriptions. Their first appearance is in the middle of the 18th Dynasty, in the reign of Amenophis III., and those in stone of that monarch have a different formula. One rare example[1] has the text of the 5th chapter of the Ritual, the rubric of which states it to be the chapter of 'Avoiding' or 'How not to do work in Hades,' showing the object of these small figures was to enable the deceased to avoid the agricultural labour or other toils of the future state. Many of these figures commence with the phrase, 'Illuminate,' or 'whiten, the Osiris' or deceased, and his name is usually inserted on the figure; but some few have blank spaces, as if prepared ready for use. The figures in stone and wood generally have no square pedestal at the foot, and often have the human-headed hawk, emblem of the soul, on the breast, a subject taken from the 89th chapter of the Ritual, referring to the visit of the soul to the body in Hades. The age of the porcelain figures can be determined from their fabric, those of the oldest period, the 18th and 19th Dynasties, having all their details and inscriptions traced in dark outline, whilst those of the 26th Dynasty are stamped incuse as if made from moulds. It is uncertain if they were employed later than the 26th Dynasty, and none can be identified to bear criteria of later age. They were made in great numbers, and either laid on the floors of the tombs or else placed in wooden boxes, which had appropriate representations of sepulchral deities, inscriptions, formulæ, and chapters of the Ritual painted on them. Great numbers have been found in royal tombs.—S. B.]

I do not enter into a minute description of all the modes of arranging the objects in the tombs, the endless variety of Egyptian mummies, or the subjects of their painted cases. The subject, even if it were sufficiently interesting to the reader, would

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[1] This figure of porcelain, of the time of the 20th Dynasty, belongs to the Rev. H. S. Brooks, of Chelmsford.

lead to an inquiry beyond the scope of the present work. And now, having accompanied the Egyptians to the tomb, I take my leave of them with this wish,—

'Sedibus ut saltem placidis in morte quiescant.'

No. 642. Sepulchral vases in shape of Amset, Hapi, and Qabhsenuf.

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1, 2. Bes.

3. Ptah-Socharis-Osiris.

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